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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

TO LOCATE THE SITE

OF THE

FRONTIER FORTS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME ONE

SECOND EDITION

Edited by

THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY, LITT. D.

HARRISBURG, PA.:
WM. STANLEY RAY, STATE PRINTER
1916

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PREFATORY NOTE

An act authorizing the Governor of this Commonwealth to appoint five persons to make inquiry and examine into and make report to the next session of this Legislature, at its next regular session, the advisability of erecting suitable tablets, marking the various forts erected as a defense against the Indians by the early settlers of this Commonwealth prior to the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., That on and after thirty days from the passage of this act, the Governor of this Commonwealth is hereby authorized and required to appoint five persons to make inquiry in relation to the various forts erected by the early settlers of this Commonwealth prior to the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, as a defense against the Indians. Said five persons are hereby authorized to make inquiry and examination as to the number and location of said forts and the propriety of erecting tablets to mark said forts and do such things as they may deem best to carry out the provisions of this act, and make report to the next regular session of the Legislature of this Commonwealth within thirty days after it shall convene.

Section 2. The persons appointed to serve in making such examination and report shall be allowed no compensation for their services, only such actual expenses as they shall incur in making such examination and report and such railroad fare, not exceeding three cents per mile for each mile actually traveled thereon, and such other expenses of other conveyances as may be necessary in making such investigation and report. An itemized account and statement whereof shall be certified to by the Governor and attested by the Auditor General of the Commonwealth before paid by the Treasurer, which shall accompany the report to the Legislature.

Approved—The 23d day of May, A. D. 1893.

ROBT. E. PATTISON.

In accordance with the provisions of the foregoing act, Governor Pattison appointed as Commissioners the following gentlemen:

JOHN M. BUCKALEW, of Columbia county.
SHELDON REYNOLDS, of Wilkes-Barre.
HENRY M. M. RICHARDS, of Reading.
JAY GILFILLAN WEISER, of Snyder county;
GEORGE DALLAS ALBERT, of Westmoreland county.

This Commission shortly after convened at Harrisburg, and nominated Captain Buckalew as their chairman, and at once proceeded to arrange a programme for carrying out the work as directed by law. It was then decided, on the ground of economy and expediting the work that Five Divisions be formed of those portions of the State where the Frontier Forts were erected, one of which should be confided to each member of the Commission. These were as follows:

- I. That section of the State lying between the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna river, with the addition of Fort Augusta at Sunbury, to John M. Buckalew.
- II. That section known in history as the Wyoming Valley Region, to Sheldon Reynolds.
- III. That section between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers, south of the Blue Mountains, except Fort Halifax and Fort Augusta, to Henry M. M. Richards.
- IV. That section comprising the Juniata and Cumberland Valleys, including Fort Halifax, east of the Susquehanna river, to Jay Gilfillan Weiser.
- V. That section lying west of the Allegheny mountains designated as Western Pennsylvania, to George Dallas Albert.

Each member of the Commission visited nearly all of the localities in person, thus covering every section of the country, celebrated in the annals of Frontier warfare; and the reports made, which are here published, were presented to the Governor of the Commonwealth, at the opening of the Session of the Legislature of 1895, and by him transmitted to the Senate and House of Representatives. The Assembly at once passed the following resolution:

PREFATORY NOTE.

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In the Senate, January 10th, 1895.

Resolved (if the House concur), That the State Printer be directed to print and bind in cloth, under the supervision of the State Librarian, five thousand (5,000) copies of the report of the Indian Forts Commission, filed with the Executive of the Commonwealth as required by act of Assembly, approved the 23d day of May, A. D. 1893; 2,500 copies being for the use of the present members of the House of Representatives, 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate, 500 for the Executive Department, 500 for the use of the State Librarian, and 100 for each of the five Commissioners who have made said report.

E. W. SMILEY,
Clerk of the Senate.

The foregoing resolution concurred in January 23, 1895.

A. D. FETTEROLF,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Approved—The 24th day of January, A. D. 1895.

In obedience thereto, the report of that Commission is herewith submitted to the people of the Commonwealth. In most respects it is interesting and valuable. As a historical document the report of the Commission will compare favorably with any heretofore published by the State. There may be errors of opinion, and perchance, errors in facts, but this is to be expected when so little that is reliable has ever been published in regard to the Frontier Forts.

Whether it be sentiment or historical pride, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania should take prompt action upon the recommendations of the Members of the Commission. They have done their duty well and faithfully. They have presented a report creditable to the Commonwealth, and invaluable as a contribution to the history of the State. The issue remains with the authorities. Let them act promptly and efficiently; and generations to come will rise up and bless their memories.

WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M. D.,
State Librarian.

During the Legislative Session of 1913 the State Librarian was asked by Senator and Mrs. Endsley to suggest the titles of State publications, then out of print, which might be reprinted for the benefit of historical workers. Among others the Librarian suggested "Pennsylvania at Gettysburg" and the "Frontier Forts."

An act was prepared by Senator Endsley authorizing a new edition of the "Frontier Forts" and appointing the State Librarian as the editor thereof. The Editor requested Dr. George P. Donehoo of Coudersport, a well known authority upon the history of the Indian tribes, as related to Pennsylvania, to prepare a preface for the new edition, and Doctor Donehoo responded as follows:

"The author of the introduction of the first edition of Frontier Forts states, 'It is not within the scope of this report to analyse the reasons which induced the Indians to commit their terrible depredations in the Province of Pennsylvania, where the policy of the government had always been of a peaceful character and was based on the principle of fair dealing with the aborigines.'

While this statement is, in the main, true, it is nevertheless necessary for a right understanding of the history which is covered by these 'Border Wars,' that something be known of the conditions which made these wars possible. The author of this brief introduction realizes that it is not possible, in a mere introduction of this sort, to give a complete history of all of the causes which led to the alienation of the aborigines, who welcomed the first white settlers to the shores of the Delaware. A whole volume would be needed to cover the history of this most interesting and vital epoch in Pennsylvania, and American history. But, this brief sketch may help the reader to understand why the friendly Delaware was changed to a relentless foe, and to a certain extent give the reason back of the hostility of the period in which Pennsylvania was drenched in blood.

When William Penn was ready to embark upon the ship which was to carry him to the New World, in which he had received a grant of land from King Charles, he requested that he be given an audience by his sovereign. When this request

was granted, the King, in jest, said to him, "It will not be long until I hear that you have gone into the savages' war-kettle: what is to prevent it?" "Their own inner light," said Penn. "Moreover, as I intend equitably to buy their lands. I shall not be molested." "Buy their lands," replied the King, in surprise, "Why, is not the land mine?" "No, your Majesty, you have no right to their lands; they are the original occupants of the soil." "What, have I not the right of discovery?" "Well, just suppose that a canoe full of savages should by some accident discover Great Britain. Would you vacate, or sell?" Needless to say, the King was surprised, but he was no doubt more surprised by the results of Penn's policy.

New England commenced its conquest by trying to convert the Indian, in the meanwhile taking possession of the soil. Penn commenced the conquest of his possessions on the Delaware by buying the land from the occupants and treating with them in friendly conferences, in order that he might win them to friendly relations with him and his people. The conquest of Pennsylvania was entirely different from that of any other part of the continent. It began with a Treaty of Peace, held under the spreading elm tree at Shackamaxon. Many writers have attempted to make this supposed scene, according to their views, entirely mythical. No matter where it was held, or when it was held—at Shackamaxon before William Penn arrived in the country, or at Chester after his arrival—it was most certainly held at the commencement of the settlement of the Province, for the 'League of Amity' made with William Penn upon his taking possession of the land on the Delaware, is mentioned at nearly every Council held in the Province in after years. The author can see no reason for changing the traditional site at Shackamaxon, or the year 1682. This place was a prominent gathering place for the Indians. Its very name, Sakimaxing, 'place of chiefs,' made it the most prominent village, or meeting place, in the region.

Penn wrote to the Commissioners, whom he had sent out to make the arrangements for the settlement of the Delaware, 'Be tender to the Indians. Soften them to me and to the people. Let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Read to them, in their own tongue, the conditions

made with the purchasers, that they shall deal justly with them. Make a friendship and league with them according to these conditions, which carefully observe.'

To the Indians he wrote, "God, to whom you and I and all people owe their being, has written His law in our hearts, by which we are commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another, I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly."

To Thomas Holme he wrote, "When the great God brings me among you, I intend to order all things in such a manner that we may live in love and peace, one with another, Which I hope the great God will incline both you and me to do."

These were the sentiments upon which William Penn commenced his conquest of Pennsylvania, and these were the principles which entered into the "League of Amity," which was to endure "as long as the sun gives light."

The belt of wampum which is supposed to have been given at the first Treaty with the Indians is preserved in a case in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The inscription upon this case is,—"Not Sworn to but Never Broken." This statement is correct. For seventy years this "League of Amity" was kept inviolate by the Indians, as well as by the Penns. Year after year the old chiefs of the Delawares went to Philadelphia to renew this agreement. In 1718 Civility, the old chief of the remnant of the once powerful Susquehanna, or Conestoga, Indians went to Philadelphia. In his "speech" to Sir William Keith, he said, in speaking of the visit of his tribesmen, "that they came, not to make any new Treaty or League of friendship, but only to renew or confirm those which had been made, and were hitherto inviolably kept on both sides." At a Council at Conestoga in 1721 Sir William Keith refers to the settlement of the Province, and said, "Some of your ancient men can yet remember the first settlement of the Province of Pennsylvania by William Penn. He was a good man, and had a great affection for the Indians; he entered into Leagues of friendship with them, and treated them as brethren." The Indian speakers said that they remembered those treaties with William Penn.

At a Treaty at Albany the following year Sir William Keith said, "You have likewise told us how William Penn, who was a good man, did, at his first settlement of the Province of Pennsylvania, make leagues of friendship with the Indians, and treated them as brethren; and that, like the same good man, he left it in charge to all his Governors who should succeed him, and to all the people of Pennsylvania, that they should always keep the covenant and treaties he made with the Five Nations, and treat them with love and kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors and people have always kept the same honestly and truly to this day; so we, on our part, have always kept and forever shall keep firm peace and friendship with a good heart, to all the people of Pennsylvania."

For seventy years this peaceful policy of William Penn was carried out in all of the dealings of the Province with the Indians. At the Council at Easton in 1750 Tedyuskung, the leading Delaware chief, said, "I remember well the leagues and covenants of our forefathers. We are but children in comparison with them. What William Penn said to the Indians is still fresh in our minds; this we all remember and IT IS NOT A SMALL MATTER THAT WOULD HAVE THEN SEPARATED US."

It truly was not a *small thing* which led to the breaking of the friendship between the Delawares and the English settlers in the Province. The alienation of the Delawares was the cause which led directly to the fearful years of bloodshed and strife. With the Delawares went the Shawnee, and also the Seneca on the Ohio—called Mingo in many of the articles dealing with this period.

The first real step of the Indians in Pennsylvania from the "League of Amity" with the Province was caused by the nefarious "Walking Purchase" of 1737, by which the Delawares lost, through a clear case of fraud, the most prized lands of their ancestors. Various attempts were made by the Provincial authorities, as well as by the Iroquois, to show that no fraud had been committed in this purchase. But, no method of argument can make such a transaction just. It certainly was not wise. But whether just or wise it marked the commencement of the movement of both the Delaware and Shawnee away from

English interest. The Delawares felt that they had been cheated in the "home of their friends," and as they were driven by the Iroquois to find refuge along the upper Susquehanna, in the Wyoming Valley, or moved westward to the Ohio, they felt that they had been wronged by the very ones whom they trusted most.

But, more galling than even the fraud which had been practiced upon them in this sale, was the realization that henceforth they were to take a seat in the background in all of the affairs of the Province, while the Iroquois assumed the position of the Master, not only of them, but also of all of the lands upon which they lived. When the Province of Pennsylvania paid the Iroquois for the lands upon the Delaware river, south of the Blue Mountains, in 1736, a precedent was made which the Iroquois were not slow to make the most of in the years to come. This was the first claim which the Iroquois had ever set up for ownership of land occupied by the Delawares. From 1682 until 1736 the Delawares had dealt directly with the Provincial authorities in the sale of all of the lands upon which they lived. From 1736 until the last purchase of Indian lands in Pennsylvania the Iroquois dealt directly with the Province, ignoring the right of the Delawares to a foot of the ground upon which they lived.

At the Council in Philadelphia in 1742 the Iroquois ordered the Delawares to remove at once to Shamokin or Wyoming, from their lands in the Minisinks, which they supposed had been reserved for them. The Delawares went away from this Council thoroughly humiliated because of the treatment given them. We can possibly realize what such treatment meant to the proud chiefs, who remembered the days when their fathers had been treated by William Penn with honor, as the rightful owners of the lands, which were now sold under their very feet by the Iroquois. They had not even been invited to go to this Council, but were informed that they could go if they so wished—at their own expense.

The Delaware and Shawnee moved to Wyoming, and westward to the Ohio. There is no doubt but that the chief factor in the ascendancy of the Iroquois in the affairs of the Province was Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter and diplo-

mat. All of his sympathy was with the Iroquois. He cared nothing for the Delawares. He came upon the scene just at the time when the pacific policy of Penn was declining. Walton truly says, in his "Conrad Weiser," "Weiser helped Shikellamy sow the seed which drenched Pennsylvania in blood from 1755 to 1764.—Pennsylvania suffered that a nation might live. She brought upon herself after many years a Delaware war, but escaped a Six Nation war, a French alliance with the Iroquois, and the threatened possibility of the destruction of all the English colonies on the coast." This statement is true. In bringing the Iroquois into the foreground in the affairs of the Province the neutrality of that powerful confederation was assured. Weiser was the chief power back of all of these efforts at this time. In the impending struggle between Great Britain and France it was absolutely essential for the preservation of the British Colonies that the Iroquois, as a Confederation, remain neutral. This neutrality was assured by the Province in the recognition of the Iroquois claims for the lands occupied by the Delawares.

But, the recognition of the Iroquois as the owners of the Delaware lands "by right of conquest," lost for Pennsylvania the friendship of the Delaware and Shawnee, who had been driven to the Ohio by the various land sales and by the encroachments of the white settlers upon the lands which had not been bought by the Province.

From the time of the Purchase of 1736 the Delawares awakened to a realization of the wrong which had been done to them. They retreated from the Delaware across the Blue Mountains to Wyoming and Shamokin, to the West Branch and to the Ohio, seeking a place of refuge from the rum traffic and the horde of land-hungry settlers. But, no sooner had the lands been bought south of the Blue Mountains than the white settlers began to cross the Susquehanna and then the Kittatinny Mountains, into the lands which had not been purchased from the Indians. Again and again the Delaware and Shawnee complained to Shikellamy, the Iroquois deputy at Shamokin, concerning these "white squatters" who were settling upon Indian lands along the Juniata river and in the Tuscorara Valley, Shikellamy complained to the authorities

of the Province. The Governor issued "Proclamations," notices were posted, but still the settlers remained. At the Treaty of Albany in 1754 the Commissioners from Pennsylvania decided that something must be done to silence these complaints, which were assuming a dangerous tone. It was decided that the only thing to do was to buy the lands beyond the Allegheny mountains. This was finally accomplished. At the same time the Agents of the Susquehanna Company, of Connecticut, were working on the quiet through the Mohawks for the purchase of the lands in the Wyoming Valley. The Mohawks had absolutely no more right to sell this land than a Delaware had a right to sell the lands of the Seneca. This fraudulent deal was carried through. Another sale had been made at the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744, in which the lands westward "to the setting sun" were deeded by the Iroquois to the Colony of Virginia. By this deed Virginia claimed the lands beyond the mountains including the lands on the Ohio river. Thus in 1754 the Delaware and Shawnee awoke to a realization that all of their lands were gone. The Minisinks, on the Delaware, had been sold in 1736; the lands along the Susquehanna had been disposed of by various sales, and now the lands in the Wyoming Valley and on the Ohio had been sold by the Iroquois. They had not a foot of ground which they could call their own.

The chiefs of the Delaware and Shawnee went back to their villages on the Ohio, brooding over their wrongs and waiting for the day of vengeance. This day was not long in coming. Right at the very time when these warriors of the Delawares and Shawnee had been cheated out of all of their possessions, Braddock was slowly cutting his way over the mountains of Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne. Braddock's fearful defeat and slaughter was no sudden "Indian uprising." It was the logical result of long years of injustice to the Delawares, and their kindred, the Shawnee. Braddock had to bear the consequences of the alienation of these Indian tribes. His defeat was not the cause of the bloodshed which followed. It was a result, which neither Washington or Forbes could have avoided had they led this ill-fated expedition. Braddock and his army, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had to pay in

blood for the splendid bargains which had been made by the English in the "Walking Purchase," and in the land grab in the Wyoming Valley. Truly, as Tedyuskung said at Easton, after speaking of William Penn's memory, "It is not a small matter that would have then separated us." The Delaware and Shawnee would have been base cowards had they silently and meekly retreated beyond the Ohio without a struggle. In 1742 the Iroquois had declared that the Delawares were "women," having no right to bear arms or to sell land. In 1755 the Delawares threw away their "skirts" and took up the arms of a man to avenge their wrongs. They had complained at every Council which was held during this entire period concerning these land sales, the rum traffic and the settlement of lands which had not been purchased from the Indians. When all of these appeals failed they appealed to the only Court in America in which an Indian ever had any standing—the Supreme Court of Arms, the last court of appeal of savage, as well as of civilized man. From 1682 until 1755 the Delawares were at peace with the English in this Province. From 1755 until the last Delaware was driven beyond the Ohio river he was at war, simply because none of his claims had any recognition in any court of Justice.

After over 150 years the Red Man, with claims aggregating over a billion dollars, finds himself in exactly the same condition so far as Courts of Justice are concerned, as did the Delaware of 1754 who was expected to meekly move on, when told to do so by some settler who wanted his land. The fearful slaughter of Braddock's troops and the entire route of his army by the comparatively small army of French and Indians opened the eyes of the Delaware and Shawnee. They, for the first time in the history of their relations with the white man, realized their own power. The Indians on the Ohio hesitated no longer but went over as a body to the side of the French. The Iroquois as a Confederation remained neutral, but great numbers of the Seneca, who had been associated with the Delawares, because of the easy access to the villages on the Ohio by way of the Allegheny river, took up the hatchet, and "the dogs of war were turned loose" upon the defenceless frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Some of the eastern Delaware

remained neutral, through the efforts of the friendly chiefs, but the great body of Delaware west of the Susquehanna river, led by Shingas, Tamaque (King Beaver), and other chiefs, carried death into the white settlements on the frontiers. The West Branch of the Susquehanna, the Allegheny river, and the winding Indian trails across the mountains became veritable "trails of blood."

The "Border Wars" of Pennsylvania were caused because the Delaware and Shawnee refused to leave the land which they loved, without a struggle, and because every treaty which they had ever made with the white man had been broken. Again and again these people "reserved" by a treaty a place of refuge "which it shall not be lawful for us or our children to sell, or for you or your children ever to buy"—only to find out that no such spot existed on the face of the earth for an Indian.

When the tide of Scotch-Irish settlers swept over the mountain ridges and into the valley beyond the "Endless Mountains," seeking to drive "the heathen from the Land of Promise" it is small wonder that the "heathen" refused to be driven—hence the Frontier Forts, and the border warfare which makes the period covered by this work one of the most thrilling in American history.

In order to understand this *Epic of Pennsylvania* one must know, not only the Indian but also the frontiersman, whose rugged character was moulded by the environment in which he was placed. Stretching along the foothills of the Alleghenies, at the commencement of the period which is pictured in these volumes, lived a class of people who were the products of an environment almost as remarkable as that in which they found themselves after they were transplanted to the American continent. With but few exceptions they were Scotch-Irish or German, as their names in the Colonial Records show. As the 18th Century dawned, big with tremendous events, these pioneers had crossed the narrow strip of level land along the seaboard and were pushing their way to the long ridges of mountains along the western horizon. Their cabins dotted the mountain sides, far beyond the limits of civilization, in the very heart of the great forest enshrouded wilderness.

Along this skirmish line of civilization, out beyond the advance guard of the German and English lived the Scotch-Irish, who had little in common with the quiet Quakers who lived along the Delaware. Long before the outbreak of the Indian hostility their cabins were builded in the little clearings beyond the mountains of the Juniata and the West Branch valleys. One must live in such environment in order to understand its influence. The mountains and brooding forests produce men of a different type than is produced in the artificial life of any community, however large or small it may be. The mystery, the silence, the solemn grandeur, the lurking danger of the environment of mountains and forests get into a man's very soul. The difficulties and dangers of life in such an atmosphere make the small things of mere political expediency seem small indeed. Each man acts for himself. Self, and the little group within the cabin, becomes a center of life and of life's aims. It is small wonder then that the very same motive which led the Delaware to seek the protection of his wigwam, led the frontiersman to the protection of his cabin. Both were alike under the spell of the savage life of the forest and mountain, and both used the same methods of protecting that which he loved. The frontiersman of Pennsylvania, living as an Indian lived, became an Indian in everything but his religion. He hunted, fished, fought, not as his father had done these things beyond the eastern hills, but as the Indians did in the trackless forests.

It is not difficult to understand why these frontiersmen were little effected by the "Proclamations" which were issued by the Provincial authorities, warning them to give up the land upon which they had built their cabin. Philadelphia was a long distance away, and the questions of Indian policy were just as far removed from the quiet cabin beyond the outskirts of civilization. So, before he was fully aware of its coming, the storm had broken, and his cabin was a smoking ruin. The tale of these years is a sad one indeed. But out of the hardship and suffering of those years was produced the type of men who made possible the existance of the great Nation which now sweeps westward to the Pacific. The Boarder Wars of Pennsylvania and Virginia were but the prelude to the Revo-

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lution. These frontiersman made possible the Nation, which sprang out of the rugged manhood which was produced during this epoch of struggle against savagery. These were the men who were with Braddock and Washington, who were with Forbes and Bouquet, who were with Crawford and Wayne, and these were the men who were with Washington at Valley Forge and with Stark and Morgan at Saratoga. Without them there would have been no Declaration of Independence and no United States of America. Chancellor MacCracken, of the University of New York, said at the dedication of the Saratoga Battle Monument, in speaking of the Germans with Herkimer, "The German-Americans who followed Herkimer were by no means the only Germans who fought the battles of Saratoga. Over twenty-two per cent. of the so-called Virginia riflemen, of whom we shall hear, are declared upon good authority to have been Pennsylvania Germans." And again he says, "If I turn to the men who followed Morgan, being detached by George Washington from his army, the most of these were Scotch-Irish from the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies." Sir George Trevelyan says of these, in his "History of the American Revolution," "History knows them as Morgan's Virginians, but full two-thirds of them were from the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, and two-thirds of these were Scotch-Irish who traced their descent back to Ulster." While the fashionable people of New York were declaring themselves openly against the Revolution, and were paying court to Tryon, the British Governor, on his ship in the harbor, the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia were rallying to the support of the army of Washington. Cut out of the Revolutionary army the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia and there would be little left.

The men who were being trained in the hardships of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia during the period of these border wars were the men who were to drive France from the Ohio, and then place Washington at the head of a new Nation.

History has not yet done justice to the Red Men who fought for the land which they loved, nor has History yet done justice to the Frontiersman of Pennsylvania who drove out the Red

Man and then the Frenchman and then the Britishman. And yet—the history of the Indian and the History of the Frontiersman is the only thing in our literature which saves it from being merely commonplace.

The student of history will find these volumes of the Frontier Forts a most valuable storehouse. Pennsylvania is a small state in area, but it is large in the great world of History. Fort Duquesne, Braddock's Field, Fort Necessity, Bushy Run, Valley Forge, Gettysburg—these, and many more spots upon her soil, have been the scenes where World History was made."

The recommendations of the Commission upon Frontier Forts were submitted in 1895, but no active measures were taken by the Legislature to carry them out until the Pennsylvania Historical Commission was appointed by Governor Tener.

The Sons of the Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Enoch Brown Memorial Association and the various historical societies have shown a commendable interest in marking these sites. The Historical Commission has assisted in placing appropriate markers at Fort McCord, at Fort Augusta, on Penn's Creek, Fort Loudon, and Harris' Ferry; and has arranged for placing others at Fort Necessity, Ligonier, Fort McDowell, Fort Hunter and Fort Granville.

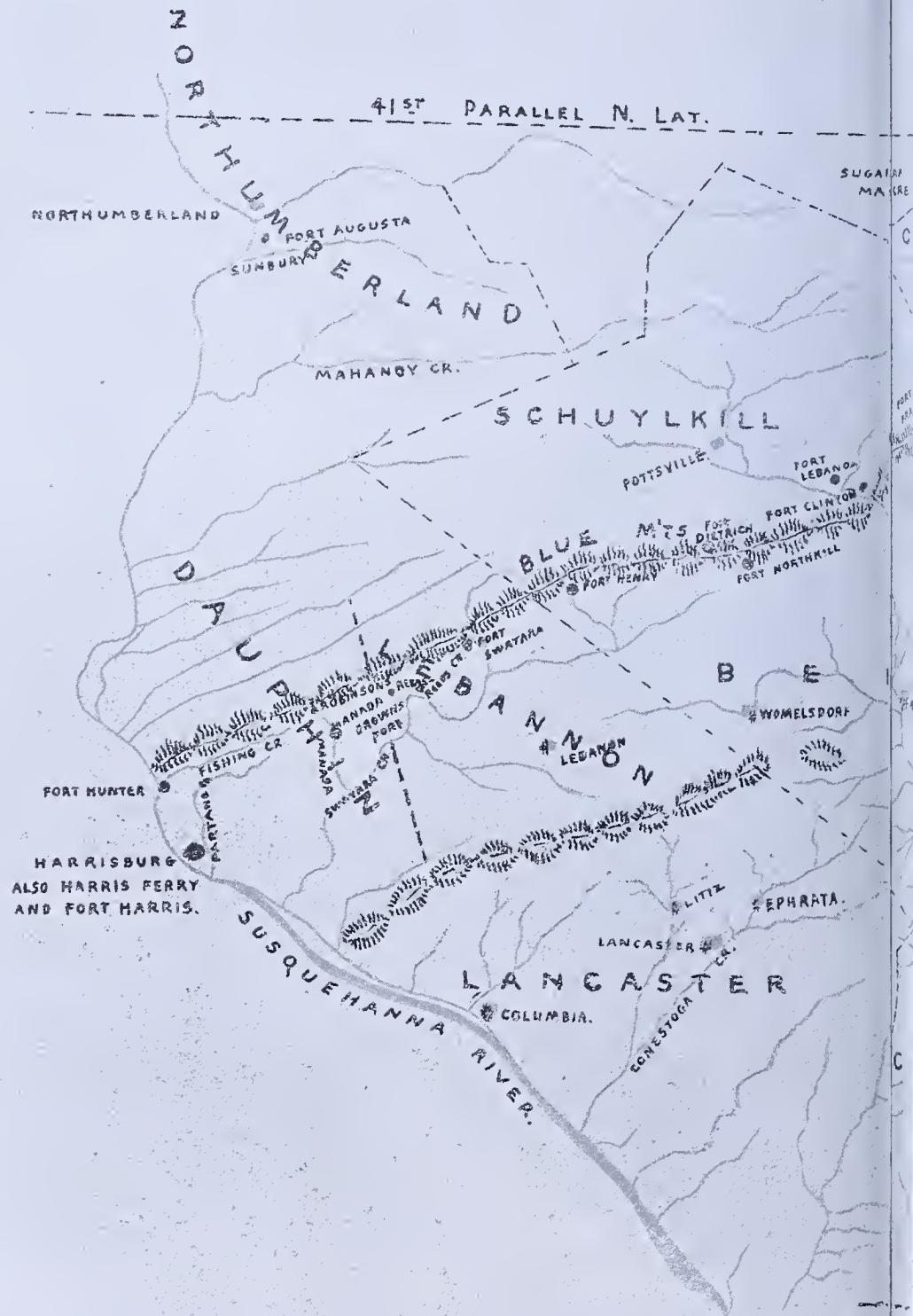
The Berks County Historical Society has marked Fort Northkill, Fort Henry and Fort Dietrich Snyder during the past year. The indications are that within the next year all the more important forts will be adequately marked, and that thus one of the wise recommendations of the Frontier Forts Commission will be satisfactorily carried out.

In the opinion of the Editor certain of those sites, such as Fort Augusta, should be purchased by the State and converted into small parks. The Bushy Run battlefield should also be purchased, and an adequate monument placed there in honor of the brave and efficient Colonel Bouquet—the hero of that affray.

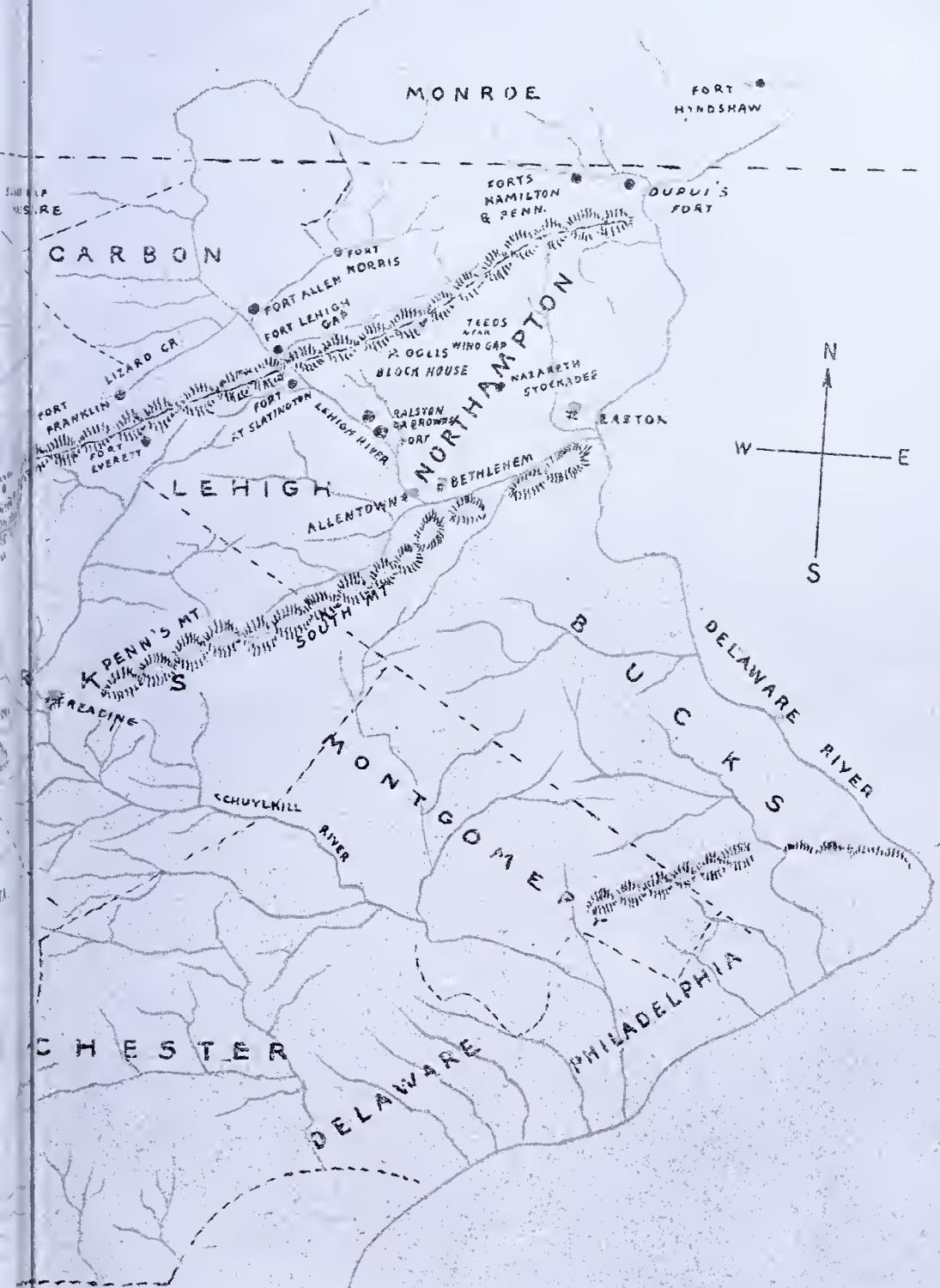
THE EDITOR.



(xviii)



SITE OF FRONTIER FORTS BETWEEN



THE DELAWARE AND SUSQUEHANNA.

THE INDIAN FORTS
OF
THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

By H. M. M. RICHARDS



(2)

THE INDIAN FORTS OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

It is not within the scope of this report to analyse the reasons which induced the Indians to commit their terrible depredations in the Province of Pennsylvania, where the policy of the government had always been of a peaceful character and was based on the principle of fair dealing with the aborigines. It is sufficient to say, that, as they daily saw themselves pushed back by the onward march of the white man, their hunting grounds, teeming with game, and streams, filled with fish, lost to them, either through fair purchase or more likely fraudulent action on the part of the settlers, it needed but a spark to fire the savage nature in their breasts and create a flame which blood alone could extinguish. That spark came from the field of Braddock's defeat in 1755, and, in its train, there swarmed amongst the frontier settlements of the Province hundreds of scalping parties, carrying death and destruction with them everywhere, whose work did not finally cease until the year 1783.

At this time the Blue Mountains practically marked the limit of actual settlement on the part of the white men, and it was along this range that the storm burst in all its fury. Standing as it did on the verge of civilization, and forming in itself a natural barrier, it was but in accordance with reason to occupy it for the purpose of defense and to there stay the further encroachment of the enemy. It is well here to bear in mind the fact that the attacks and depredations of the Indians were not made by large bodies or any numbers combined, neither were the tactics of civilized warfare followed, but parties of from three to ten or twenty would creep noiselessly past alert and watchful sentries and suddenly fall upon their unsuspecting victims, just as suddenly disappearing after

their horrible work had been completed, long before the alarm could be spread and the most active troops overtake them.

This required peculiar methods of defense, necessitating the erection of forts, not very distant from each other, which would occupy prominent points of approach, if possible be situated on elevated ground, thus furnishing a view of danger in advance, convenient of access to the settlers who might and did constantly flee to them for refuge, and, last, but by no means least, be provided with an abundance of water near by. Upon the occurrence of the first murders, blockhouses were erected by the settlers themselves, or farm houses used as such, which were located where the danger seemed most imminent and without respect to any general plan. In 1756, however, the Provincial Government took the defense of the people into its own hands. A chain of forts was established along the Blue Mountains, reaching from the Susquehanna to the Delaware, at distances of from ten to fifteen miles apart, depending upon the comparative situation of the prominent Gaps, which gateways were invariably occupied. Sometimes the chain of defenses ran on the south side of the range, then again on the north side, and frequently both sides of the mountains were occupied, as the needs of the population demanded. Some of these forts consisted of the defenses previously erected by the settlers, which were available for the purpose, and of which the government took possession, whilst others were newly erected. Almost without exception they were composed of a stockade of heavy planks, inclosing a space of ground more or less extensive, on which were built from one to four blockhouses, pierced with loop holes for musketry, and occupied as quarters by the soldiers and refugee settlers. In addition to these regular forts it became necessary at various points, where depredations were most frequent, to have subsidiary places of defense and refuge, which were also garrisoned by soldiers and which generally comprised farm houses, selected because of their superior strength and convenient location, around which the usual stockade was thrown, or occasionally block houses erected for the purpose. The soldiers who garrisoned these forts were Provincial troops, which almost without exception were details from the First

LOG HOUSE OF JOHN HARRIS—1720.



Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, under the command of that brave and energetic officer, Lt. Colonel Conrad Weiser.

When, by 1758, the fury of the first Indian outbreak had somewhat spent its force, and the terrors of Pontiac's war, which broke out in 1763, belonged as yet to the unseen future, the Government deemed it wise to abandon all but the larger and most important of the stations in the chain of defense, thereby materially reducing their number.

It is with these Indian forts of the Blue Mountains I have to do, of which, in this year of our Lord, 1894, but the slightest traces remain of a couple only, and of which the true location of many others had become a matter of mere conjecture, and, in the briefest time, would have been entirely lost to history, by so slender a thread did an authentic knowledge of their situation hang, had it not been for the wise appointment of the Commission whose labors have just been completed. It is therefore a source of much gratification to me to be able to report that I have ascertained, after much personal search and labor, the exact spot where stood each of the many defenses in the territory allotted to me. I beg to subjoin a map on which is correctly located every fort, and will proceed with a detailed and separate report of each one, beginning at the Susquehanna River and following the mountains to the Delaware.

FORT HARRIS.

About the year 1705, John Harris, Sr., built his log house on the bank of the Susquehanna where now stands Harrisburg, the Capital City of the Commonwealth. This building became, later, Fort Harris. He was more especially a trader but also engaged extensively in agriculture. It is said of him that "he was the first person who introduced the plough on the Susquehanna," and, moreover, that "he was as honest a man as ever broke bread" (H. Napey's Harrisburg Directory-Intro.,). There still remains, in the inclosure near the mag-

nificent bridge of the Cumberland Valley Railroad opposite Mulberry street, a portion of the stump of the old mulberry tree, which stood near his house and to which he was bound by a party of drunken Indians to whom he had refused more rum, with the intention of burning him to death. From this death he was only saved after a struggle by another party of Indians, from across the river, who were more friendly disposed. When he died in 1748 his remains were interred, at his own request, beneath the shadow of this memorable tree. He was succeeded by his son, bearing the same name, John Harris, who was born in the old house in 1726, and was a most energetic and influential man. It was he who founded the city of Harrisburg, upon the site of what, for three quarters of a century, was known as Harris' Ferry.

After Braddock's defeat, the earliest onset of the savages was naturally felt along the Susquehanna. Mr. Harris was amongst the first to take up arms and otherwise arrange for defense, in which he became a leader. On October 28, 1755, he writes to the Governor detailing the massacre at Penn's Creek, on the West branch of the Susquehanna, together with the attack on the party which he led, whilst returning from that neighborhood, whither he had gone to protect the settlers (Col. Rec., vi, p. 654). On October 29, 1755, he writes to Edward Shippen, esq'r, of Lancaster, as follows:

"We expect the enemy upon us every day, and the inhabitants is abandoning their plantations, being greatly discouraged at the approach of such a number of cruel savages, and no sign of assistance. The Indians is cutting us off every day and I had a certain account of about 1,500 Indians beside French being on their march against us and Virginia, and now close on our borders, their scouts scalping our families on our frontiers daily. Andrew Montour and others at Shamokin desired me to take care, that there was forty Indians out many days, and intended to burn my house and destroy myself and family. I have this day cut holes in my house, and is determined to hold out to the last extremity if I can get some men to stand by me, few of which I yet can at present, every one being in fear of their own families being cut off every hour (such is our situation)" * * * * *

(Col. Rec., vi, p. 655.)

Besides providing port holes for musketry, Mr. Harris erected a substantial stockade around his home and otherwise made an actual fort of it. Edw'd Shippen in his letter of April 19, 1756, to Governor Morris, says * * * * "John Harris has built an excellent stockade round his house which is ye only place of security that way for the provisions of ye army, he having much good cellar room, and as he has but six or seven men to guard it, if the Government would order six more men there to strengthen it, it would in my opinion be of great use to the cause, even were no provisions to be stored there at all; tho' there is no room for any scarce in Captain McKee's Fort" * * * * * I speak with submission, but this stockade of Harris' ought by all means to be supported, for if for want of this small addition of men above mentioned, the Indians should destroy it, the consequence would be that most of ye inhabitants within twenty miles of his house would immediately leave their plantations, the enemy can come over the hills at five miles distance from McKee's Fort." * * * * (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 635). Mr. Harris writes to R. Peters, under date of Novem'r 5th, 1756, "Here is at my Fort Two Prisoners y't came from Shamokin ab't one month ago. Be pleased to inform his Honor, Our Governor, that Directions may be given, how they are to be disposed of, they have been this long time confined. I hope that his Honor will be Pleased to Continue some men here During these Calamitous times on Our Frontiers, as this place and the Conveniences here may be of Servis if Defended" * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 33).

The following extract from the Journal of James Burd, in 1758, shows the presence of troops here at that time:

Thursday, 16th February, 1758.

This Morning Sett out from Lancaster to Visit the Troops from Susquehanna to Delaware, took Capt'n Hambright along with me. * * * * *

18th, Saturday.

Obliged to leave Capt'n Hambright here (sick at Barny Hughes's) I sett off this morning at 9 A. M., for Hunter's Fort at 2 P. M., arrived at Harris's, found Lieut'ns Broadhead &

Paterson & Commissary Galbraith here, & 20 men" * * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 352). And on June 11, 1756, Colonel Clapham writes that he has detached Serjeant McCurdy, with twelve men to remain in garrison at Harris's and receive and stow carefully whatever provisions and stores which may arrive. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 663).

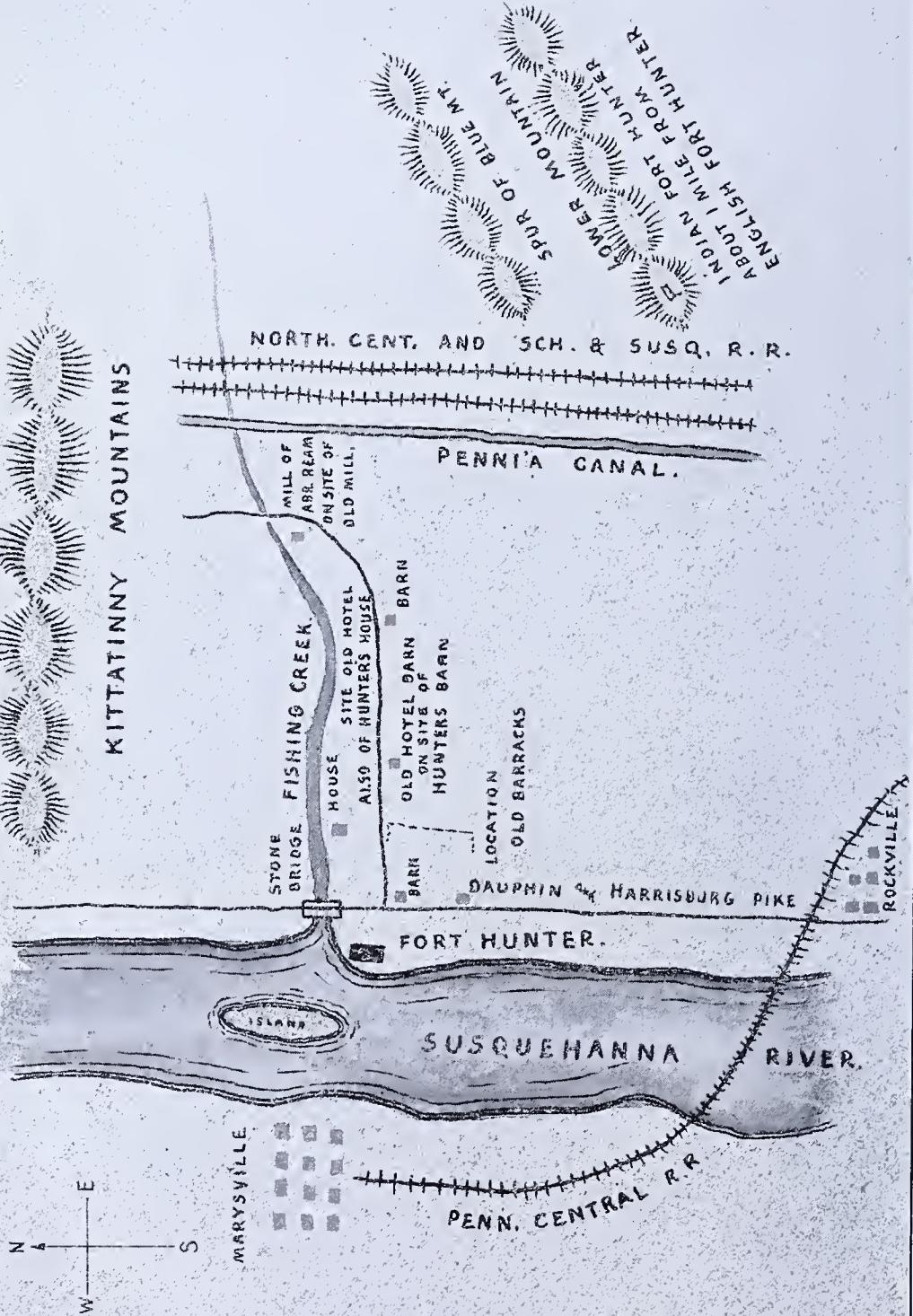
There then remains no doubt that the long house, erected about 1705, by John Harris, Sr., and later occupied by his son John Harris, was the Fort Harris at Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, as the large stone house constructed by Mr. Harris on Front street below Mulberry, was not built until 1766-69. What then was its appearance and where did it stand? Fortunately, we have a representation of the building, taken from the original in the possession of General Simon Cameron, shown in the "History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties" by Dr. W. H. Egle, p. 293, from which I have reproduced the following sketch:

It was the typical log cabin of the early settler, with its hugh chimneys, although somewhat more pretentious in size. "It stood on the lower bank of the river, about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet below the spot where now repose his remains. The foundation walls of this house have been seen by some of our oldest citizens (about 1820 the cellar was visible—Penna. Hist. Collections—Sherman Day, p. 283). A well, dug by Mr. Harris, still exists about one hundred feet east of his grave. It was covered over about thirty years ago (1850), but its site is easily distinguished by a small circular mound of earth. In connection with his mansion-house he erected a large range of sheds, which were sometimes literally filled with skins and furs, obtained by him in traffic with the Indians, or stored there by Indian traders, who brought them from the western country." (History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties, Dr. W. H. Egle, p. 292).

The exact location of Fort Harris admits of no doubt, if indeed it ever did. It would seem a matter of prime importance that its position and history should be perpetuated by a monument.

SITE OF FORT HUNTER.

KITTATINNY MOUNTAINS



FORT HUNTER.

Six miles north of Fort Harris, or Harrisburg, at the junction of Fishing Creek and the Susquehanna river, surrounded by beautiful scenery, stood Fort Hunter, the next in the chain of defenses. It was about two and one-half miles below the present romantic village of Dauphin, and about one-half mile above that of Rockville.

Whilst its distance from Fort Harris was but six miles, not more than half as far as were from each other the remaining defenses planned by the Government, yet its very important situation "where the Blue hills cross the Susquehanna" gave it command of the passage around the same into the settled districts, and made it an admirable place of rendezvous for the batteaux which carried supplies up the river to Shamokin and Fort Augusta. It was this which, on several occasions, prevented its proposed abandonment, and insured its continuance when so many other forts were dismantled.

Exactly when built and by whom is not on record. It is very probable, however, that the defenses were originated by the settlers about October or November, 1755, at the time when the Indians made their first raid and committed the murders at Penn's Creek, and were afterwards completed by the Government troops when taking charge of them in January, 1756.

The derivation of its name is somewhat interesting and has a slight touch of romance about it. The first person to avail himself of this beautiful location was Benjamin Chambers, in 1720, the senior of four brothers, sturdy Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, himself a man of remarkable determination. Being, later on, joined by his brothers, we find that in 1735-6, the brothers Chambers, save Thomas, removed to the Cumberland Valley. A son-in-law of Thomas subsequently fell heir to the mill, and from henceforth it went by his name, and thus the Fort at Hunter's Mill—or Fort Hunter.

The first orders, on record, relating to Fort Hunter, were issued January 10, 1756, by Governor Morris to Adam Read, of Hanover township, Lancaster county, and were as follows:

Orders to Adam Read, Esq., 1756.

Carlisle, January 10, 1756.

"The Commissioner thinking that the Company of fifty men under your Command are sufficient to guard the frontier along the Kittektiny Hills, from your own house to Hunter's Mill, Have refused for the present to take any other men in that quarter into the pay of the Government, and requested me to Order, and I do hereby accordingly Order you to detach twenty-five of the men now at your House, to the fort at Hunter's Mill, upon Susquehanna, under the command of your Lieutenant or Officer next under yourself, or in case there be none such appointed by the government, then under the command of such person as you shall appoint for that Service; and you are to give orders to the Commander of such detachm't to keep his men in order and fit for duty, and to cause a party of them, from time to time, to range the woods along and near the mountains toward your House; and you are in like manner to keep the men with you in good order, and to cause a party of them, from time to time, to range the woods on or near the mountains towards Hunter's Mill; and you and they are to Continue upon this Service till further order.

You are to add ten men to your Company out of the township of Paxton, and to make the Detachment to Hunter's Mill of twenty more men, which with those ten, are to complete 30 for that service, and Keep an acc't of the time when these ten enter themselves, that you may be enabled to make up your muster roll upon oath." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 545).

Hardly had this detachment entered upon its duties when further instructions were sent Mr. Read by Governor Morris, dated Jan'ry 26, 1756, from Reading, containing the following:

"I have also appointed Thomas McKee to take post at or near Hunter's Mills, with thirty men; you are to continue that part of your Company stationed there upon that service till they are relieved by him, when you are to give orders for their being dismissed, and you are to give directions to the officer commanding that detachment to deliver to Cap't McKee such Provincial arms, accoutrim'ts. Blankets, tools and stores as

he may at any time have received, and to take McKee's receipt for them, which you are also to transmit to me." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 551).

At the same time the following instructions were sent to Capt'n McKee.

Reading, Jan'y 26, 1756.

T. McKee:

You are to receive from the officer now commanding the detachment of Cap't Read's Company at Hunter's Mill, and who you are to relieve, such Arms, Accoutrements, Blankets, Tools and Stores, as he may have in his hands belonging to the Province, with which you are to furnish your Company, but if that be not sufficient you are to apply to Cap't Frederick Smith for a further supply out of what he will receive from Cap't Read and Cap't Hedericks. But as the Province is at present in want of Arms and Blankets, if any of the men you shall enlist, will find themselves with those articles, they shall receive half a dollar for the use of their gun, and half a dollar for the use of a Blanket." (Penn. Arch., ii. 553).

In connection with these instructions to Captains Read and McKee was a letter from the Governor, under the same date, January 26, 1756, to James Galbraith, Esq., a Provincial Commissioner; which rehearses sundry orders given, amongst them those just quoted, to which he adds, "I have also instructed Cap't. McKee to advise with you whether to finish the fort already begun at Hunter's Mill, or to build a new one, and as to the place where it would be best to erect such new one. I therefore desire you will assist him in those matters, or in anything else that the King's service and the safety of the inhabitants may require." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 554).

The matter in which the Governor speaks of finishing the "fort already begun" indicates, of course, its incompleteness, and yet the order to Capt. Read, of January 10, 1756, distinctly directs him to "detach twenty-five of the men now at your House, to the fort at Hunter's Mill," so that a defense of some sort undoubtedly existed there prior to that date. We have nothing on record to indicate the fact that the Government made any systematic arrangement for defense in that locality

before January, 1756, and can reasonably presume that Capt. Read's detachment were the first provincial soldiers to occupy Fort Hunter. It can therefore fairly be taken for granted that the settlers themselves began some sort of stockade or defense, which, with equal reason, we can presume was about the time when the first real danger threatened them, in November, 1755, and can easily understand how the soldiers would naturally strengthen and complete what had already been started. I feel, therefore, that we are justified in naming the time about November, 1755, as the date of the erection of Fort Hunter. This is further borne out by the fact that in the report made by Edward Shippen to Governor Morris, from Lancaster, April 5, 1756, of ammunition distributed, he specifies "Dec'r 9, 1755, By Thomas Forster, Esq., & Thos. McKee, at Hunter's Fort, 12½ lb, powder and 25 lb. swan shot" (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 614) at which time Mr. McKee was probably occupying the position with the neighboring settlers. He was temporarily relieved in January by the detachment of provincial soldiers from Capt. Read's house, and immediately after given a command himself and placed in charge of that district including Fort Hunter.

No stone was left unturned by the French in their efforts to enlist the Indians of the Province, the Delawares, in their cause. Their intrigues, aided by the natural disposition of the savage, too often met with success, as is shown by the following letter from Captain McKee to Edward Shippen:

Foart at Hunters Mill, Ap'l 5th, 1756.

Sir:

I desire to let you No that John Secalemy, Indian, is Come here ye Day before yesterday, about 4 o'clock in ye afternoon, & Gives me an account that there is a Great Confusion amongst ye Indians up ye North branch of Susquehanna; the Delawares are a moving all from thence to Ohio, and wants to Persuade ye Shanowes along with them, but they Decline Goeing with them that course, and as they still incline to join with us, the Shanowes are Goeing up to a Town Called Teoga, where there is a body of ye Six Nations, and there they Intend to Remain. He has brought two more men, som women &

som children along with him, and Sayeth that he Intends to live & Die with us, and Insists upon my Conducting him down to where his Sister and children is, at Canistoga, and I'm Loath to leave my Post, as his Honor was offended at ye last time I did, but can't help it, he Desires to acquaint you that his sister's son was kill'd at Penns Creek, in ye scrimege w'th Cap't. Patterson. This with Due Respect from

Sir, your Hum'l Ser't,

THOMAS McKEE,

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 616)

In view of the alarming condition of affairs it was determined to select a place for the rendezvous of troops, and storage and forwarding of supplies. From its admirable location, both on land at no great distance from the source of these supplies, and on water by which, in batteaux, they could readily be forwarded and distributed, Fort Hunter was at once named for that purpose, and on April 7, 1756, Governor Morris wrote as follows to Colonel William Clapham, in command of that territory:

Philad'a, 7th Ap'r., 1756.

Sir:

As a Magazine of Provisions and other warlike stores will very soon be formed at or near Hunter's Mill, upon the river Susquehanna, I think it necessary for the Protection thereof, and for other Purposes, to order that you appoint the said place, called Hunter's Mill, or some convenient place near it, for the Gen'l Rendezvous of your regiment now raising, and that you order all the men already enlisted, not employed upon some other service, to march immediately to the said Rendezvous, and all your recruiting parties to send their rescripts thither from time to time.

You will order proper guards upon the magazine, and upon the boats & cannoes which shall be collected there pursuant to my orders, you will give directions that the officers and men keep themselves in good order, and ready to go upon duty at an hour's warning.

You will inform the Commissioners of these my orders, and

apply to them for the things necessary to carry them into execution. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 616.)

The next day Governor Morris, himself, writes to the Commissioners giving them a synopsis of the above orders. One of them, Edward Shippen, realizing how well Fort Harris was adapted for storage purposes, does not approve of erecting a multiplicity of stockades all over the country and even doubts the advantage of making a storehouse of Hunter's Mill. He writes from Lancaster, under date of April 19th, 1756, amongst other things "Hunter's house indeed would answer such a purpose were it Stockado'd; but as it is quite naked, and stands five or six hundred feet from the Fort, the enemy may Surprise it in ye night, and kill the people, and set ye roof on fire in three or four places at once, and if the Centerys Should discern the fire as soon as it begins to blaze, it might be too difficult a task for them to quench it without buckets or pails. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 635). In the same letter he mentions the fact that Captain McKee's Plantation is 25 miles above Fort Hunter.

Hunter's Mill was, however, a very important place, and needed for other purposes besides that of mere storage, and Colonel Clapham's orders are not countermanded. He writes from Fort Halifax, July 1st, "I shall leave a Sergeant's Party at Harris's, consisting of twelve men, Twenty-four at Hunter's Fort, Twenty-four at McKee's Store, each Under the Command of an Ensign, and Cap'n Miles with Thirty men at Fort Halifax;" (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 686), and still further writes August 17th, from Fort Augusta that the garrisons at Fort Halifax, Hunter's and McKee's Store had very little ammunition. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 751).

On June 11, 1756, Col. Clapham notifies the Governor from his camp at Armstrong's, that he has stationed a party of twenty-four, men under the command of Mr. Johnson, at Hunter's Fort, with orders to defend that Post and the neighborhood, and to escort any provisions, that should come to him, up to McKee's Store. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 663). The following orders to the Commanding Officer at Hunter's Fort are recorded:

"Whither Mr. Johnson or Mr. Mears is ordered to furnish an

escort of Fifteen men, under command of a Sergeant, to conduct the waggon Master General, Mr. Erwin, to Fort Halifax, there join a Detachment from Captain Jemisons Company, to be Commanded by Lieutenant Anderson, and march to Fort Augusta.

The Commanding officer, at Hunter's Fort, is to take great Care of the Battoes, and not to suffer them to be us'd unless by my particular Orders; he is likewise to weigh the two Cannon which now lie in the water and place them on the Bank, at some convenient Place for Transportation, till further Orders.

Fort Augusta, Novemb'r 3rd, 1756.

A copy of Orders to the Commander at Hunter's Fort.

Indorsed:

Orders to the Commanding officer at Fort Hunter.

Inclosed in Col'el Claphams, of 23d Nov'r, 1756. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 17).

Novr. 13, 1756, the State of the Garrison was:

Number of men—2 Sargants, 34 private Men.

Ammunition— $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Powder, 28 lb. of Lead.

Provision—one thousand wight Flower, Two thousand of Beef.

Men's Times Up—2 Men's Times.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 52.)

About this time Robert Erwin, on his way from Philada. to Fort Augusta, with a draft of horses for the use of that garrison, applied to Mr. Mears, the Commandant of Fort Hunter, for an escort, claiming that such were the instructions of Col. Clapham, but was refused it, Mr. Mears informing him "that he should not pay any Regard to these Orders of Colonel Clapham or the Governour's, for how coul'd the Governor give him Command of that Fort and yet Command it himself," whereupon, learning that there was the greatest want of the horses at Fort Augusta, Mr. Erwin felt obliged to proceed without his escort. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 64).

On March 14th, 1757, Lord Loudoun arrived at Philadelphia, where he remained two weeks, in consultation with Governor Denny. As a result of the conference on the defense of the Province, at which Col. Clapham and Lieut. Colonels Weiser

and Armstrong were present, amongst other things it was decided that 400 men should be kept at Fort Augusta, and the works there completed; that 100 men should constitute the garrison of Fort Halifax, and that Fort Hunter should be demolished, only 50 men being retained there temporarily until the removal of the Magazine, which was to take place as soon as possible. The long frontier, of the Blue Range, between the Susquehanna and Delaware was to be defended by Col. Weiser's Battalion, and the forts reduced to three in number. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 119).

This at once caused consternation amongst the settlers in its neighborhood and brought forth from them an earnest appeal to the Government, mention of which is made in the Minutes of the Council held at Philadelphia, Thursday, August 25th, 1757, as follows:

"A Petition from the Inhabitants of the Township of Paxtang was read, setting forth that the evacuating Fort Hunter is a great Discouragement to that Township; that Fort Halifax is not necessary to secure the Communication with Fort Augusta, and is not so proper a Station for the Battoe Parties as Fort Hunter, and praying the Governor would please to fix a sufficient number of men at Hunter's under the Command of an active officer, with strict orders to range the Frontiers daily."

"Commissary Young attended, and informed the Governor and Council that Fort Halifax was built by Col. Clapham, without the Order of Governor Morris; that it is a very bad Situation, being built beyond Two Ranges of Hills, and no body living near it, none could be protected by it; that it is no Station for Battoe parties, having no Command of the Channel, which runs close on the Western Shore, and is besides covered with a large Island between the Channel and Fort, so that numbers of the Eenemy may even in the day time, run down the River without being seen by that Garrison. He further said that tho' the Fort, or Block-house, at Hunter's was not tenable, being hastily erected, and not finished, yet the Situation was the best upon the River for every Service, as well as for the Protection of the Frontiers." (Col. Records, vol. ii, p. 724).

Fearing this appeal might fail for lack of a little influence, the Rev'd John Elder, of Paxton, adds a personal entreaty in a letter to Richard Peters, Esq., of Phila., secretary of the Council, dated July 30, 1757, thus:

Sir:

As we of this Township have Petition'd the Gov'r for a removal of the Garrison from Halifax to Hunter's, I beg the favour of you to use your interest with his Hon'r on our behalf. The Defense of Halifax is of no advantage, but a Garrison at Hunter's, under the Command of an active Officer, will be of great Service; it will render the carriage of Provisions & Ammunition for the use of Augusta more easy & less expensive, and by encouraging the Inhabitants to continue in their Places, will prevent the weakening of the frontier Settlements; we have only hinted at these things in the Petition, which you'll please enlarge on in Conversation with the Gov'r & urge in Such a manner as you think proper. It's well known that Representation from the back Inhabitants have but little weight with the Gentleman in Power, they looking on us either as uncapable of forming just notions of things, or as biass'd by Selfish Views; however, I'm Satisfy'd that you Sir, have more favorable conception of us; and that, from the knowledge you have of the Situation of the Places mentioned in our Petition, you'll readily agree with us, & use your best Offices with the Gov'r to prevail with him to grant it; and you'll very much oblige,

Sir,

Y'r most obed't

& hu'l Ser't,

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 251.)

JOHN ELDER.

It is gratifying to know that this letter met with the success it so well deserved. Fort Hunter was not demolished, but, on the contrary, strengthened, and, on Feb'y 5th, 1758, we have a return of Adjutant Kern which gives, under Cap't. Patterson and L't Allen a garrison of 40 men, having 44 provincial and 3 private muskets, with 15 lbs. of powder and 20 lbs. of lead, (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340); whilst, on Feb. 9, 1758, Jas. Young, Commiss'r of the Musters, reports the force on duty

at that point in the pay of the Province, as one company of 54 men, (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 341). James Burd, in his Journal, says, Saturday, Feb'y 18th, 1758, "sett off for Hunter's Fort (from Fort Harris), arrived at dark, found the Cap'ts Patterson & Davis here with 80 men, the Cap'ts informs me that they have not above 3 loads of Ammunition A man, ordered Mr. Barney Hughes (commissary of supplies) to send up here a Barrel of powder & lead, answerable in the mean time, borrowed of Thomas Galloher 40 pound of poudder & 100 pound of lead; Ordered a Review of the Garrison to-morrow morning at 9 A. M.

19th, Sunday.

Had a Review this morning of Capt'n Patterson's Co. and found them Compleat, 53 men, 44 Province arms, & 44 Car-touch boxes, no powder, nor lead, divided $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of poudder & lead in Proportion a man, found in this Fort 4 months Provision for the Garrison.

Capt'n Davis with his party of 55 men was out of Ammunition, divided $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of poudder & lead in proportion to them. Capt'n Davis has gott 12 Thousand weight of flour for the Battoes, Sundry of the Battoes are leeky, that they can't swim and must be left behind.

Capt'n Patterson can't Scout at present for want of officers. Ordered him to apply to the Country to Assist him to Stockade the Fort agreeable to their promise to His Hon'r the Gov-ern'r. 3 men sick here.

This day at 11 A. M. march'd for Fort Swettarrow, got to Crawford's, 14 miles from Hunter's, here I stay all night, it rain'd hard." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 352).

Nothwithstanding its apparent necessity, the work of completing the Stockade seems to have gone slowly as we notice by the following letter to Gov. Denny:

Fort Hunter, ye 22d July, 1758.

Please your honour:

Whereas, I have the honour to bear a Commission in your Regiment, I was left in the Garrison of Fort Hunter, and received Orders from Gen'l Forbes to repair it, and sent an En-

gineer to inspect into the condition, who found necessary to Stockade it, for which purpose I was to get the Country People; and accordingly apply'd to the several Justices of the Peace for the Townships of Paxton and Donegal, which latter I never had any answer from, but was informed by Parson Elder, of Paxton, whose word is the same w'th that of the Justices, as they act in conjunction in such affairs, that till harvest be over the Country People can do nothing; therefore thought propper to acquaint you of this, as a duty incumbent, also that I am relieved, and that should the work of the fort be Pospon'd till harvest be over, 'twill be yet three weeks before they begin.

I am, your Honours
most obed't
& most hum'le Ser't,
G. PRICE.

P. S.—The stockades are cut. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 488.)

In spite of the constant vigilance of the soldiers, depredations were committed by the savages almost within the shadow of the fort, as is shown by the following,

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bertram Galbraith at Hunter's Fort, dated Octob'r, 1757:

"Notwithstanding the happy Situation we thought this place was in on Captain Bussee's being stationed here, we have had a man killed & scalped this Evening, within twenty rods of Hunter's Barn. We all turned out, but night coming on so soon we could make no pursuit. We have advice from Fort Henry by Express to Cap't. Bussee that the Indians are seen large Bodies, 60 together." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 277).

This is confirmed by the following report of Capt. Christian Busse to Governor Denny:

Hunter's Fort, the 3d October, 1757.

May it Please Your Honour:

In my Coming Back from Rainging allong the Fruntears on Saturday the first Instant, I Heard that the Day Before, Twelve Indians ware seen not fare off from hear, as it was Leat, and not knowing their Further Strength, I thought To Go at

Day Braek nixt morning, with as many Soldiers and Battowemen as I could get. But In a Short Time we Heard A Gun fire off, and Running Deirectly To the Spot, found the Dead Boddey of one William Martin, who went into the woods To pick up Chestnuts where the Indians was lying in ambush. I ordered all the men to Run into the woods, and we Rainged till it Grew Quite Dark; the Continual Rain that Has Been Sins, Has Hindered my following them; there was a Number of the inhabitants Came Here to assist in following them, but the wether prevented. There ware onley 3 Indians onley Seen By Some people, Who Ware siting Before the Dore of Mister Hunter, and they say, that all Was Don In Less than four minutes; that same night, I warned the Inhabitants to Be upon their Guards, and in the morning, I Rainged on this side the mounton the Nixt Day. But my men Being few in Number, By Rason of their Being fourteen of them sick, I Could Not Be Long from the Garrison; and it seems yet probable To me, that there is Great Numbers of the Enimy Indians on this River. The Townships of Paxton and Derry, Have Agreed to keep a Guard for Some Time in the frunteer Houses, from Manaday to Susquahannah, and Expects that your Honour will be pleased to Reinforse this Detachment. If thease Townships should Break up, the Communication Between Fort Augusta and the Inhabitants would Be Greatley Endaingred.

I am, with Greatest Respect,
 Your Honours,
 Most Obedient Humble Servant,
 CHRISTIAN BUSSE.

Directed:

To the Honourable William Deney, Esq'r, Governour and Commander In Chief of the Provance of Pennsylvania.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 279.)

Captain James Patterson, who was later in Command at Fort Hunter, sent, on Jany 10, 1758, to Gov'r Denny, the following interesting Extracts from his Journal of duties performed at that place from Decr. 5, 1757, to date:

Fort Hunter, Jan'ry ye 10th, 1758.

"I took with 19 men & ranged from this Fort as far as Robinson's Fort, where I lodged, keeping a guard of six men & one Corporal on Centry that night. The sixth day I marched towards Hunter's Fort, ranging along the mountain foot very diligently till I came to the Fort that evening, my men being so afflicted with sickness I could not send out till the eighth day, Lieu't Allen, with 14 men, went to Range for three days. On the 12th day Lieu't Allen, with Eighteen men & one Serjeant ranged along the mountain about 14 miles from this Fort, where he met Cap't. Lien't Weiser with his party & returned back towards this Fort the next day & came to it that night. The fifteenth, Lieu't Allen, with 18 men, kept along the Frontier til the 25th & came to this Fort that night. Hearing of Indians harbouring about Juniatta, on the 28th of December, I took 15 men with me up the Creek, and about 14 miles from the mouth of it I found fresh tracks of Indians on both sides of the Creek & followed the tracks about four miles up the said Creek, where I lost the tracks, But I still kept up the Creek 'till I gott up about twenty-five miles from the mouth of said Creek, where I encamped that night. The Indians I found were round me all the night, for my Dogg made several attacks towards the Woods as if he saw the Enemy and still run Back to the Centry. On the 3d of January I returned down the Creek in some Canoes that I found on said Creek, and when I came about nine miles down I espied about 20 Indians on the opposite side of the Creek to where I was. They seemed to gett themselves in order to fire upon the men that were in Canoes. I immediately ordered them all out but two men that let the Canoes float close under the shore, and kept the Land in readiness to fire upon the Enemy, as soon as they moved out of the place where they lay in Ambush, but I could see no more of them. On the 5th day of January, I came to this Fort. On the sixth day I sent a Serjeant & Corporal with 15 men along the Frontiers of Paxton and Mannadys, about fourteen miles from this Fort, and on the seventh day they returned back to said Fort. On their march one of the Soldiers espied two Indians Just by one of the Frontier plantations; the Soldiers gave the Serjeant notice and the Serjeant

kept on his course, as if he had not know anthing of the Indians, till he gott some Bushes between the party & the Indians and then gott round the place where the Indians were seen, but they happening to see the party run off, when our party came to the place they saw the Tracks of the Indians plain where they run off. As I am recruiting to fill up my Comp'y again, and my recruits are not all qualifed as yet, it is not in my power to send y'r Hon'r a Roll of my Comp'y, but expect in a few days to be in Capacity of doing it. As I am insensible there are Enemy Indians upon the Coast, I thought it fitting to send y'r Hon'r this Journal, & remain,

Y'r Honour's Most obedient

humble Servant,

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 332.)

JAMES PATTERSON.

Truly the days of the Provincial Soldier of the French and Indians Wars were not passed in luxury and ease nor his nights upon a bed of roses. However, with the success of the British arms and consequent discomfiture of the French, the scene of action was shifted during 1758, and the garrison of Fort Hunter had a rest until 1763, when Pontiac and his followers burst like a storm upon our western frontiers and again deluged its fair fields with blood. Hunter's Mill was once more selected as a place of rendezvous for men and stores, and, in June, 1763, we find Joseph Shippen, Jr., Governor Hamilton's Secretary, there in person, giving attention to the recruiting of soldiers, collecting of batteaux, and gathering of stores to be sent up the river to Fort Augusta. (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 111). A list of ten canoes hired from sundry parties at a cost of £5-10 is given, (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 112). The danger was imminent and it was determined to recruit seven hundred men for the defence of the frontier. Full instructions to that effect are given, July 11th, to Col. Armstrong. (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 114). As the stores went forward to Fort Augusta they were accompanied by small detachments of soldiers as guards, to whom full and implicit orders were given to guard against surprise. (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 113).

Fortunately the strife though bloody was short, and, with

its close, the Angel of Peace took the place alike of warlike man and merciless savage. Fort Hunter remained such in name only until its last log had disappeared and now its memory alone exists. When the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a French traveller, passed up the Susquehanna in 1796, he stopped at three settlements only, the first of which was Fort Hunter. It had then passed into the hands of Mr. McAllister. He says, in substance, "McAllister owns about 300 acres—about 120 cultivated. Price of lands near to him is \$8 for woodland; \$50 for cleared. The houses, all of wood except the inn, stand on the Susquehanna and in the precincts of Fort Hunter, erected many years ago." (Penn. Hist. Collections, Sherman Day, p. 281).

Mr. R. McAllister, of Harrisburg, has written the following interesting statement:—

"The site of Fort Hunter is situated exactly six miles above Harrisburg on the Susquehanna river, at its junction with Fishing Creek. There are no remains of this fort, as upon its ancient foundations there is a very large storehouse, built by my grandfather Archibald McAllister, in 1814, and now owned by my father, Captain John C. McAllister. The situation of this house is very commanding, about 80 feet above the river Susquehanna and the surrounding scenery is of the most romantic character.

"During the Revolutionary War and the early periods of our history, a block-house or fort occupied the site upon which now stands my father's large stone residence. This fort was called the 'English Fort Hunter.' About a mile above this point, where the river has evidently forced its way through a mountain pass, and where the river is narrow, deep and swift, immediately below the romantic village of Dauphin, where immense rocks (not yet worn away by the hand of time or the friction of the water) jut out of the water, at this point, at the very base of the Kittattiny Mountains, the river is called 'Hunter's Falls.'

"In distinction from the 'English Fort Hunter,' there was another fort about one mile below this on the summit of the second mountain, a very high peak, entirely commanding the Susquehanna river, overlooking Harrisburg, and called the

'Indian Fort Hunter.' At this point tradition informs us that the Indians had some sort of an erection from which they would occasionally emerge, and after committing great depredations they would again retire to their stronghold, which was the terror of the country. To keep these Indians in check I have always understood that the English Fort was built. Tradition still delights to recount many fierce conflicts occurring between the inhabitants of these forts. Of the Indian Fort Hunter, which as a boy, I have frequently visited, there are yet distinct remains (1856). There is still to be seen a circular excavation of about four feet in depth and thirty feet in diameter. In this can yet be found heads of Indian arrows and other evidences of its former use." (Penn. Arch., xii, p. 378).

The property built on the site of the Fort is now owned by the Estate of Daniel Boas, and occupied by John W. Reily.

I give a sketch showing in detail the location of Fort Hunter and its various surroundings.

All evidence and concurrent testimony locate the fort as shown, on a narrow elevation of gravel and boulders, about 40 feet high, at the mouth of the Fishing Creek where it empties into the Susquehanna River. It is also on the Harrisburg and Dauphin Pike, about one-half mile north of the railroad bridge at Rockville. The Susquehanna River is here about seven-eighths mile wide, and the space, of about 150 feet, between the pike and the river, which constitutes the grounds of the present substantial stone house built on the site of the fort, is very beautiful. The Pennsylvania Canal, Northern Central, and Schuylkill and Susquehanna Railroads, all close together, pass by, to the west, distant about 600 yards. In the rear of the barn, now standing on the opposite side of the pike from the Fort, were formerly erected barracks for the better accommodation of the soldiers forming the garrison, and recruits gathered for other points. A house and barn occupy the site of Hunter's house and barn, as shown. Hunter's Mill proper, was located where now stands the mill owned by Abr. Ream, which is built on its site, distant about 500 yards west of the fort. This will explain the various remarks made with regard to the unprotected nature of

Hunter's Mill, when it was suggested that it should be used for a storehouse. We can readily see, also, how the commanding position of Fort Hunter, on the spot where actually built, made it most important, whilst its location, at the Mill proper would have had the opposite effect, even if better protection had been afforded, thereby, to said building. A little over one mile in a southeasterly direction from the Fort is the base of a prominent peak of the Blue Mountains on which, for a number of years, was displayed a flag marking the position of the so-called "Indian Fort Hunter," of which Mr. McAllister speaks. It is to be regretted that this misleading term has come into such general use. It was contrary to the custom and nature of the Indian to erect any defense which might properly be called a "Fort." Especially in the French and Indian wars, so far as they relate to this vicinity, the savages never attempted to gather together at any one place, as headquarters, and fortify the same; least of all did they do so near Fort Hunter. We have seen from the records, that the marauding parties of the enemy were not of that immediate neighborhood, but, as at every other place, they consisted of small parties, from greater or less distances, bent solely on murder and plunder. I have learned nothing about the circular excavation of which Mr. McAllister writes, but have ascertained that there are still to be seen places in the rocks which have been hollowed out, of a smaller size, where, probably the women were accustomed to grind their corn. The place evidently marks the site of an Indian village, existing prior to the French and Indian wars. The large excavation mentioned may have been a natural hollow, or, if made by the aborigines, could have been used for many different purposes.

Fort Hunter, it is true, was merely a block-house surrounded by a stockade, not so pretentious, perhaps, in size or appearance as some of its neighbors, but, after reviewing its history, we can hardly fail to realize its great importance and the prominent part it played in the history of the times. It would certainly be a source of regret were its location not to be perpetuated by a monument of some sort.

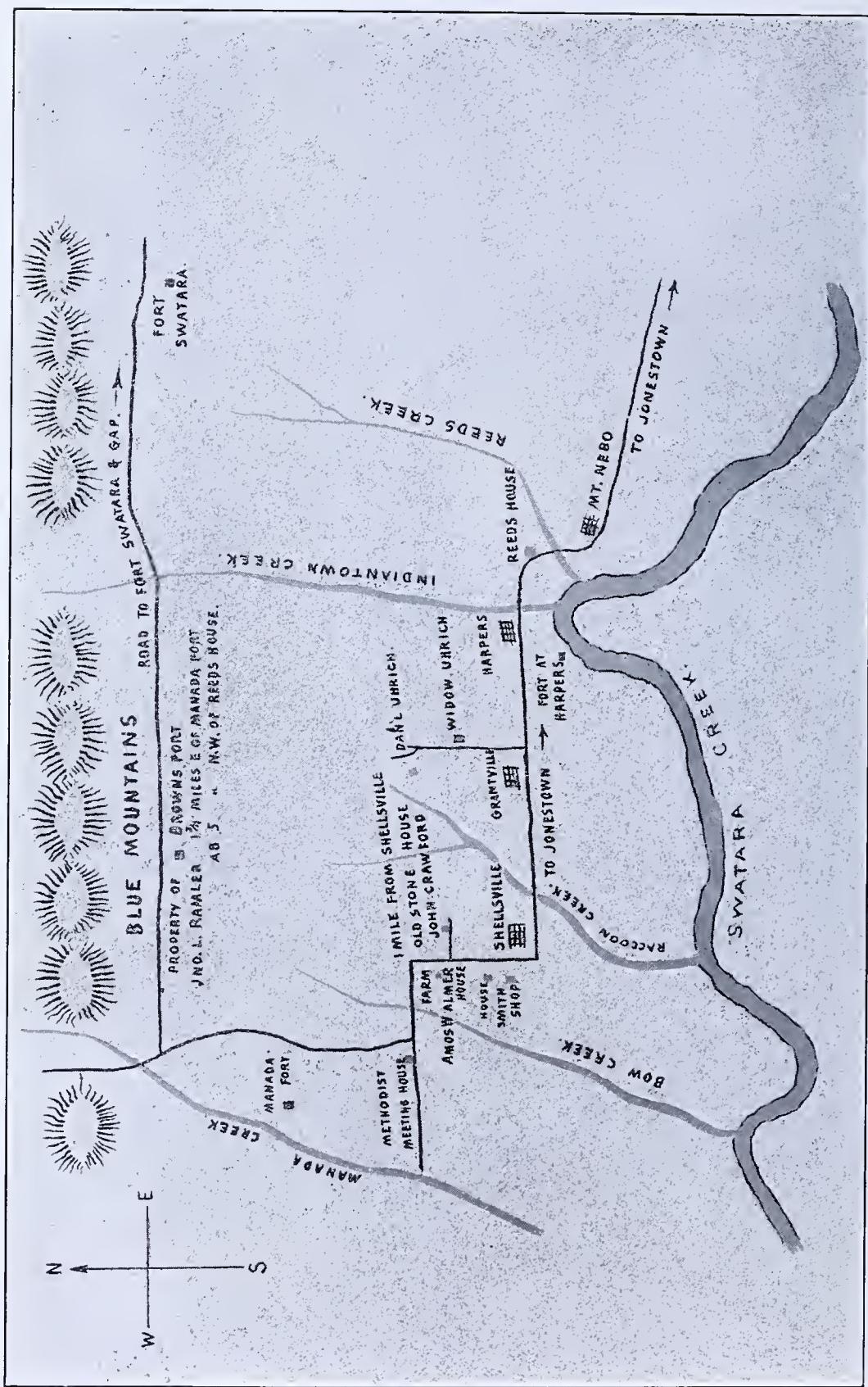
MANADA FORT.

The passage through the Blue Mountains, called Manada Gap, is distant from Fort Hunter about twelve miles. Because of this fact, and the necessity for guarding such a prominent gateway to the populous district below, the Government occupied said locality as its next station, in accordance with its general plan of defense. In the few descriptions given of this position more or less confusion exists. Fortunately, by extensive personal research, I have been able to solve the problem. To understand it more thoroughly it will be well, first, to glance at such records of the place as exist.

Immediately after the outbreak of the savages along the Susquehanna, during the Fall of 1755, they began to threaten the settlements further east. We accordingly find the instructions issued to Adam Read, under date of January 10th, 1756, of which mention has already been made, to detach twenty-five men from the Company at his house and send them to Hunter's Mill, so that they might range the mountains between that place and his residence. With the rest of his command, which remained at his house, he, in turn, was likewise to range the mountains towards Fort Hunter. (Penn. Arch, ii, p. 545.) These instructions were soon followed by the notification, Jan. 26th, to Mr. Read that "Capt. Frederick Smith having been appointed to take post with an Independent Company at the Gap where Swehatara passes the Mountains, and to station a detachment of his Company at Monday," there would no longer be any necessity for him to guard that frontier and that accordingly he was relieved from said duty. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 551.) In connection with these instructions to Mr. Read, and of the same date, were the orders sent to Capt. Smith, viz:

Sir:—"Having appointed you Cap'n of a Company of foot to be paid and supplied, I think it necessary to give you the following orders and Instructions, according to the following Establishm't, viz: for your better government in the Execution of the trust reposed in you. * * * * *

SITE OF FORTS MANADA, BROWN, AND SWATARA.



You are to leave at Swehatara a part of your Company, sufficient to maintain that post under one of your officers, and with the remainder of your Company you are to Proceed to the gap where the river Monaday passes the Mountains, and Either take possession and strengthen the Stuccado already erected there, or erect a new one as you shall Judge best, and then you are to Return to the fort at Swehatara, which you are to make your headquarters, leaving twenty men under the Command of a Commissioned Officer at the fort at Monaday, and relieving them from time to time, in part or in whole as you shall think proper.

You are to Communicate these Instructions to your Officers, that are stationed at the fort at Monaday, and if you Judge it necessary you may give them coppys for their better government.

As you are unacquainted with the situation of the country, on the northern frontier of the county of Lancaster (now Lebanon), where you are to take post, I have Directed James Gelbreth, Esq'r, to furnish you with all the information in his Power, and to afford you his advice and assistance, not only in the Choice of ground proper to erect the forts upon, but as to any other matters that may relate to the service you are upon, and you will apply to him for such assistance from time to time as you stand in.need of it.

You are to receive of Cap't. Read & Cap't. Hedericks, such arms, accoutriments, Blankets and stores, as belong to the Province of which you are to return an exact account to me, and take care of such as shall remain in your Hands, and Having ordered Cap't. Thomas McKee to raise a company of Thirty men, and to take post and to scour the country between Sasquahana & Monaday, you are upon his application to supply him with such of the s'd arms, accoutriments, tools, Blankets and stores as you can spare from your own Company, taking his receipt for the same, and inform me of what you supply him with." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 552-553.)

In conjunction with these orders to Capt. Smith, the Governor wrote as follows to James Galbraith, the Commissary:

"I have ordered Capt. Smith, with a Company from Chester County, to take post at the Gap at Swehatara, and to station

a detachment of his men at Monaday, either in the Stockades already built there, or to erect such others as he may Judge best; but as he is a stranger to that part of the country, I must desire you will assist him with your advice, not only as to the most advantageous situations for the forts, in case it should be resolved to erect new ones, but in anything else that the service may require, and let me know from time to time what is done in that quarter." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 554.)

These records indicate that a stockade had already been erected, or commenced, prior to 1756. Like Fort Hunter it is probable that it was built by the settlers, during the latter part of 1755, for mutual protection, and later, in January, 1756, occupied by the soldiers. Whilst the instructions of the Governor gave license to erect a new fort, if deemed advisable, yet it is most likely Capt. Smith, the commanding officer, accepted the already completed work of the settlers, placed according to their good judgment. Amongst the comparatively few papers which give an account of Manada Fort there is nothing stated to the contrary, and my personal investigations tend to prove the same fact.

On July 11th, 1756, Col. Conrad Weiser gives Gov. Morris a statement of his disposition of the troops, wherein "nine men are to stay constantly in Manity Fort, and Six men to range Eastward from Manity towards Swataro, and Six men to range Westward towards Susquehannah. Each Party so farr that they may reach their Fort again before Night." (Penn Arch., ii, p. 696.)

Notwithstanding these apparently active preparations and the faithful scouting doubtless done by the soldiers, yet the Indians were not to be thwarted in their murderous work, and, before long, some of their own number were to fall victims to the unfailing vigilance of the savage, owing, it must be admitted, to a temporary relaxation of their own watchfulness. In a letter of August 7th, 1756, to Edward Shippen this interesting and unfortunate event is related by Adam Read, as follows:

Sir: "Yesterday Jacob Elles a Soldier of Cap't Smith's at Brown's forth, a Liver before, $2\frac{1}{2}$ Milles over ye first Mountain just within the gape at s'd forth, having some wheat grow-

ing at his place prevel'd with his officer for some of ye men to help him cut a Little of ye same, accordingly 10 of them went, set guards Round & fell to work, about 10 of ye Clock, they had reaped down & went to ye head to Begin again, and before they had all well Begon, 3 Indians Crep't to ye fence just at their Back, & all 3 at one penal of the fence fired upon them, killed their Corprall dead and another that was standing with his gun in one hand & a Botle in ye other was wounded, his left arm is Brock in 2 places so that his gun fell, he Being a little more down the field, the field Being about 15 or 16 poll in length, them that Reape'd had their arms about half way down at a large tree as soon as ye Indians found they did not load their guns but leap'd over ye fence into the middle of them & one of them left his gun Behind him without ye fence, they all run thorow one another & thorow one another, ye Indians making a tarable Holo, and looked liker ye devel than an Indian, the Soulders fled to their Arms & as 3 of them stood Behind ye tree with their Arms ye Indian that came in wanting his gun, came within a few yards of them & took up the wounded Solder's gun & would ahave killed another had not one that pursued him fired at him, so that he dropped ye gun, the Indian fled, and in going off, 2 Soldiars stood about a Rod apart, a Indian run thorow Betwixt them, they both fired at him, yet he went off Cleer, when they were over ye fence a Soldier fired at one of them upon which he stooped a little and so went all 3 off, a litle after they left ye field they fired one gun and gave a hollo, the Solder hid the one that was killed, went home to the forth found James Brown that lives in ye forth one of their Solders a Missing, the Lieutenant went out with more men and Brought in the dead man but still Brown was missing. I herd shooting that night, I went up next morning with some hands, Captain Smith had sent up more men from the other fort, went out next morning & against I got there word had come in from them they had found James Brown Killed and Scalped. I went over with them to bring him home, he was killed with the last shot about 20 poll from the field of Battle, his gun, his showes & jacket carried off, the soulders that found him told me that they track'd the 3 Indians to the Second Moun-

tan & they found one of the Indians guns a little from Browns Corps Brock to in pieces as she had been good for little, they showed me where ye Indians fired thorow ye fence & it was full Elevan yards to where the man lay dead; ye Rising ground above ye feild was clear of standing timber & the grubes low, so that they kept a Bad look out. The above acc't you may depend upon me, we have almost lost all Hopes of anything but to move off and loose our cropes we have Reap'd with so much defickulty." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 738).

On the same subject and about the same time Commissary James Galbraith wrote, August 10, from Derry, to Governor Hamilton, as follows:

"Honored Sir, There is nothing heare allmost Evry day but murder Commited by the Indians in som part or oather; about five mills above me, at Monaday Gape, there was two of the provance solders kild, one wounded; there wase but three Indians, and they came in amongst ten of our men and committed the murder, and went off safe; the name or sight of an Indian maks allmost all mankind in these parts to trimble, there Barbarity is so Cruel where they are masters, for by all appearances the Devall Commitans, God permits, and the French pays, and by this the Back parts, by all appearance, will be Laid west by flight, with what is gon and agoing, more Espesaly Cumberland County." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 740).

How many more unfortunates in this neighborhood fell victims to the merciless tomahawk, which was fast laying waste all the frontier settlements, as Mr. Galbraith said, is not stated, but in October, 1756, Adam Read sends another letter to Mr. Shippen, &c, pleading for assistance, which was duly laid before the Provincial Council and appears on its minutes as follows:

"Friends and Fellow Subjects:

I send you, in a few lines, the maloncholly condition of the Frontiers of this County; last Tuesday the 12 of this Instant, ten Indians came on Noah Frederick plowing in his Field, killed and scalped him and carried away three of his children that was with him, the Eldest but Nine Years old, plundered his House, and carried away everything that suited their pur-

pose, such as Cloaths, Bread, Butter, a Saddle and good Riffle Gun &ca, it being but two short Miles from Captain Smith's Fort, at Swatawro Gap, and a little better than two from my House.

Last Saturday Evening an Indian came to the House of Philip Robeson, carrying a Green Bush before him, said Robeson's Son being on the Corner of his Fort watching others that was dressing flesh by him, the Indian perceiving that he was observed fled; the watchman fired but missed him; this being three quarters of a mile from Manady Fort; and Yesterday Morning, two Miles from Smith's Fort, at Swatawro, in Bethel Township, as Jacob Fornwal was going from the house of Jacob Meyler to his own, was fired upon by two Indians and wounded, but escaped with his life, and a little after, in the said Township, as Frederick Henley and Peter Stample was carrying away their Goods in waggons was met by a parcel of Indians and all Killed, five lying Dead in one place and one Man at a little distance, but what more is done is not come to my Hand as yet, but that the Indians was continuing their Murders. The Frontiers is employed in nothing but carrying off their Effects, so that some Miles is now waist. We are willing, but not able without help; You are able if you be willing (that is Including the lower parts of the Country), to give us such assistance as will enable us to redeem our waist Land; You may depend on it that without Assistance we in a few days will be on the wrong side of you, for I am now a Frontier, and I fear that the Morrow Night I will be left some Miles. Gentlemen, consider what you will do, and not be long about it, and let not the World say that we die as fools dyed. Our Hands is not tied, but let us exert ourselves and do something for the Honour of our Country and the preservation of our Fellow Subjects. I hope you will communicate our Grievances to the lower parts of our County, for surely they will send us some help if they understand our Grievances. I wou'd have gone down myself, but dare not, my Family is in such Danger. I expect an Answer by the Bearer, if Possible."

I am, Gentlemen, Your very humble Servant,

ADAM READ,

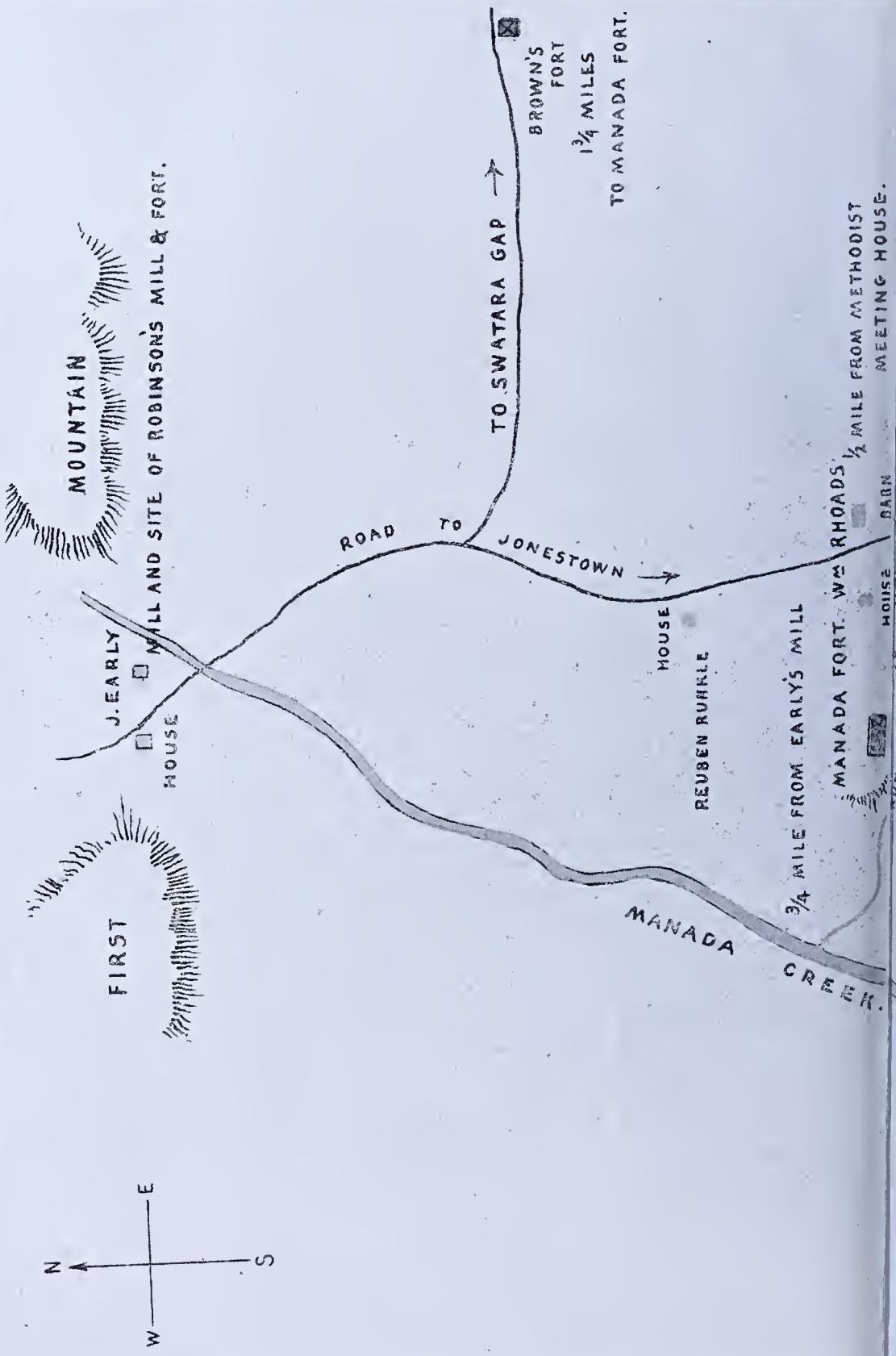
Before sending this away I have just rec'd information that there is seven Killed & five Children Scalped a Live, but not the Account of their names."

On reading these Accounts the Governor was advised to lay them and the other Intelligence before the Assembly, and in the Strongest Terms to press them again for a Militia Law, as the only thing that woul'd enable the Country to exert their strength against these cruel savages. (Col. Rec., vii, p. 303).

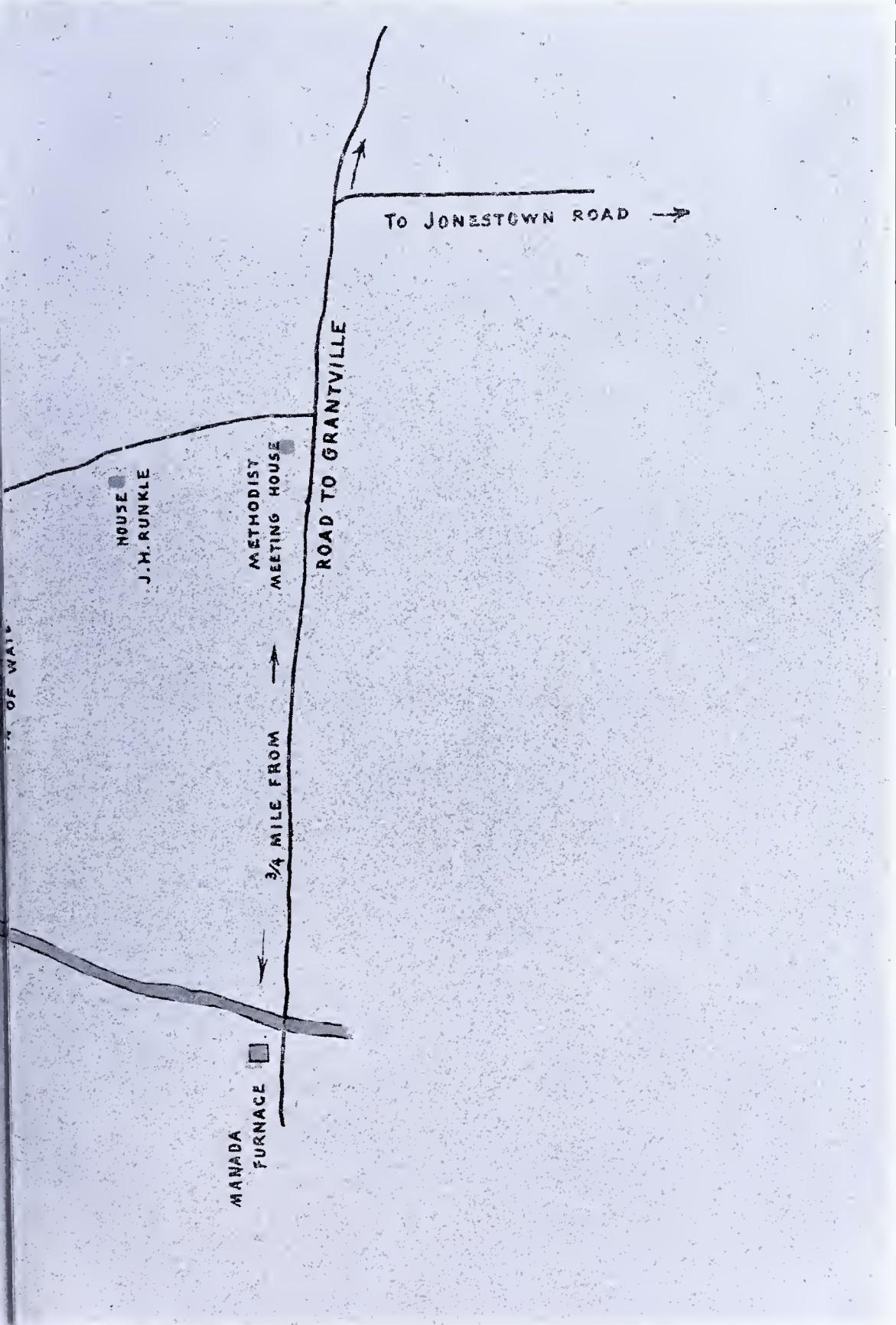
This was immediately done by the Governor but action on the part of the Quaker Assembly was very slow and the terrible work still went on.

Here practically ends the narrative of recorded events in and about Manada Gap, except the interesting journal of Captain James Patterson, stationed at Fort Hunter, which is dated Dec'r, 1757. His duties kept him ranging along the mountains between that place, Manada and Swatara Gaps, and the journal has already been given under the head of Fort Hunter. In addition to this journal is a diary of James Burd whilst on his tour of inspection to the various forts. At 11.00 A. M., on Sunday, February 19, 1758, he left Fort Hunter on his way to Fort Swatara. He says "got to Crawford's, 14 miles from Hunter's, here I stay all night, it rain'd hard. Had a Number of applications from the Country for Protection, otherwise they would be immediately obliged to fly from their Settlements, appointed to meet them to hear their Complaints, and proposaels on Tuesday at 10.00 A. M., at Fort Swetarrow; the Country is thick settled this march along the blue mountains & very fine Plantations." Upon his arrival at Fort Swatara he reviewed the garrison, inspected the fort and its stores, and gave orders for a sergeant and twelve men to be always out on the scout towards Crawford's, near Manada Gap. On Tuesday, Feb. 21st, the country people came in according to appointment, when, after hearing their statement, he promised to station an officer and 25 men at Robertson's Mill "situate in the Center between the Forts, Swatarrow & Hunter," which gave the people content. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 352-353).

After reading over these various records we notice that four places are mentioned where soldiers were stationed and



SITE OF ROBINSON'S FORT.



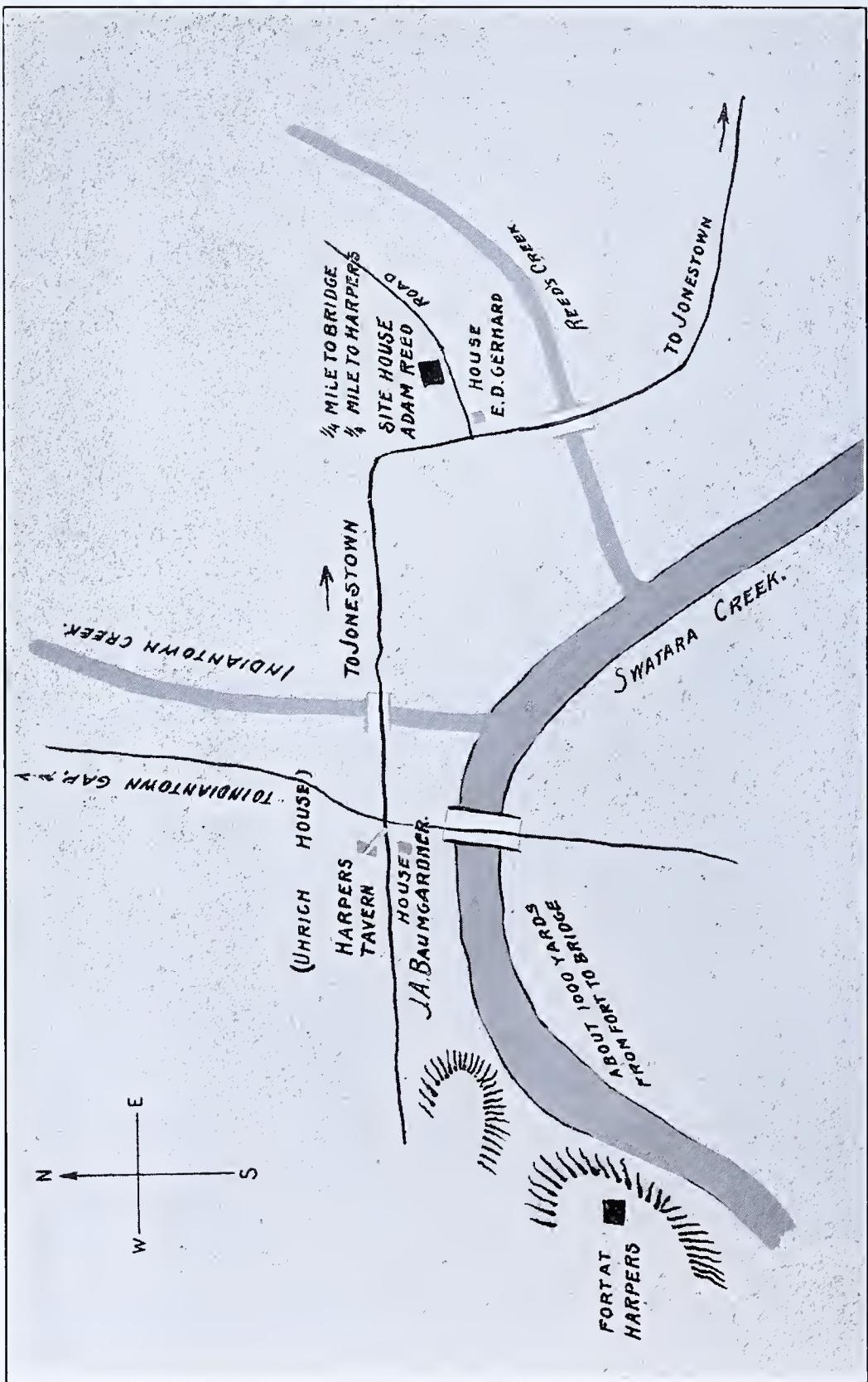
which were used for defense:—Robinson's, Robeson's, or Robertson's Mill (as the writer saw fit to spell the name), Manada Fort, Brown's Fort and Squire Read's house. The misunderstanding with regard to Manada Fort has been caused by the confounding of these names in the effort to produce one or two places only out of what are really four separate and distinct stations.

At this point there is back of the First Mountain, or Blue Range proper, a series of other ranges, known as the Second, Third, Fourth, Peter's Mountain, &c. Manada Gap is the narrow passage in the First Mountain where the Manada Creek, formed between it and the Second Mountain, has forced its way through, on its journey towards its larger sister, the Swatara Creek. Right at this entrance stands to-day the grist mill of Mr. Jacob Early on the site of the old Robinson Mill. Mr. Early showed me at the time of my visit November 22, 1893, an old deed of property dated November 23, 1784, to John and James Pettigrew, for over 350 acres of land of Timothy Green, on part of which the mill now stands. He then explained that his present mill was built in 1891, taking the place of a frame structure erected some 55 years ago, which, in its turn, rested on the foundation of the original mill. This latter was a stone building, and Mr. Early was told by the old inhabitants that it had loop holes in it, larger inside than outside and undoubtedly intended for musketry. It was admirably adapted for defense and, as we have seen, was so used. It was from this building, called "Robeson's Fort," that a lad standing at a corner window, whilst watching some of the men dressing meat, noticed the approach of an Indian who was endeavoring to conceal himself behind a green bush, and who fled when discovered and fired upon. Whilst excellent, however, in itself, as a place of defense, it was too close to the mountain to be conveniently located as a place of refuge and protection for the settlers, whose dwellings were generally more distant from the Gap proper. The real Manada Fort, therefore, was built a short distance below the Mill, probably by the settlers themselves, in accordance with their own judgment, as already stated. Justice Adam Read, in his appeal to the Provincial Council for assistance,

in speaking of the above incident of the lad discovering the Indian, distinctly says that "Robeson's Fort" (the Mill) was three-quarters of a mile from Manada Fort. Diligent search on my part finally resulted in ascertaining the exact and authentic location of the latter fort, which corresponds precisely with the record. My principal information was obtained from Mr. John N. Hampton, an old gentleman 94 years of age, now residing near Grantville, some miles distant, who still remains in perfect possession of all his mental faculties and physical powers. It so happened that Mr. Hampton, when a young man, was engaged in cutting wood at the very spot where the fort had stood, the property then of Wm. Thome. Noticing an unusual quantity of dead timber he inquired of young Mr. Thome the reason and was informed that this was the place where stood the Indian Fort. Old Mr. Thome who died 80 years ago an aged man, also stated the same thing. The fact, acquired in this unusual way, became indelibly impressed upon his memory. More recently I have had this location corroborated by Mr. Ziegler, an intelligent elderly gentleman residing near Harper's, Lebanon county, who remembers hearing old people mention it in his youth, and also others. I give a topographical sketch showing more in detail the situation.

As will be seen Robeson's or Robinson's Mill and Fort stood right in the Mountain Gap, beside the Manada creek. Three-quarters of a mile below was Manada Fort, as shown. It stood at what is now the west end of the field on which Wm. Rhoad's house is built, about 350 yards from the same, and about 300 yards distant from Manada creek, beyond it to the west. The ground is level and somewhat elevated, falling away from the fort to a run of water, immediately below, which originates in a spring near Mr. Rhoad's house and flows west into Manada creek. About one-half mile to the southeast is the Methodist Meeting House, and probably an equal distance to the southwest the Manada Furnace. No trace of the fort remains, nor any knowledge of its appearance, although, from the fact that it was not one of the larger stations, we are justified in presuming that it consisted merely of one block house surrounded by a stockade.

SITE OF HARPER'S AND REED'S BLOCK HOUSES.



I have previously said that some confusion exists with regard to the number and location of forts in this vicinity, owing principally to the letter written by Mr. Read to Edward Shippen detailing the fight which the soldiers had with the Indians in the Gap and death of James Brown.

Before taking this matter up fully it is well to remember that the most populous part of the district was not close to the mountains, where stood Manada Fort and Robeson's Mill, but down towards the region of the Swatara creek. The first position was necessary as it commanded the passage through the mountains; the other was equally necessary for protection to the inhabitants and as a place of refuge for them. Accordingly, in the early history of savage depredations we read of the farmers organizing into companies which made the house of Adam Read their rallying point, and later of a body of provincial troops stationed likewise at his home and under his command. It might be well here to explain that he was a very influential and patriotic gentleman, one of the most prominent in the neighborhood. Being a justice of the peace he is frequently called Squire Read, and, holding a commission under the Provincial Government we sometimes hear of him as Captain Read. In addition to his house we also read of Brown's Fort. To aid further explanation I submit a map embracing the entire district.

It will be noticed that the Swatara creek, which takes a southwesterly direction after leaving Swatara Gap, suddenly tends to the northwest until once more near the mountain when, at the village now called Harper's, it makes a sharp turn around and then pursues its regular southwesterly course to the Susquehanna river. About one and one-fourth miles southeast from Harper's a creek, called "Read's creek," empties into the Swatara. On a road running off from the main road to Jonestown, and one-fourth mile above where the latter crosses Read's creek by a bridge, stood Adam Read's house, on property now owned by Sam'l Reigel. This location is fixed by Mr. C. D. Zehring, an old gentleman residing at Jonestown, who has made frequent surveys thereabouts and obtained the information from old deeds and papers in his possession. It is corroborated by his brother John, now 79 years old, who

lived the greater part of his life on Read's creek, and further proven by Mr. Read himself who, in speaking of the murder of Noah Frederick, states that it took place between his home and Fort Swatara "but two short miles" from the latter and "a little better than two" from the former. In other words his home was exactly four miles from Fort Swatara, which agrees precisely with its position as marked. (Col. Rec., vii, p. 303).

About two miles distant from Harper's and one and a half miles south of the village of Mt. Nebo, on the Swatara creek, are still found caves which local tradition unites in saying were used by the settlers as places of refuge from the Indians. I was shown, by Mr. J. A. Baumgardner, at Harper's, the site of what he called an Indian Fort. He remembers very distinctly hearing the old people talk about this fort when he was a boy, some 40 years ago.

The sketch given will indicate its position.

Here, at the bend in the Swatara, Mr. Adam Harper settled himself at an early period. His location was the most western in the county at that time. He was surrounded by Indians, who had a string of wigwams hard by his home. He kept the first public house in all that region of country. The place is still known as "Harper's Tavern," and stood as shown. Not half a mile distant from this place, in 1756, the Indians killed five or six white persons. A woman—a sister of Major Leidig—was scalped by the Indians, and, incredible, as it may appear, survived this barbarous act and lived for years afterwards. (Rupp, p. 353).

Of course the so called Fort at Harper's was not, strictly speaking, a fort, but merely a place of refuge. It is very probable that it was connected in some way, with the Indian massacre mentioned above.

We are now prepared to discuss the remaining defense of those centering about Manada and called

BROWN'S FORT.

So little is known of this fort, and what little is known is of such an indefinite character, that it has been variously placed in different counties if placed at all. In the Appendix to the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 346, it is said that "there is nothing to determine the site of this fort (if indeed there was a fort of that name), and the other one not far from it; as the letter (Adam Read's) is dated Hanover it was probably either in Beaver or Washington county." Whilst it is true that there is but little on record concerning Brown's Fort, yet a statement such as the above is certainly inexcusable. Our chief knowledge of this fort is obtained from the letter written by Squire Adam Read to Edward Shippen, already given in full, wherein he details the shooting of the soldiers. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 738). It is dated "Hanover, August 7th, 1756." His residence, just located, stood in what has always been called Hanover Township of Lebanon (then Lancaster) county, from this time to the present. What more natural then, in the absence of our present villages and postoffices, than that he should head his communication "Hanover," and what more unnatural than to locate the said Hanover in Beaver or Washington county. Indeed the postoffices to this day are called East and West Hanover. I believe if we consider his letter carefully, which does not seem to have been done in the past as it should, we may get some light on the matter. Let us do so:

A soldier, named Jacob Ellis, belonging to Capt. Smith's command, was stationed at Brown's Fort. We will here remember that whilst Capt. Smith himself was at Fort Swatara, his headquarters, yet a commissioned officer and certain number of men from his company, and under his command, were stationed at and near Manada Gap. This man Ellis "lived two and one-half miles over the first mountain, just within the gap at said fort." So we find that Brown's Fort was near the gap, and we know that it was Manada Gap from a letter written August 9th by James Galbraith to Edward Shippen in which he says, speaking of this very affair "there wase two

Soldiers killed and one wounded about two miles from Monaday fort." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 740). He had some wheat growing at his home and wanted to harvest it, so accordingly prevailed upon his officer to give him an escort of ten men to aid in the work. Any one who has made a study of this portion of our history will readily see that an important part of the soldiers duty was guarding the settlers at their work whilst harvesting their crops. For that purpose they were divided into small parties which were stationed at various suitable farm houses. The time of harvest was now at hand, and the mere fact that so little mention is made of Brown's Fort is evidence in itself that it was no fort at all, strictly speaking, but merely a private house temporarily occupied by a squad of soldiers. I say a "squad" of soldiers because, in all such cases, the number was limited. If that were so, and it certainly was, then there was no commissioned officer with them, and yet we read that he obtained the necessary permission from his officer, a lieutenant, who gave him so considerable an escort that undoubtedly a part were furnished from his headquarters, which was Manada Fort. This would indicate that Brown's Fort was at no great distance from Manada Fort. Indeed I was somewhat inclined to believe, at first, that they were one and the same place, but undoubted information received, to be given later, showed me such was not the case. To continue our narrative, the soldiers went up into the gap, where Ellis lived, and got to work, keeping a poor look out. About ten o'clock A. M., they were surprised by three Indians, who killed the corporal and wounded another. For awhile there was quite a scene of excitement when finally the Indians fled, giving a war whoop and firing a farewell shot. Having hid the dead man the other soldiers returned to the fort only to find another of their number missing, one named James Brown, who lived in the fort. We are then told that the Lieutenant immediately went out with more men and brought in the dead body but could not find Brown. Here we have several facts mentioned, one that the fort was, as I have already said only a private house, the residence of a man named Brown, although not necessarily James Brown, who may have been merely a son or

relative living there, but still of some person so called or the fort would not have been recorded as Brown's Fort; and the other fact suggested is that Brown's Fort and Manada Fort were near each other and easy of access, because during a comparatively short time in the afternoon, the Lieutenant is informed of the calamity, takes a body of men to the spot, spends some time in searching for the missing man, and brings back the dead body, all before evening, which he could hardly have done had the distances been otherwise than short. As will be shown on the map given, the position of Brown's Fort was really but one and three-fourths miles east of Manada Fort, and, in going from the former to the Gap and back, it was almost necessary to pass by the latter. Mr. Read adds that he heard shooting that night. These were probably alarm guns, which may have been fired at Brown's Fort to alarm the people, or even by some of the farmers themselves. Although the location to be given presently of Brown's Fort places it near the mountains and about five miles distant from Mr. Read's house, yet the reverberating sound of fire arms near the mountain, in a still night, could have been heard at that distance without much difficulty. During my tour of investigation I several times heard guns so fired which, although several miles off, seemed very loud and near; even the stroke of a woodchopper's axe, a mile distant, was very distinctly heard. I doubt, however, whether he could so readily have heard a musket if fired at Manada Fort. The next morning, he tells us, he went up with some hands, to ascertain the cause of the alarm and render assistance, if needed. Upon arrival he found Capt. Smith had *sent up* more men from *the other fort*. Please note the words which I have placed in italics. It has been a query as to which is meant by the "other fort." Let us not forget that Capt. Smith had his headquarters at Fort Swatara, where he probably was. Of course that same evening the Lieutenant, if he was any kind of an officer, sent notice to his Captain of what had occurred. The distance from Fort Swatara to Brown's Fort was about nine miles, and what more natural than that Capt' Smith should send some temporary reinforcements *up* from Fort Swatara, *the other fort*, where he was, not knowing but

what the Indians were in force and that more troops would be needed. Finding that his kindly meant assistance was unnecessary Mr. Read returned home, but the following morning went back, when he found that the body of James Brown had been discovered. He was killed by the last shot which the Indians had fired, and had been scalped.

Let us now consult the map given.

I cannot think otherwise but that a glance at this location of Brown's Fort will show how thoroughly it corresponds and agrees with all records we have of it. It stood on the main road between Fort Swatara, Manada Fort and Manada Gap. Being merely a farm house, intended to be occupied only during harvest time, it was well situated for that purpose, being adjacent to quite a number of farms. As corroborating evidence of the correctness of my arguments I would say that diligent search reveals the fact that the Browns then lived in that locality. There were several families of that name, none of them apparently of any prominence, but all residing thereabouts. I found none of that name elsewhere. Within this century, some 80 years ago, a Sam'l Brown lived just south of Manada Furnace; Philip Brown lived about one-half mile north of Grantville on what is now the farm of Dan'l Ulrich, and Adam Brown, who died some 60 years ago, lived on the farm now owned by Amos Walmer. On the map will also be noticed an old stone house, standing about one mile north of Shellsville, which is the original building then occupied by John Crawford, (where it will be remembered Maj. James Burd stopped over night on Sunday, February 19, 1758, when on his tour of inspection), who instead of fleeing away from his enemies, as did others, took especial pleasure in hunting them up and despoiling them of their scalps. All the elderly people in the neighborhood agreed in saying that the building which I have marked, on the property of Mr. Jno. L. Ramler, was an Indian Fort. They did not know it by the name of Brown's Fort, but called it the "Old Fort." This, however, is not to be wondered at, as Brown's Fort was never really its name, but merely the name of its occupant used by Mr. Read the better to describe it in his letter. Mr. Ramler, who lives at the place, whilst but a young man himself, remembers

very distinctly of his grandfather, who died four years ago at the age of eighty-three, telling him that this place was a fort, and that there was another fort at or near Manada Gap. Whilst, as yet, I have not had opportunity to trace the ownership of this particular property back beyond our century and so ascertain if, at the time named, it was owned by a Mr. Brown, yet I have no doubt of that fact, and the universal opinion of Mr. Ramler and other gentlemen there is that this is Brown's Fort. As a further proof of this they say positively that no other fort (except Manada) existed any where about that locality. Part of the walls of the building are still standing, about six feet high, alongside the road. It was of stone, therefore well adapted for the purpose, and was pierced with five port holes. It is close to the foot of the mountain.

As elsewhere, many atrocities were committed by the savages in the vicinity of Manada Gap.

In August, 1757, two miles below the Gap, as Thomas McGuire's son was bringing some cows out of a field, a little way from the house, he was pursued by two Indians and narrowly escaped. Leonard Long's son, while ploughing, was killed and scalped. On the other side of the fence, Leonard Miller's son was ploughing, who was made prisoner. Near Benjamin Clark's house, four miles from the mill, two savages surprised Isaac Williams' wife and the widow Williams, killed and scalped the former in sight of the house, she having run a little way after three balls had been shot through her body. The latter they carried away captive. (History of Penn., W. H. Egle, vol. ii, p. 865).

The following interesting incident is related by Dr. Egle in his History of Dauphin County, p. 424:

"The Barnetts and their immediate neighbors erected a block house* in proximity to Col. Green's Mill (Robinson's, now Early's Mill on land of Timothy Green) on the Manada, for the better safety of their wives and children, while they cultivated their farms in groups, one or two standing as sentinels. In the year 1757, there was at work on the farm of Mr. Barnett a small group, one of which was an estimable man named Mackey. News came with flying speed that their wives

*Mr. N. W. Moyer, of Linglestown, has called the Editor's attention to an excellent photograph of this block house in the collection of the Dauphin Co. Historical Society.

and children were all murdered at the block house by the Indians. Preparations were made immediately to repair to the scene of horror. While Mr. Barnett with all possible haste was getting ready his horse, he requested Mackey to examine his rifle to see that it was in order. Everything right they all mounted their horses, rifle in hand, and galloped off, taking a near way to the blockhouse. A party of Indians lying in ambush rose and fired at Mr. Barnett, who was foremost, and broke his right arm. His rifle dropped; an Indian snatched it up and shot Mr. Mackey through the heart. He fell dead at their feet, and one secured his scalp. Mr. Barnett's father, who was in the rear of his company, turned back, but was pursued by the Indians, and narrowly escaped with his life. In the meantime Mr. Barnett's noble and high spirited horse, which the Indians greatly wished to possess, carried him swiftly out of the enemy's reach, but, becoming weak and faint from the loss of blood, he fell to the ground and lay for a considerable time unable to rise. At length, by a great effort, he crept to a buckwheat field, where he concealed himself until the Indians had retired from the immediate vicinity, and then, raising a signal, he was soon perceived by a neighbor, who, after hesitating for some time for fear of the Indians, came to his relief. Surgical aid was procured, and his broken arm bound up, but the anxiety of his mind respecting his family was a heavy burden which agonized his soul, and not until the next day did he hear that they were safe, with the exception of his eldest son, then eight or nine years of age, whom the Indians had taken prisoner, together with a son of Mackey's about the same age. The savages on learning that one of their captives was a son of Mackey, whom they had just killed, compelled him to stretch his father's scalp, and this heart-rending, soul-sickening office he was obliged to perform in sight of the mangled body of his father.

The Indians escaped with the two boys westward, and, for a time, Mackey's son carried his father's scalp, which he would often stroke with his little hand and say, "my father's pretty hair."

Mr. Barnett lay languishing on a sick bed, his case doubtful for a length of time, but, having a strong constitution, he, at

last, through the blessing of God, revived, losing about four inches of a bone near the elbow of his right arm.

But who can tell the intense feeling of bitterness which filled the mind and absorbed the thoughts of him and his tender, sensitive, companion, their beloved child traversing the wilderness, a prisoner with a savage people, exposed to cold and hunger, and subject to their wanton cruelty? Who can tell of their sleepless nights, the anxious days, prolonged through long, weary months and years; their fervent prayers, their bitter tears, and enfeebled health?

The prospect of a treaty with the Indians, with the return of prisoners, at length brought a gleam of joy to the stricken hearts of these parents. Accordingly, Mr. Barnett left his family behind and set off with Col. Croghan and a body of five hundred "regulars" who were destined to Fort Pitt for that purpose. Their baggage and provisions conveyed on pack horses, they made their way over the mountains with the greatest difficulty. When they arrived at their place of destination, Col. Croghan made strict inquiry concerning the fate of the little captives. After much fruitless search, he was informed that a squaw, who had lost a son, had adopted the son of Mr. Barnett and was very unwilling to part with him, and he, believing his father had been killed by the Indians, had become reconciled to his fate, and was much attached to his Indian mother.

Mr. Barnett remained with the troops for some time without obtaining or even seeing his son. Fears began to be entertained at Fort Pitt of starvation. Surrounded by multitudes of savages, there seemed little prospect of relief, and, to add to the despondency, a scouting party returned with the distressing news that the expected provisions, which were on the way to their relief, were taken by the Indians. They almost despaired—five hundred men in a picket fort on the wild banks of the Allegheny river without provisions. The thought was dreadful. They became reduced to one milch cow each day, for five days, killed and divided among the five hundred. The three following days they had nothing. To their great joy on the evening of the third provisions arrived. Every sunken, pale, despairing countenance gathered brightness, but,

owing to its imprudent use, which the officers could not prevent, many died.

While the treaty was pending many were killed by the Indians, who were continually prowling around the fort. One day Mr. Barnett wished a drink of water from Grant's Spring (this spring is near Grant street, in the city of Pittsburgh, known to most of the older inhabitants); he took his "camp-kettle" and proceeded a few steps, when he suddenly thought the adventure might cost him his life, and turned back; immediately he heard the report of a rifle, and, looking towards the spring, he saw the smoke of the same,—the unerring aim of an Indian had deprived a soldier of life. They bore away his scalp, and his body was deposited on the bank of the Allegheny.

The treaty was concluded and ratified by the parties; nevertheless great caution was necessary on the part of the whites, knowing the treachery of many of their foes.

Mr. Barnett was most unhappy. His hopes concerning his child had not been realized, and he had been absent from his family already too long. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty a guard, with pack horses, started to cross the mountains, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of a safe return. After injunctions laid upon Col. Croghan to purchase, if possible, his son, he bade him, and his associates in hardships, farewell, and, after a toilsome journey, reached home and embraced, once more, his family, who were joyful at his return. But the vacancy occasioned by the absence of one of its members still remained. He told them that William was alive, soothed their grief, wiped away the tears from the cheeks of his wife, and expressed a prayerful hope that, through the interposition of a kind Providence, he would eventually be restored to them.

Faithful to his promise, Col. Croghan used every endeavor to obtain him. At length, through the instrumentality of traders, he was successful. He was brought to Fort Pitt, and, for want of an opportunity to send him to his father, was retained under strict guard, so great was his inclination to return to savage life. On one occasion he sprang down the bank of the Allegheny river, jumped into a canoe, and was

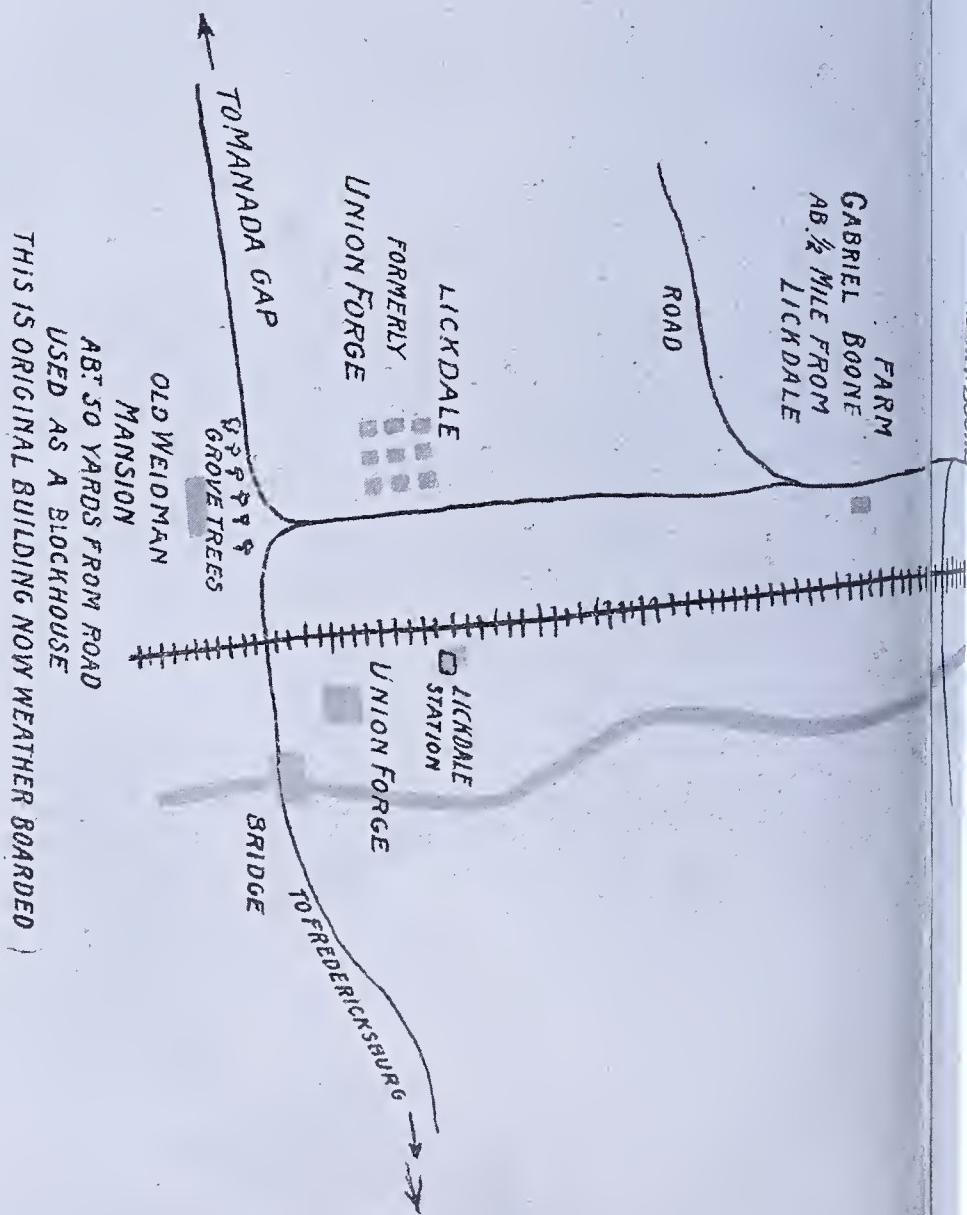
midway in the stream before he was observed. He was quickly pursued, but reached the opposite shore, raised the Indian whoop, and hid himself among the bushes. After several hours' pursuit he was retaken and brought back to the fort. Soon after, an opportunity offering, he was sent to Carlisle. His father, having business at that place, arrived after dark on the same day, and, without knowing, took lodgings at the same public house where his son was, and who had been some time in bed. As soon as he was aware of the fact he asked eagerly to see him. The landlord entreated him to let the boy rest till morning, as he was much wearied by traveling. To this the father would not assent, replying, "If a son of yours had been absent for three years could you rest under the same roof without seeing him?" The hardy host felt the appeal and led the way to the chamber. The sleeping boy was awakened and told that his father stood by his bed. He replied in broken English, "No my father." At this moment his father spoke, saying, "William, my son, look at me; I am your father!" On hearing his voice and seeing his face he sprang from the bed, clasped him in his arms, and shouted, "My father! My father is still alive!" All the spectators shed tears, the father wept like a child, while from his lips flowed thankful expressions of gratitude, to the Almighty disposer of all events, that his long lost child was again restored.

Early the next day the father and son were on the road homewards, where they arrived on the second day in the dusk of the evening. The rattling of the wheels announced their approach; the mother and all the children came forth. She, whose frequent prayers had heretofore been addressed to the Throne of Divine Grace for the safety and return of her son, now trembled and was almost overcome as she beheld him led by his father and presented to her, the partner of her sorrows. She caught him to her bosom and held him long in her embrace, while tears of joy flowed. His brothers and sisters clustered eagerly around and welcomed him with a kiss of affection. It was a scene of deep feeling not to be described, and known only to those who have been in similar circumstances. The happy family, all once more beneath the parental roof, knelt down and united in thanksgiving to Almighty God

for all His mercies to them in protecting and restoring to their arms a beloved and long absent child.

The children scrutinized him with curiosity and amazement. Dressed in Indian costume, composed of a breech-cloth around the waist, with moccasins, and leggins, his hair about three inches long and standing erect, he presented a strange appearance. By degrees he laid aside the dress of the wilderness, which he greatly preferred, forgot the Indian language, and became reconciled to his native home. But the rude treatment which he received from the Indians impaired his constitution. They frequently broke holes in the ice on rivers and creeks and dipped him in to make him hardy, which his feeble system could not endure without injury.

Respecting the son of Mackey, he was given by the Indians to the French, passed into the hands of the English, and was taken to England, and came as a soldier in the British army to America at the time of the Revolutionary war. He procured a furlough from his officers and sought out his widowed mother, who was still living, and who had long mourned him as dead. She could not recognize him after the lapse of so many years. He stood before her, a robust, fine-looking man, in whom she could see no familiar traces of her lost boy. He called her "mother," and told her he was her son, which she did not believe. "If you are my son," she said, "you have a mark upon your knee that I will know." His knee was exposed to her view, and she instantly exclaimed, "My son indeed!" Half frantic with joy, she threw her arms around his neck, and was clasped in those of her son. "Oh, my son," said she, "I thought you were dead, but God has preserved you and given me this happiness. Thanks, thanks to His name! Through long years I have mourned that sorrowful day which bereft me of my husband and child. I have wept in secret till grief has nearly consumed me, till my heart grew sick and my poor brain almost crazed by the remembrance. I have become old more through sorrow than years, but I have endeavored to 'kiss the rod' which chastised me. My afflictions have not been sent in vain, they have had their subduing and purifying effect; heaven became more attractive as earth became dark and desolate. But I now feel that I shall yet see earthly



BLUE

SWATARA
GAP

MOUNTAINS.

(ONSET P.O.)

BRIDGE

INWOOD STATION

SMITH
SHOP

HOUSE
CHRIS. LONG

SMALL FARM

SAM'L BESHORE TO HARRISBURG

FARM

HOUSE AMANDA BLOCH
FORMERLY BLUE BALL
TAVERN

STATE ROAD
AND
W^E MESE

HOUSE
EPHM COPPENHAVER

FARM ROAD

HOUSE
JACOB BENNY

FARM

FARM ROAD
FORT
SWATARA
SPRINGO
FENCE
FAKM

TO SWATARA GAP

LEBANON AND TREMONTY R.R.

SWATARA CREEK.



happiness. Nothing in this world, my son, shall separate us but death." He never returned to the British army, but remained with his mother and contributed to her support in her declining years.

There was another interesting meeting, that of Mackey with the son of Mr. Barnett. They recapitulated the scenes of hardship through which they passed while together with the Indians, which were indelibly impressed upon the memory of both. They presented a great contrast in appearance—Barnett a pale, delicate man, and Mackey the reverse. The former sank into an early grave, leaving a wife and daughter. The daughter married a Mr. Franks, who subsequently removed to the city of New York.

Mr. Barnett, the elder, after experiencing a great sorrow in the loss of his wife, removed to Allegheny county, spending his remaining days with a widowed daughter. He died in November, 1808, aged eighty-two years, trusting in the merits of a Divine Providence. His eventful and checkered life was a life of faith, always praying for a sanctified use of his trials, which were many. His dust reposes in the little churchyard of Lebanon, Mifflin township, Allegheny county."

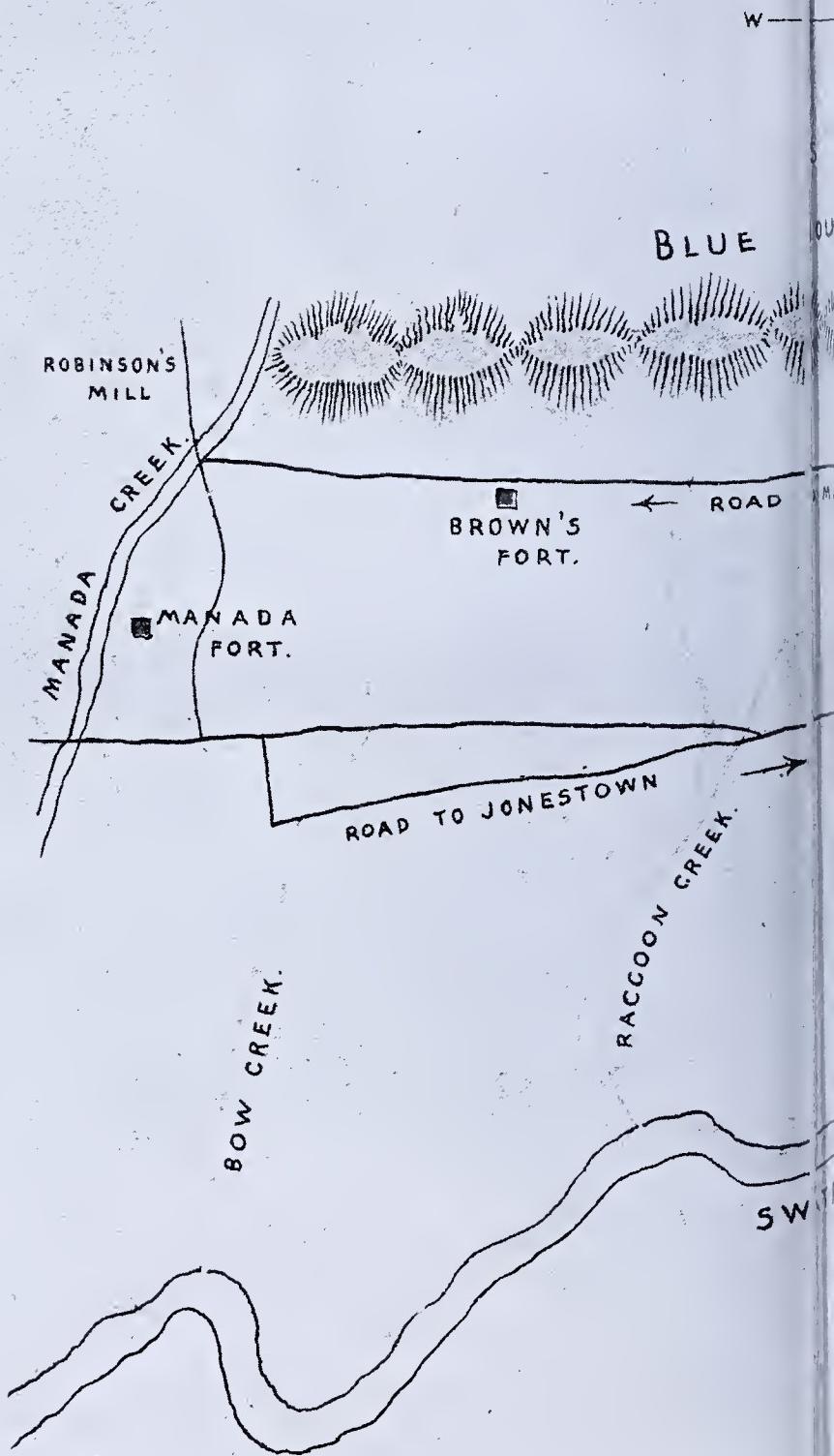
Of all the places used for defense about Manada none seem to have played a prominent part in history, yet all served faithfully in the several parts assigned them. Only one of these, Manada Fort, belonged to the chain of forts established by the Government. If only such are to be marked with tablets, I would recommend that the stone intended for it be placed on the side of the public road, opposite its site.

FORT SWATARA.

About twelve miles east of Manada Gap is the still more important passage through the Blue Mountains by which the Swatara creek makes its way to the fertile regions below. This gap, at what is called "The Hole in the Mountain," or more commonly "The Hole," is known as Swatara Gap or

Tolihao Gap. In its vicinity was located Fort Swatara or Smith's Fort. Through a very peculiar mode of expression on the part of Gov. Morris it has been also known, although incorrectly, as Fort Henry or Busse's Fort. This has occasioned several errors on the map published in 1875, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where Fort Swatara is located on the Swatara creek at a place where neither it nor any other fort ever stood, and that at Swatara Gap is named Fort Henry. Fort Swatara was, in reality, never called Fort Henry, but always Fort Swatara or occasionally Smith's Fort after the Captain who commanded it. Fort Henry was the Fort erected at Dietrich Six's near Millersburg in Berks county, and was always known as such, except when occasionally mentioned as Busse's Fort after its commanding officer. Whenever the name Fort Henry occurs in the Pennsylvania Archives it invariably applies to the station in Berks county and never to that at Tolihao Gap, even if the actual language used may seem otherwise. But more of that hereafter.

The news of the Indian murders up the Susquehanna near Shamokin (Sunbury) spread fast. From an interesting letter written October 30, 1755, by Conrad Weiser to Governor Morris, (Col. Rec., vi, p. 656) we learn that he immediately alarmed the neighborhood. The farmers at once gathered together, armed with guns, swords, axes or pitchforks, whatever they chanced to possess, until some two hundred had rendezvoused at Benjamin Spickers, near Stouchsburg, about six miles above Womelsdorf. Then Mr. Kurtz, the Lutheran minister who resided about a mile away, delivered an exhortation and prayer, after which Mr. Weiser divided the people into companies of thirty, each under the command of a Captain selected by themselves, and at once took up his march towards the Susquehanna, having first sent some fifty men "to Tolkeo in order to possess themselves of the Capes or Narrows of Swahatawro, where we expected the enemy would come through, with a Letter to Mr. Parsons who happened to be at His Plantation. Their numbers increased rapidly on the way until they arrived at Squire Adam Read's on the Swatara creek, where they received intelligence of the surprise and slaughter of the settlers who, under the leadership of Cap't



SITE OF LINE OF FORT

E

MOUNTAINS.

MANADA GAP.

INDIANTOWN

CREEK AND GAP

STATE ROAD.

HARPERS.

FORT AT
HARPERS

ROAD
SITE
REEDS HOUSE

E.D.
GERHARD

ROAD

REED CREEK.

TO LICKDALE.

ONO P.O. TO JONESTOWN

CAVES OF
REFUGE

TARA CREEK.

ALONG BLUE MOUNTAINS.

McKee, John Harris and others, had gone up the Susquehanna to Penn's creek to protect the people there and bury the dead. This seems to have dampened the ardor of the party somewhat, who wisely concluded they could afford more protection to their families by remaining home, and accordingly wended their way back, being hastened somewhat by the rumor, which reached them as they were returning, that five hundred Indians had already made their way through Tolheo Gap and killed a number of people.

The letter which Conrad Weiser speaks of having forwarded to Wm. Parsons was duly received by him, as we learn from a communication which on Octo. 31st, he sent Mr. Peters at Philadelphia. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 443). He tells how he met the advance guard of farmers, with their motley array of arms, and advised them to make a breastswork of trees at the Swatara Gap with their axes, promising to procure for them and send them a quantity of bread and ammunition. They got as far as the top of the mountain, fired their guns off in the air, alarming the whole neighborhood, and then came back again, firing the whole way to the great terror of the inhabitants. Soon came the news of the murder of Henry Hartman, just over the mountain. As Mr. Parsons, with a party, were on their way to bury the body, they were told of two more who had recently been killed and scalped, and of others who were missing. Having decently interred the dead they returned. The roads were filled with persons fleeing from their homes, and confusion reigned supreme. It was a terrible time, and, whilst we may smile at the actions of the settlers, owing chiefly to their inexperience, we must not forget that, at heart, they were brave and true as men could be. Amongst them all none possessed more bravery, judgment, or sterling qualities than did Conrad Weiser, a man whose deeds for his State and country have been so little known and appreciated. There was a person, however, who saw immediately that he was the one best able to cope with the emergency, and that was Governor Morris, who, on Oct. 31, 1755, writes the following complimentary letter to Mr. Weiser:

"Sir: I have the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 30th Instant, and of being thereby set right as to the Indians passing the mountains at Tolheo, which I am glad to find was a false alarm. I heartily commend your conduct and Zeal, and hope you will continue to act with the same Vigor and Caution that you have already done, and that you may have the greater Authority, I have appointed you a Colonel by a Commission herewith.

I have not time to give you any Instructions with the Commission, but leave it to your Judgment and discretion, which I know are great, to do what is most for the safety of the people and service of the Crown. (Col. Rec., vi, p. 660).

The necessity of occupying the position at Swatara Gap was very apparent, and measures were at once taken to that end. Now appears the misleading order of Governor Morris, or rather letter of his to Colonel Weiser referring to the order. On January 25, 1756, he says:

"I have ordered Cap'n Christian Busse with a company of fifty men in the pay of this Province, to proceed to the Gap at Tolihaiio, and there to erect a stoccado fort of the form and dimentions given him, and to take posts there and range the woods from that fort westwards towards Swehataro and eastwards towards a stoccado to be built by Cap. Morgan, about half way between the said fort and fort Lebanon.

I have ordered Cap'n Jacob Morgan, who is posted at a fort in the forks of Schuylkill, called Fort Lebanon, to leave twenty men in that fort and proceed with the remaining thirty to some convenient place about half way between that fort and Fort——— at Tolihaiio, and there to erect a stoccado of about 40 foot square, where he is to leave 20 men under a Commiss'd officer and to return to fort Lebanon which he is to make his headquarters, and from that Stoccado & from fort Lebanon, his men are to Range and scour the woods both eastward and westward." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 547).

Again on Feb. 1, 1756, Gov. Morris writes to Gov. Dinniddie telling him that he has just recently returned from a month's tour through the back parts of the Province, where he had tried to encourage the people and had arranged to build a chain of forts. He says "those between Delaware &

Susquehanna are to be ab't 10 or 12 miles asunder; ye most considerable of them is built at an important Pass thro' ye Kittahteny Hills, on our Northern Frontier, & I have called it Fort Henry." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 561).

Once more on Feb. 2, the next day, he writes to Col. Washington on the same subject, saying, "On the East side of the Susquehanna the Forts are about ten to twelve miles asunder among which the most Considerable are Fort Henry, at a pass through the mountains, called Tolihao, Fort Lebanon, on the Forks of Schulkill, and Fort Allen, upon the West Branch of Delaware, where the Moravians had a town called Gnaden Huttens." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 565). In all these instances the Governor distinctly speaks of Fort Henry at Tolihao, or Swatara Gap, and yet in no case does he literally mean what he says. Captain Busse was never stationed at Swatara Gap. He had command invariably at Dietrich Six's place, the real Fort Henry, and he never was ordered by the Governor to proceed to Tolihao Gap proper, as apparently stated.

In the orders given Cap't Busse the Governor distinctly says he directed him to proceed to the Gap at Tolihao, there erect a fort and range from it "westwards towards Swehataro," meaning the fort erected at Swatara Gap, and nothing else; also to range "eastward towards a stoccado to be built by Capt. Morgan about half way between the said fort and fort Lebanon," which could have been only Fort Northkill.

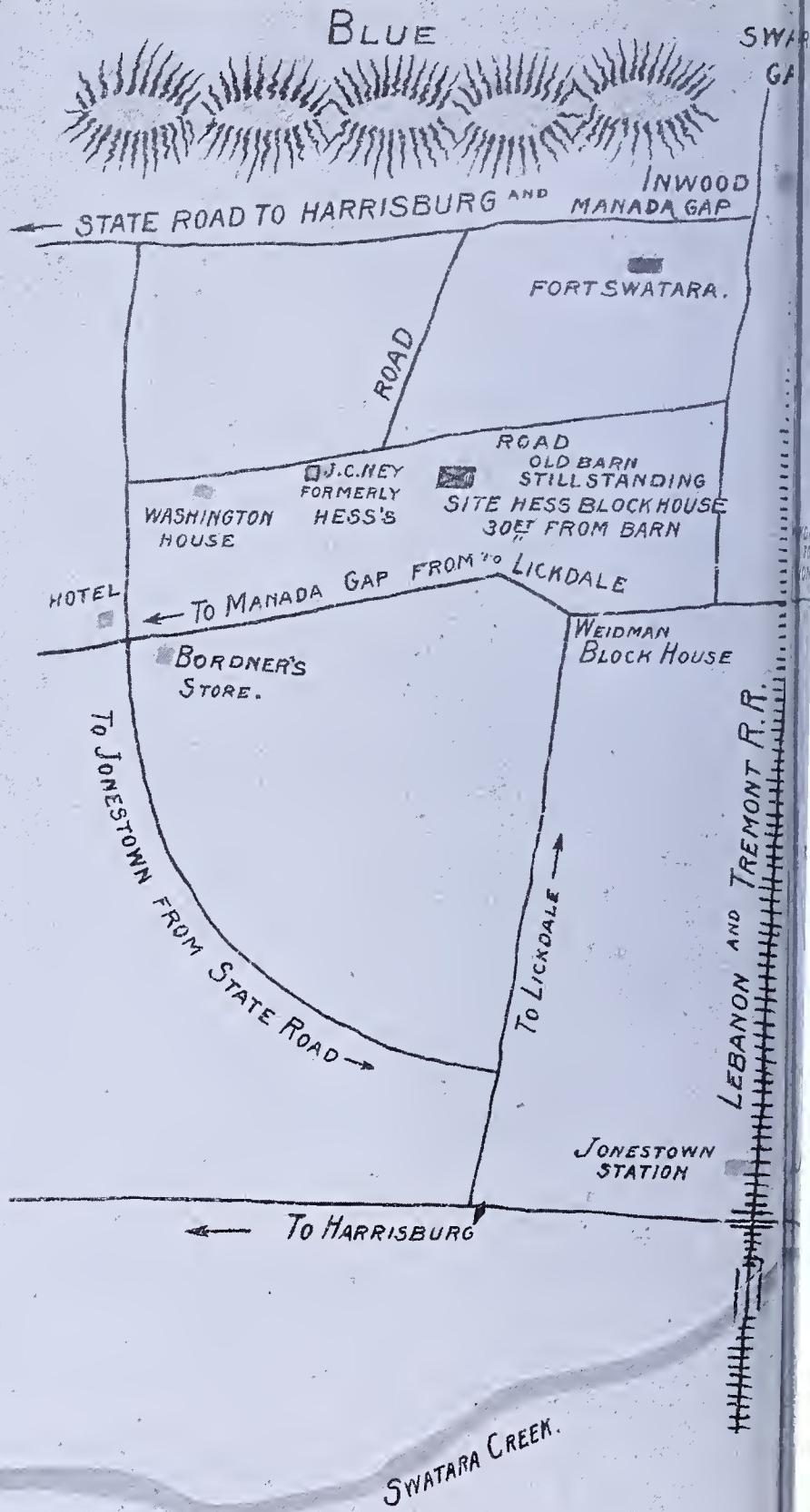
The truth of my statement is further evidenced by these orders to Capt. Jacob Morgan, just quoted. Capt. Morgan had command of Fort Lebanon above Port Clinton. The stockade which he was directed to build half way between Fort Lebanon and Fort Henry was unquestionably Fort Northkill, which *was* half way between Fort Lebanon and Fort Henry at Dietrich Six's, and could not have meant the fort at Dietrich Six's which is *not* half way between Fort Lebanon and Swatara Gap, but *is* half way between Fort Northkill and Swatara Gap.

If any other proof were needed we might refer to Conrad Weiser's letter of July 11th, 1756, to Gov. Morris, giving the various assignments of the troops under him. He states in

detail where the men of Capt. Smith are to be placed, all of them in and about Swatara Gap and the Manada Fort; then gives the men under Capt. Busse, all of whom are in and about Fort Henry, and after him Capt. Morgan's men at Fort Northkill and Fort Lebanon. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 696).

As we follow the course of events recorded about these several forts, I feel assured that no doubt can remain as to the fact that the statements made by Governor Morris relative to Fort Henry at Tolihao Gap, whilst possibly clear to him and those to whom he wrote, are certainly misleading to us. I believe the explanation to be this. In writing or speaking of localities at that time it must certainly have been difficult to do so intelligently. There were no towns or villages along the mountain as now, and it was impossible to say that a fort was located near such a village or settlement, where none existed. It was unsatisfactory to speak of locations in connection with a private residence, although that was occasionally done when a person was prominent, like Adam Read. It only remained to refer to a position as being near a mountain gap. Now, no such gap exists between Swatara Gap and that at Port Clinton, so the Governor could not do otherwise than say "Fort Henry at Tolihao Gap." More definite, and possibly personal instructions to the commanding officer could make clear to him the exact spot. Whatever may be the explanation, it was a wrong which it is high time to make right. The only name for the fort at Tolihao Gap is Fort Swatara, and Fort Henry belongs at Dietrich Six's alone. Indeed even to this day the fort near Dietrich Six's in Berks county is there known as Fort Henry. After a personal investigation made some time ago by Hon. D. B. Brunner, of this city, he remarks, in 1881, "It might be supposed that there is a mistake in the name of this fort, but a number of the old men who were brought up in the vicinity of the fort told me that this (Fort Henry) was the name that was applied to it by their parents and grandparents." (Brunner's Indians of Berks County, Penna., p. 23).

Having therefore removed the discrepancy which existed with regard to the names of these two forts, let us consider the history of the real fort at Swatara Gap, Fort Swatara.



SITE OF FORT SWATARA

MOUNTAINS.

N

W

E

S

MORAVIAN CHURCH
5 MILES FROM  BLOCK HOUSE
JONESTOWN, 3 MILES N.W. FROM FREDERICKSBURG

DALE STATION,
FORMERLY
IN FORGE

To FREDERICKSBURG

To LICKDALE.

FREDERICKSBURG

SITE OF
BLOCK HOUSE

HOUSE AND BARN
LEVI BROSS
FARM OWNED BY
JOSEPH GIBBER

MILL CREEK

Road: JONESTOWN TO MOUNTAINS

To FREDERICKSBURG.

SWATARA CREEK.

JONESTOWN

LITTLE SWATARA

HESS' BLOCK HOUSE.

The first and most prominent commander of Fort Swatara was Captain Frederick Smith, whose company came from Chester County. On Jany. 6, 1756, orders were sent him from Reading, as follows:

"Captain Frederick Smith :

You are, as soon as you possibly can, to Draft out of your company, fifty of the best men belonging to that Company, and with your Lieutenant and Ensign, march to the town of Reading, where you will be mustered by James Read, Esq., and from the time of such muster, you and the Company are to enter into the Government pay, according to the Establishment herewith given you.

You are to engage your men for a certain time, not less than two months nor more than three months.

You are to remain in the town of Reading till you receive further orders, and while there, you are to post your men in such a manner as best to defend that town in case it should be attacked.

You are to cause such* of your men as are able to bring with them, each a gun and a Blanket, and either an axe or a grubbing hoe.

You are to keep your men sober and in order, and at all times fit for duty, and to hold yourself & them in readiness to march from Reading, at an hour's warning." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 544).

It was soon seen, however, that the line of the Blue Range was the proper position to occupy, so, on Jan. 26th, the orders were sent Capt. Smith, already given in connection with the history of Manada Fort, to proceed as soon as possible with the company under his command to the "gap at Tolehaio where Swehatara comes through the mountain, and in some convenient place there to erect a Fort, of the form and dimentions herewith given you, unless you shall Judge the Staccado, already erected there, conveniently placed, in which case you will take possession of it, and make such additional works as you may think necessary to render it sufficiently strong and defenceable." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 552). He was also ordered, with a part of his company to occupy the Manada Gap. Owing to his lack of knowledge of the country,

James Galbraith was directed to confer with and advise him. Capt. Adam Read, who had been previously ranging the mountains with his men was ordered to now dismiss them and turn over his arms and supplies to Capt. Smith, as was also Cap't Hederick who had been engaged in like work, all of which was done. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 551-553). Referring to these arrangements the Governor in his letter of same date to James Galbraith says, "I have ordered Capt. Smith, with a Company from Chester County, to take post at the Gap at Svehatara, and to station a detachment of his men at Monaday, either in the Stockadoes already built there, or to erect such others as he may Judge best; but as he is a stranger to that part of the country, I must desire you will assist him with your advice, not only as to the most advantageous situations for the forts, in case it should be resolved to erect new ones, but in any thing else that the service may require, and let me know from time to time what is done in that quarter." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 554).

No further mention is made of the erection of the fort. As in the case of Manada Fort, it is very probable that the Stockade erected by the settlers during the latter part of 1755 was occupied by the soldiers. It was not an extensive work. In his letter to Col. Washington of Feb. 2, 1756, Gov. Morris says the principal forts East of the Susquehanna were Fort Henry, Fort Lebanon above Port Clinton and Fort Allen at Weissport "the others being only Block Houses." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 565). We may presume, therefore, that it consisted of a single building surrounded by a stockade.

The many murders committed by the savages and their stealthy approach made it necessary to distribute the soldiers around amongst various farm houses, especially during the harvest time now at hand.

Col. Weiser held a consultation with Captains Smith, Busse and Morgan, in July, 1756, at Fort Henry the central point, and arranged for the distribution of the men. Eight men of Capt. Smith's company were to assist the people in the Hole (the place where twice murder was committed) to gather in their harvest, and stay over night in the Moravian House; eight of his men to range westward of his fort under the hill,

and if occasion require to be stationed in two parties to guard the reapers; sixteen men to be in and about the fort to help and protect the neighbors, but constantly ten out of the sixteen are to stay in the fort; nine men to remain constantly in Manada Fort, and twelve men to range east and west of that place. Although this arrangement did not leave men enough in the forts to relieve those on duty, and barely enough to defend the forts and send provisions to the various posts, yet it was not sufficient for the settlers, who, becoming enraged at the loss of family, friends and property, even threatened to go to the French for protection if the English Provincial Government would not afford it. Some of the number, without giving their action due consideration, even seem to have complained to the Governor that Capt. Smith, who appears to have been a brave and faithful officer, was negligent in his duty. To the credit of the inhabitants generally it must be said that as soon as they learned this, the people about Swatara and the Hole wrote a letter to Col. Weiser in his favor, which the Colonel sent to Governor Morris by his son "Sammy" Weiser who might translate it to His Excellency, (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 696).

It might be well to refer here to the Journal of the officer in command at Fort Northkill, which will be given in proper order, and in which frequent mention is made of Capt. Smith and his command. In the Penn'a Archives, Vol ii, p. 159, it is called "A Journal in 1754," another unfortunate error, probably made at some time in transcribing records, or of a typographical character, but which has caused confusion as to the date of erection of the sundry forts.

The time when this Journal was written was unquestionably from June to August of 1757, and not 1754, as at the latter time the country thereabouts was at peace with the Indians, and we have just seen that Capt. Smith and his command were not mustered into the service of the government until 1756.

Notwithstanding all efforts of the government and soldiers the enemy seemed to be successful in their work of destruction. It was felt that, perhaps, the methods of defense were unequal to the occasion but how to remedy the matter was

no easy conclusion to reach. In the early part of 1757, Major Burd suggest to the government the desirability of doing away entirely with all the forts and defenses except three, one to be Fort Lytleton in the extreme west, another Fort Augusta, in the centre, and a third to be erected at Easton, with Col. Weiser's battalion, numbering 500 men, in charge. At these forts were to be stationed 100 men only, the balance to be engaged in active operations against the savages, marching into their own country instead of waiting their attack at home. He suggested uniforming the troops in green hunting shirts for better concealment. The plan was certainly wise and was acted upon, to a certain extent, with success, but it seemed impossible to carry it out in full, so the original forts were continued until gradually diminished in number. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 99.)

In 1757 was held the Treaty with the Indians at Easton where Conrad Weiser once more acted as the Agent of the Government, and interpreter for the Governor. On that occasion he arranged for a guard of 110 men, who were to come from sundry forts, amongst them Fort Swatara. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 218.) On Feb. 5th, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports at Fort Swatara Lieut. Allen with 33 men, and its distance to Fort Hunter, on the Susquehanna, as 24 miles (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 339). In another report under the same date, of the fort, he gives the name of Lieut. Marshloff, with 33 men, 28 provincial muskets, 23 private guns, 10 lbs. of powder, 10 lbs. of lead, $2\frac{1}{2}$ months of provisions, and 14 cartridges. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 341.) On Feby. 9th, Jas. Young, Commissary of Musters, reports one company of 46 men on duty at the Fort on Swatara. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 341.) James Burd, during his tour on inspection, visited Fort Swatara and has the following to say of it at this time:

Sunday, Feby. 19th, 1758.

"This day at 11 A. M., march'd for Fort Swettarrow, got to Crawford's, 14 miles from Hunter's (Fort Hunter), here I stay all night, it rain'd hard.

Had a number of applications from the country for protection * * * *

20th, Monday.

March'd this morning at 11 A. M., mett a Serg't & 12 men here, who march'd with me back to Swettarrow, this day it rain'd much, gott to Swettarrow Fort at 4 P. M., the roads extream bad, the soldiers march with great difficulty, found Capt'n Lieu't Allen & 38 men here per report; this is 11 miles from Crawford's.

21st, Tuesday.

Reviewed the Garrison this morning at 10 A. M., & found 38 men, Vis't, 21 belonging to Cap't. Leu't Allen, & 17 detached from Capt'n Weiser's Co.; of Capt'n Allen's 13 men for 3 years, no province arms fitt for use, no kettles, nor blankets, 12 lb of poudder & 25 lb of lead, no poudder Horns, pouches, nor Cartouch boxes, no Tomahawks nor Province tools of any kind, 2 months provision.

Some Soldiers Absent and others hyr'd in their place which has been a custom here, the soldiers under no Dissipline. Ordered a Serg't & 12 men to be always out upon the Scout from hence to Crawford's, keeping along the blue mountain, altering their routs, & a targett to be erected 6 inches thick, in order to practice the Soldiers in Shooting.

This day 12 M. D., the Country people came here, I promise them to station an officer & 25 men at Robertson's Mill, this mill is situate in the Centre between the Forts Swattarrow & Hunter, this gave the People Content.

March'd at 1 P. M., for Fort Henry * * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 353.)

Upon his arrival there he ordered Ensign Craighead with 18 men to march to Fort Swatara, there obtain 7 men from Capt. Allen and with his command proceed to Robinson's Mill, in accordance with his promise made the farmers. He also sent a Serg't., Corporal and 8 men to Squire Read's house, and instructed Capt. Weiser, whose company was added to that of Capt. Busse at Fort Henry, to range from Fort Henry to Fort Northkill on the East and Fort Swatara on the West. From Fort Henry he proceeded to Conrad Weiser's house, from which place he ordered to Fort Swatara one cask of powder, and, later, from Reading, eleven blankets and 100 pounds of lead.

Here ends our record of Fort Swatara, which, with the success of the British troops and consequent cessation of hostilities in that neighborhood, gradually passed out of existence. There is nothing in what has been written to definitely fix its location. Fortunately memory and authentic tradition supplies this deficiency. In Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties, p. 364, the following appears:

"Fort Smith, it is believed was in this part of the country (Lebanon County) within the limits of Union township. Not a few seem to think, each of them has the honor of having it perpetuated, that Fort Smith was on his farm. Some with whom we have conversed, locate it at Union Forge. An intelligent gentleman, Jacob Weidman, Esq., in a communication of Feb. 13, 1844, says:—'The following facts I obtained from Mr. Daniel Musser, who is nearly seventy years old. He suggests that there may probably be an error to locate Fort Smith where Union Forge is. Mr. Musser's maternal grandfather, Peter Heydrich, who emigrated from Germany and located previous to 1738, about three-fourths of a mile due north from this place it appears, owned the place on which Fort Smith was erected. My informant says, he knows that a fort had been erected on his grandfather's farm, to which, in great emergencies, the neighbors fled for safety.'

The persons whom Mr. Musser remembers having heard of that resided in this township, as old settlers, were Mr. Noacre or Noecker, who was shot dead in his field while ploughing, on the farm now owned by John Zehring. He says that one Philip Maurer was shot dead while cradling oats on the farm now occupied by John Gross. Martin Hess, who escaped unhurt, his house also had been a place of refuge—often half a dozen families would resort to Hess's house, which was about one mile southwest from Peter Heydrich's, and a half a mile west from this place. Mathias Boeshore (your mother's relative) was also an old settler, who, on one occasion retreated from the enemy, the Indians, towards Hess's. Just as he had got inside the house, seized his gun, and turned upon his pursuers, levelling his deadly weapon at them, and while in the act of drawing the trigger, he received a shot from an Indian, which wounded him but slightly. The bullet of

ULRICH
FORT

NOW C.P. STEINMETZ'S HOMESTEAD.



LEBANON VALLEY R.R.

ANNVILLE

BERKS & DAUPHIN

TURNPIKE.

SITE OF ULRICH FORT OR BLOCK HOUSE.

one savage's gun struck that part of Boeshore's rifle, to which the flint is attached; the ball glancing a little to one side, wounded him in the left side. Boeshore lived to be a very old man.

The land on which this fort was erected, is now owned by widow Elizabeth Shuey. The old people are unanimous in locating the fort on Mrs. Shuey's farm, at that time the property of Peter Heydrich. None of them seems to know that the house on Mr. Weidman's place here was ever used as a fort. May it not, like the house of Mr. Hess, have been only a kind of blockhouse; as the house of Hess, as well as the one here, has also some apertures, or port holes, which were evidently used to fire out upon the enemy?

Of Peter Heydrich, it is related, that on a certain occasion, the Indians appeared in great numbers—and nearly all the neighbors being in their own houses—Heydrich gave immediate notice to the people to resort to the fort, and in the meantime, (having both fife and drum in the fort, and could beat and fife well), took the drum and fife, marched himself into the woods or thicket, now beating the drum then blowing the fife; then and again gave the word of command, loud and distinct, as if it had been given to a large force—though he was the only one to obey orders—by this *Guerre de ruse*, slight of war, he managed to keep the savages away, and collect his neighbors securely. *Noth bricht Eisen.*"

This interesting letter gives the true situation of the fort without doubt. I personally made a careful investigation of the entire neighborhood, with the result of only confirming what has just been said. The unanimous verdict of the people located Fort Swatara or Smith's Fort on the Shuey property, now the Behny Farm. The sketch given will be more explicit.

Fort Swatara stood in what is now a field, at the end of the private farm road leading from the State road to the farm of Joseph Behny, distant from the former some 80 yards, and from Inwood Station, at Swatara Gap, three-fourths mile southwest. The farm was sold by Mrs. Shuey to Wm. Coppenhaver and by him to Jacob Behny, whose home is near that of Joseph. It is on the left side of the road, with a spring

at the southwest corner of the fort, and a fine run of water directly south of it, flowing east and west. The ground is not elevated but comparatively level. A number of old residents testified as to the correct situation of the fort. Amongst them Jacob Kohr, 72 years old, whose mother and grandmother told him of it, the latter, Mrs. John Wallis, dying 50 years ago, 87 years old. He stated that it was a log house, with port holes cut in it. As will be noticed the fort commands the roads to Harrisburg, Swatara Gap and the country below. I would recommend a monument at the entrance to the lane, on the State road.

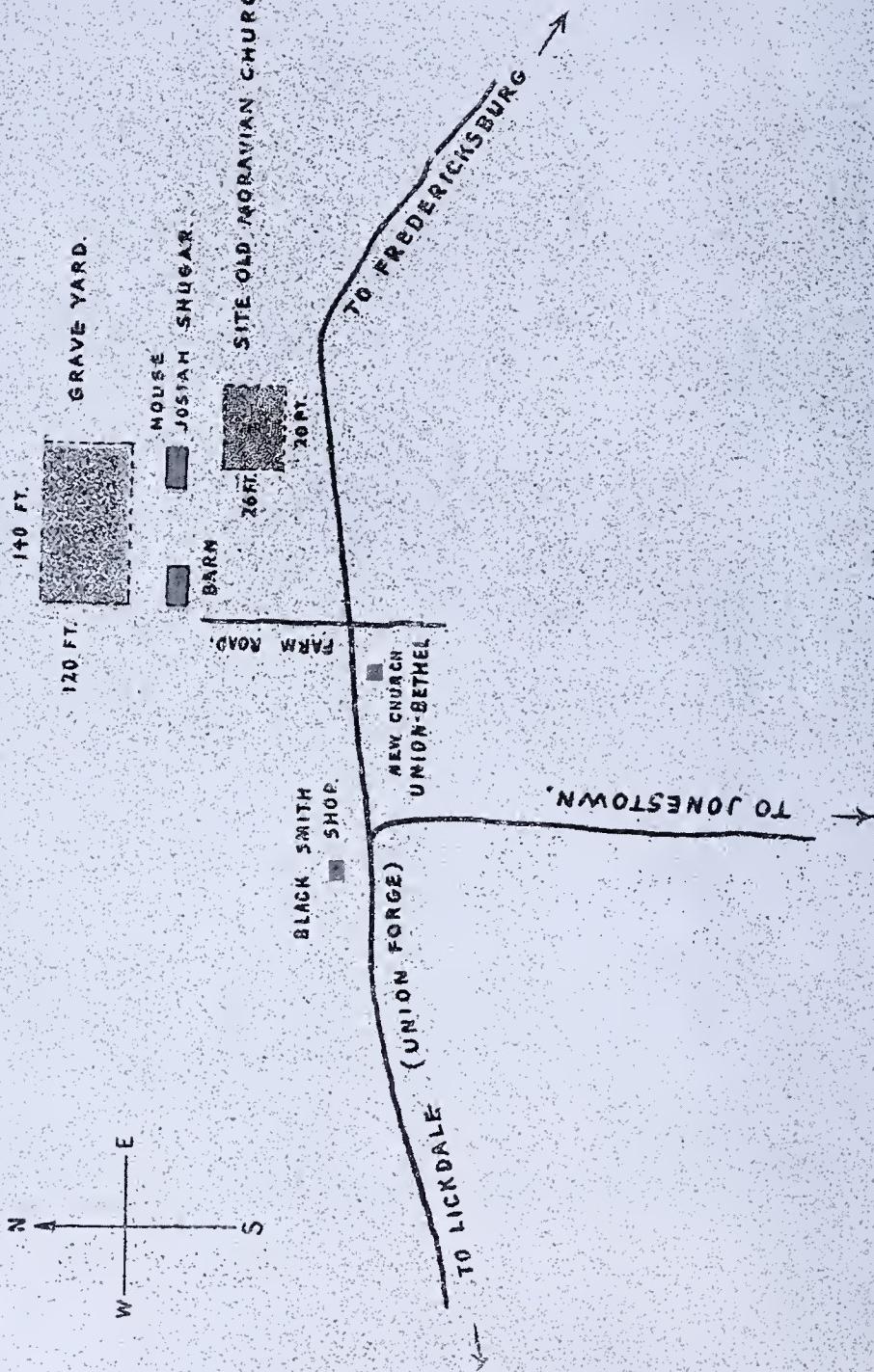
On the sketch is also located the Weidman house, at Lickdale, formerly Union Forge, of which mention has been made, and which was used as a house of refuge. The original old mansion still stands, but its former appearance has been completely changed by the weather boarding placed over it. It is beautifully surrounded by a grove of trees, and stands about 50 yards back of the road.

The numerous murders committed by the Indians made necessary the occupation by soldiers of various buildings besides the forts proper. The settlers themselves frequently used other houses, strongly built and centrally located, as places of refuge. Each of these had its own tale of terror and possible death. It is but right, wherever known, to fix their positions on the map and tell somewhat of their history, if in existence. In this vicinity, besides the Weidman house, stood the Hess house, the block house at Fredericksburg, and the Moravian Church at the same place. I give herewith a general sketch, embodying the position of each. Mr. Read's house, on the Swatara Creek, might properly be included here also, but as its history was more intimately connected with that of the Manada Fort, I have noted it under that heading.

Mention has been made heretofore of Hess's house, and I have marked its location above. Of its history I have learned nothing in especial, beyond the fact of its use as a place of refuge. It is said there is an excavation where the old house stood. It is about one mile from Fort Swatara and about the same distance from Lickdale.

The site of the block house near Fredericksburg was

SITE OF MORAVIAN CHURCH STOCKADE, LEBANON COUNTY.



originally on the farm of John Groh, one of the first settlers of Bethel Township. It was sold to J. H. Lick and Joseph Gibber, the present owner. About four years ago it was torn down and the logs used in the new building which stands nearly if not quite on the site of the old house. At the time it was torn down it was noticed that the loop-holes were blackened with powder, showing the active use to which it had been put. It was on the road leading from Jonestown to Fredericksburg, about 300 yards from the latter place, and on the banks of a small stream. It was some 32 feet long, 16 feet wide, and one story high, and had a garret, or cornice, extending out over the sides, with loop-holes in the floor to enable the inmates to shoot downwards. It was a house of refuge. This information was kindly furnished by Gideon Schnaterly, who is 68 years old, and received it from Elizabeth Herman, who died 20 years ago at the age of 92, as well as from his father who died 15 years ago at the age of 80.

The Moravian Church, which was used as a place of refuge and defense, was located 3 miles northwest from Fredericksburg and 5 miles north from Jonestown, on the road leading from Fredericksburg to Lickdale, along the mountain. It is on the property of Josiah Shugar, about 50 yards north of the Fredericksburg road, and 200 yards northeast from the New Church. The Grave Yard, in which it is said a number of the persons murdered by the Indians lie buried, is about 200 feet in the rear of the barn. The barn and house which now stand on the property were partly built of logs from the Old Church, which looked to be in an excellent state of preservation. It was torn down fifteen or eighteen years ago.

This information was obtained from Josiah Shugar living on the place, as well as from Mr. Gideon Schnaterly, mentioned above.

The Indian Forts were erected solely for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of those who lived near them. Had there been no murders there would have been no forts. I feel, therefore, that the history of the forts would be incomplete without reference at least to such of the terrible sufferings endured by the people in their neighborhood as are on record. The inhabitants of Lebanon and Berks Counties

endured even more than their share of the terrible atrocities perpetrated by the savages.

The town of Lebanon, being already densely settled, was resorted to, as a place of safety by hundreds of families who fled from the frontier settlements. Sixty families had, at one time, taken shelter in the house of John Light, which is still standing, and known among the people there as the "Old Fort." Of it the Rev. P. C. Croll of that city, has just written me "The John Light Fort" is a dilapidated stone structure, fast going to ruin, in the northwest section of our city, lately owned by one Gingering, but now in possession of the Brocks and Colemans. It was a house of refuge, having still the arched vault under the first floor (which is stone and earth) spacious enough to shelter comfortably one hundred people. It used to have a running spring in this cellar, which is dried up. The house was used as a Mennonite meeting house, and residence, and fort, and later distillery, and now furnishes shelter for goats and sparrows and a colored family."

The house of Mr. George Gloninger was also a place of usual resort, also that of Mr. Ulrich near Annville, and the Zellers property near Newmanstown. Concerning these three buildings Rev. P. C. Croll, of Lebanon, has kindly furnished the following interesting information :

"The Gloninger and Ulrich forts, so called, I judge have been simply strongly built houses of refuge. The former is now used, with some alterations, as a farm house. The latter was erected in 1751, a quarter of a mile north of Annville railroad depot, by Mr. Ulrich, over which his descendants erected a stone dwelling, which has been recently remodelled, but the fort has remained intact. It is nothing but a mural dungeon, or vault, built into a hillside, with an air hole walled out. It has a stone with this inscription:

'SO OFT DIE DIER DEN ANKEL WENT
AN DEINEN TOD, OMENSCH, GEDENK.'

1751.

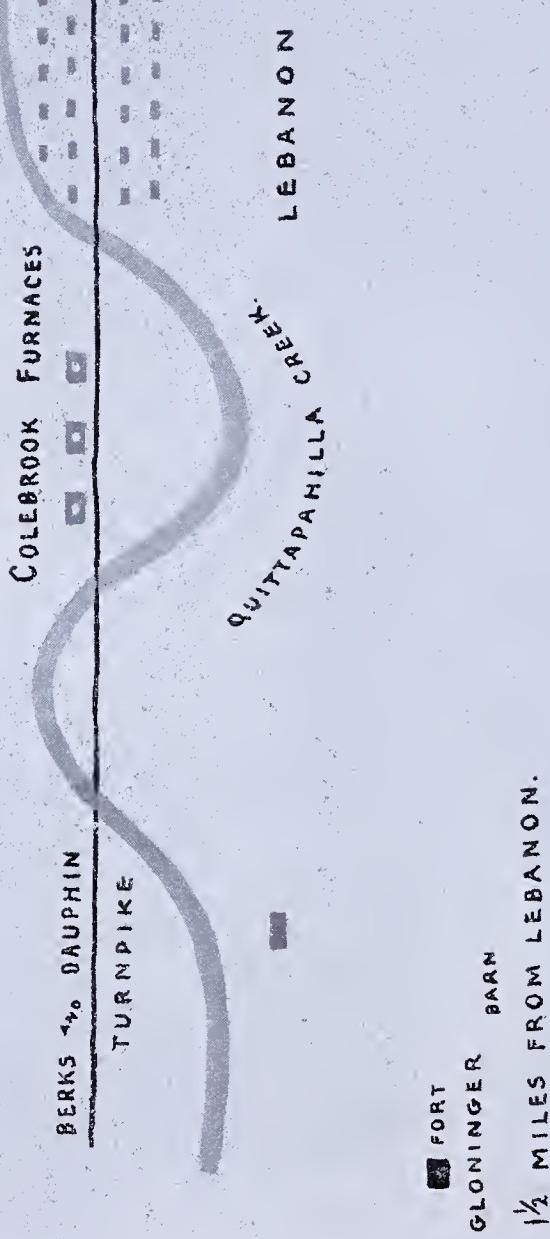
(a free translation.)

'Whene'er this door its hinge does turn,
may thought of death to thee return.'



GLONINGER BLOCKHOUSE, 1895.

SITE OF GLONINGER FORT OR BLOCK HOUSE.



Mr. Croll says of the Zeller house of refuge that it is an old and well preserved building built of solid masonry, and, in part, ornamented with carved stone door-jambs and head stones or lintels. It was erected in 1745 on land owned by Heinrich Zellers and now in possession of his eighth lineal descendant, Mr. Monroe P. Zellers. Even then it was built for protection and to guard against attack, the original windows being mere port holes, as shown in some still preserved. Many traditions still cluster about this old landmark. It is related of the original Mrs. Zellers that she superintended the construction of the house, whilst her husband was out on an expedition against the Indians, and that her laborers were colored slaves. It is said, also, of this same Christine Zellers that one day, whilst alone in the fort, she saw three prowling savages approaching and heading for the small hole in the cellar shown on the picture attached. She quickly descended the cellar steps and stationed herself at this window with an uplifted ax. Presently the head of the first Indian protruded through the hole when she quickly brought down the weapon with an effective blow. Dragging the body in, she disguised her voice and, in Indian language, beckoned his companions to follow, which they did and were all dispatched in like manner. It was here that the community found refuge during the Indian troubles, at which time it is said to have been attacked.

In addition to these buildings, the Moravian Church, erected in 1750, a mile and a half east from Gloninger's was occupied by refugees, the principal part of whom had fled from the Moravian settlements in Bethel township. (Loskiel p. 11, p. 180.)

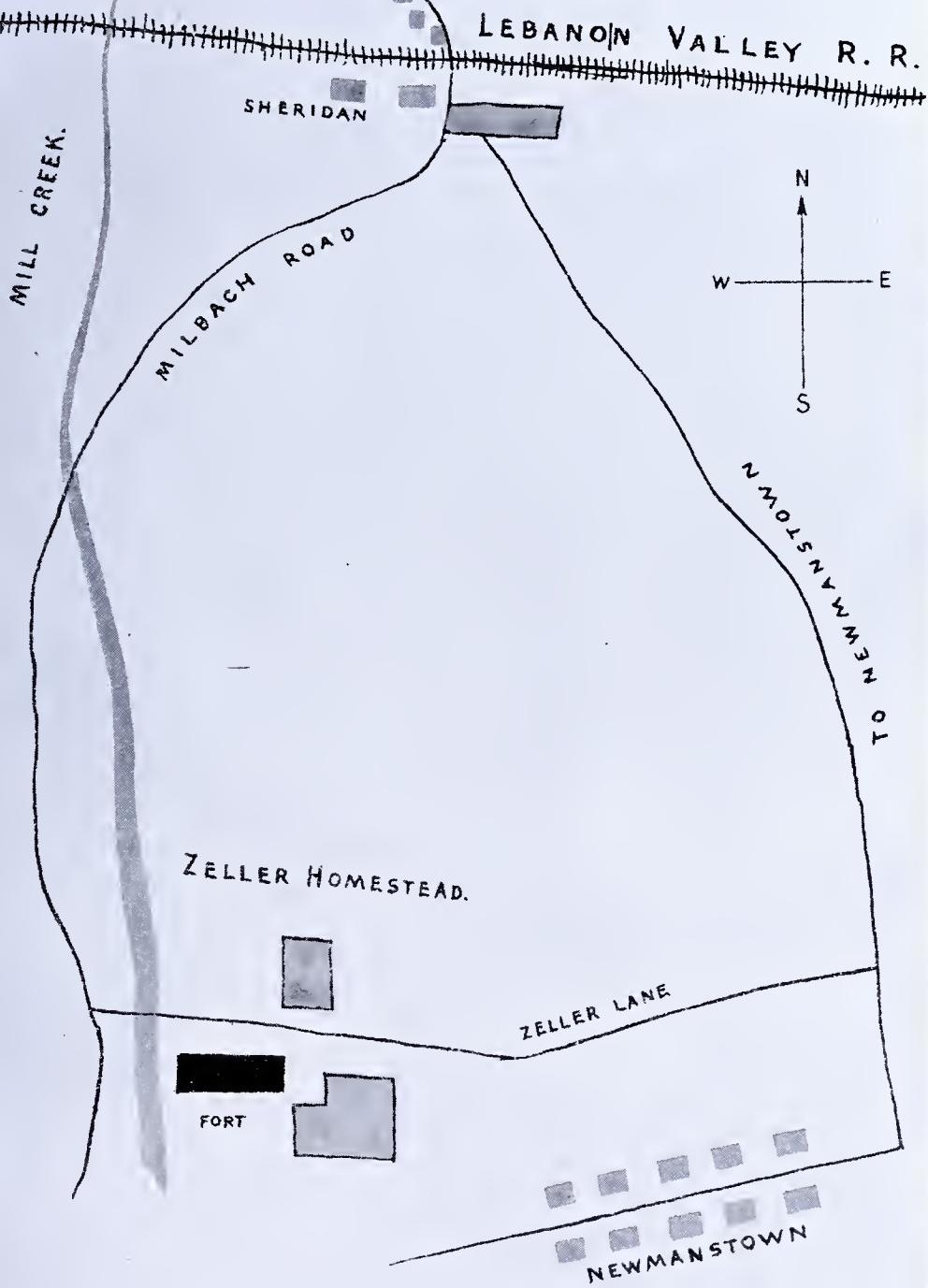
One John Spitler, son-in-law to Jacob Miley, was shot dead while fixing up a pair of bars, and his body cruelly mangled. Mrs. Miley escaped by taking refuge in the watch house at her father's, a few miles from Stumptown. This happened in May, 1757. Spitler's mangled corpse was interred in the grave yard at Hebron, near Lebanon. The following, touching his murder, is found in the Records of the Hebron Church, "1757, May den 16, wurde Johannes Spitler, Jr., ohnweit von seinem Hause, an der Schwatara von moerderischen Indian-

ern ueberfallen und ermordert. Er war im acht unndreisigsten Jahr seines Alters, und verwichenes Jahr im April, an der Schwatara auf genommen. Seine uebelzugericht tette Leiche wurde den 17ten May hieher gebracht, und bei einer grossen Menge Leute begleitet auf unsren hiesigen Gottesacker beerdig't." (Rupp, p. 310.)

In Bethel township the people suffered greatly. In November, 1755, twenty persons were killed and some children carried off. "Shocking," says the Secretary of the Province, "are the descriptions given by those who escaped of the horrid cruelties and indecencies, committed by the merciless savages, on the bodies of those unhappy wretches who fell into their hands, especially the women, without regard to age or sex, these far exceed those related of the most abandoned pirates."

On June 8th, 1756, at "The Hole," Swatara Gap, they crept up, unobserved, behind the fence of Felix Wuench, shot him, as he was ploughing, through the breast—he cried lamentably and ran, but the Indians soon caught up to him, and, although he defended himself sometime with his whip, they cut his head and breast with their tomahawks and scalped him. His wife, hearing his cries and the report of two guns, ran out of the house, but was soon taken by the enemy who carried her with one of her own and two of her sister's children, away with them, after setting the house on fire and otherwise destroying property.

A servant boy, who was at some distance, seeing this, ran to his neighbor, George Miess, who, though he had a lame leg, ran, with his son, directly after the Indians, raising at the same time a great noise, which so alarmed the Indians that they immediately ran off, leaving behind them a tub of butter and a side of bacon. Mr. Miess then went to the house, which was in flames, and threw down the fences in order to save the barn. The Indians had drunk all the brandy in the spring house, and took several gammons, a quantity of meal, some loaves of bread, and a great many other things with them. Had it not been for the courage of Mr. Miess they would have attacked another house. They shot one of the horses in the plough, and dropped a large French knife. (Penn. Gaz., June 17, 1756.)



SITE OF ZELLER FORT BLOCK HOUSE.

ZELLER BLOCKHOUSE, 1895.



Shortly after committing the above murder the Indians killed a child of Lawrence Dippel's, a boy about four years old who was found cruelly murdered and scalped. Another lad, about six years old, was carried off. (Penn. Gaz., June 17, 1756.)

On June 26, they surprised and scalped two men, Franz Albert and Jacob Haendsche, also two lads, Frederick Weiser and John George Miess, who were ploughing in the field of one Fischer, and shot two horses. (Schwatarer Kirchen Buch.)

In August, 1757, as John Winklebach's two sons, and Joseph Fischbach, a Provincial Soldier, went out about sunrise to bring in the cows, they were fired upon by about fifteen Indians. The two lads were killed, one being scalped, the other reaching the house before he died. The soldier was wounded in the head. (Hist. Penn., Egle, ii, p. 865.)

The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg relates, in the Hal-lische Nachrichten, p. 1029, a touching incident, which has been frequently told, but is so "apropos" to this record that it should not be omitted. It was of the widow of John Hartman who called at his house in February, 1765, who had been a member of one of Rev. Kurtz's congregations. She and her husband had emigrated to this country from Reutlingen, Wur-temberg, and settled on the frontiers of Lebanon County. The Indians fell upon them October 16th, 1755, killed her husband, one of the sons, and carried off two small daughters into captivity, whilst she and the other son were absent. On her return she found the home in ashes, and her family either dead or lost to her, whereupon she fled to the interior settle-ments at Tulpehocken and remained there. The sequel to this occurrence is exceedingly interesting. The two girls were taken away. It was never known what became of Barbara, the elder, but Regina, with another little girl two years old, were given to an old Indian woman, who treated them very harshly. In the absence of her son, who supplied them with food, she drove the children into the woods to gather herbs and roots to eat, and, when they failed to get enough, beat them cruelly. So they lived until Regina was about nineteen years old and the other girl eleven. Her mother was a good, Christian woman, and had taught her daughters their prayers,

together with many texts from the Scriptures, and their beautiful German Hymns, much of which clung to her memory during all these years of captivity. At last, in the providence of God, Colonel Bouquet brought the Indians under subjection in 1764, and obliged them to give up their captives. More than four hundred of these unfortunate beings were gathered together at Carlisle, amongst them the two girls, and notices were sent all over the country for those who had lost friends and relatives, of that fact. Parents and husbands came, in some instances, hundreds of miles, in the hope of recovering those they had lost, the widow being one of the number. They were many joyful scenes, but more sad ones. So many changes had taken place, that, in many instances, recognition seemed impossible. This was the case with the widow. She went up and down the long line but, in the young women who stood before her, dressed in Indian costume, she failed to recognize the little girls she had lost. As she stood, gazing and weeping, Colonel Bouquet compassionately suggested that she do something which might recall the past to her children. She could think of nothing but a hymn which was formerly a favorite with the little ones:

"Alone, yet not alone am I,
Though in this solitude so drear;
I feel my Saviour always nigh,
He comes the very hour to cheer;
I am with Him, and He with me,
E'en here alone I cannot be."

She commenced singing, in German, but had barely completed two lines, when poor Regina rushed from the crowd, began to sing also and threw her arms around her mother. They both wept for joy and the Colonel gave the daughter up to her mother. But the other girl had no parents, they having probably been murdered. She clung to Regina and begged to be taken home with her. Poor as was the widow she could not resist the appeal and the three departed together. - (Todd's Sabbath School Teacher.)

In reply to a letter addressed to Mr. Sarge he wrote Mr. Rupp thus:

"In 1834, an uncle of mine purchased a farm, three miles from Fort Smith, the house, then on this farm, was evidently also a Fort—tradition has it so—there are besides—or were at least when I saw the house in '34—marks of corroborating evidence to conclusively show this to have been the case. The port-holes, though plugged when I saw the house, and the scores of partial perforations made in the logs by bullets or balls, concur to sustain the truth of tradition. The house has, however, been since removed, and in its stead, another is erected. The workmen, in sinking the cellar deeper, discovered a subterranean cave, which, it is surmised, served as a place of concealment and greater security for their wives and little ones, should the fort be surprised by the Indians in the absence of the men on their farms at work.

Mr. Meiss, some years ago, informed my father that two of his brothers fell a victim to gratify the destructive propensity of the Indians. The two brothers were ploughing, and thus were surprised by the Indians. One of them was shot dead on the spot; the other, for his life, made for the house; having nearly reached his goal, and while in the act of leaping a fence, a ruthless Indian, hard on his heels, sunk his tomahawk in the head of his victim—he expired instantly." (Rupp., p. 321).

In Hanover Township, on November 16, 1755, a party of Indians crossed the Susquehanna, commenced their bloody deeds, and murdered thirteen persons.

In the autumn of 1756, a company of ten Indians came to the house of Noah Frederick, while ploughing, killed and scalped him, and carried away three children that were with him, the eldest but nine years old.

A correspondent from this township of the Penna. Gazette, says, in its issue of May, 1757, that the house of Isaac Snevely was set on fire and entirely consumed, with eighteen horses and cows, and that, on May 17th, five men and a woman were killed and scalped about thirty miles from Lancaster. In another letter, dated August 11th, it is stated that, on Monday, the 8th, George Mauerer was killed and scalped whilst cutting oats in George Scheffer's field. "There is now," says the same writer, "such a severe sickness in these parts—the like has

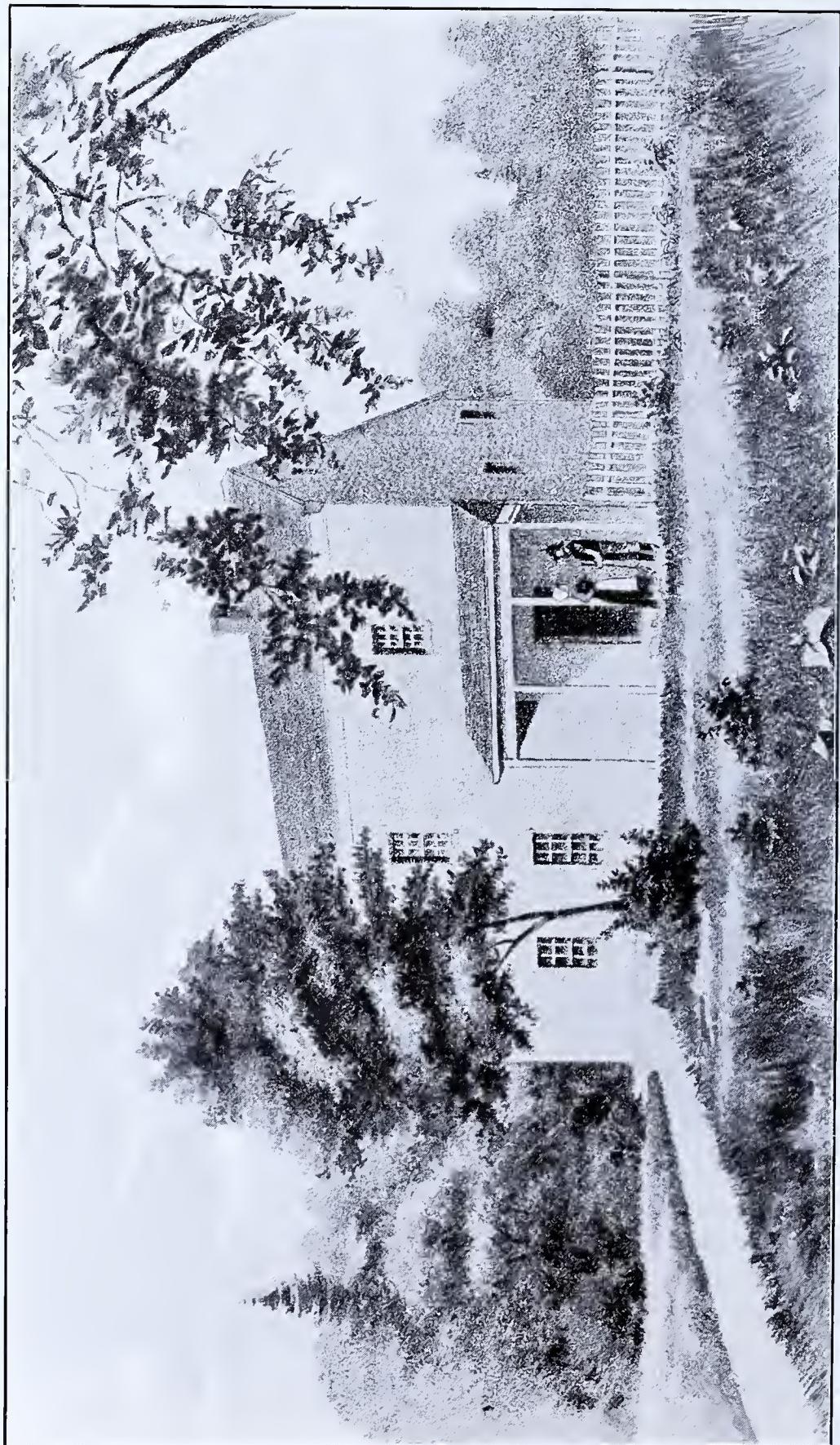
not been known—that many families can neither fight nor run away, which occasions great distress on the frontiers. Had it not been for forty men, which the province has in pay in this township, little of the harvest could have been saved, and as the time for which they have been engaged is nearly elapsed, the inhabitants hope the government will continue them in the service, else the consequences will be dreadful."

On Monday, May 22, Barnabas Tolon was killed and scalped in Hanover Township, "and we are," says the Editor of the Penn'a Gazette, "well informed that one hundred and twenty-three persons have been murdered and carried off from that part of Lancaster (Lebanon) County, by the Indians, since the war commenced and that lately three have been scalped and are yet living."

On June 18th, 1758, Squire Read writes to Edward Shippen that as Leonard Long was riding along the road, about a mile from Read's house, he was killed and scalped. Mr. Read, with some of his company, immediately went to the scene where they found the body lying in the road, bleeding, but could not track the Indians. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 426).

The Indians continued to commit murders and depredations till December, 1763, when they were seen for the last time within the limits of Lebanon County.

Londonderry Township being more towards the interior was not so much exposed to the depredations of the savages as those on the northern frontiers. Nevertheless, in the more sparsely settled parts they committed various murders. June 19, 1757, nineteen persons were killed in a mill on the Quitapahilla Creek, and on the 9th of September, 1757, one boy and a girl were taken from Donegal township, a few miles south of Derry. (Loudon's Narratives, p. 200-208). About the same time, one Danner and his son Christian, a lad of twelve years, had gone into the Conewago hills to cut down trees; after felling one, and while the father was cutting a log, he was shot and scalped by an Indian, and Christian, the son, taken captive into Canada, where he remained until the close of the war when he made his escape. Another young lad, named Steger, was surprised by three Indians and taken captive whilst cutting hoop-poles, but, fortunately, after remaining with the Indians some months made his escape.



BRIETENBACH BLOCKHOUSE, 1895.

Jacob and Henry Boman, brothers, both young men, having been taken captive were tied in a secluded thicket by the Indians, who left, it is presumed, to go to the Conestoga Indians, intending to return, but, in the interim, a Mr. Shally, who was returning from Lancaster to Lebanon, chanced to pass, and, upon their calling him, released them, and they returned to their parents living near the present Palmyra. (Rupp, p. 334).

In Heidelberg Township nothing special occurred not common to the other townships in the county. The Indians committed several murders in the northern part, now Jackson. They carried off several children, one of whom, William Jackson, was returned, who had been held captive for some time, in 1762, at Lancaster. (Rupp, p. 344).

In Jackson Township, near Stouchsburg, was the house of Benjamin Spycker, where the farmers under Conrad Weiser, rendezvoused in 1755, as previously described. In this, as well as the other townships, were several block houses, or places of refuge, one of which stood on the farm owned by Mr. Breitenbach in 1844, a short distance east of Myerstown. Philip Breitenbach, the father of Mr. Breitenbach, purchased the tract of land, on which the block house stood, from Martin Noacker. Philip Breitenbach was wont, on many occasions of alarm, to take his drum and beat it on an eminence near his house, to collect the neighbors from work into the fort. On one occasion the Indians pursued them close to the house, when one of the inmates took up a gun and shot the Indian dead on the spot. (Rupp, p. 363). About one mile northeast from Millerstown the first public house, in this region of country, was kept by the grandfather of Adam Ulrich, the occupant in 1844. Mr. Ulrich also kept a small store and traded with the Indians, many of whom staid weeks with him. Adam Ulrich's father, when a boy, frequently played with the Indians in the thickets. It appears there was a burying ground near Ulrich's house.

One evening, about 1756 or 57, Adam Ulrich's father and grandfather were feeding their cattle when they were surprised by the Indians, fortunately escaped and eluded their pursuit, whereupon the Indians killed all the cattle by cutting out their tongues. (Rupp, p. 360).

This completes the record of a few of the said occurrences in Lebanon County, and the vicinity of Fort Swatara, which have been preserved. It is not pleasant to pursue them and the reader is doubtless quite ready to pass from their consideration to that of

FORT HENRY.*

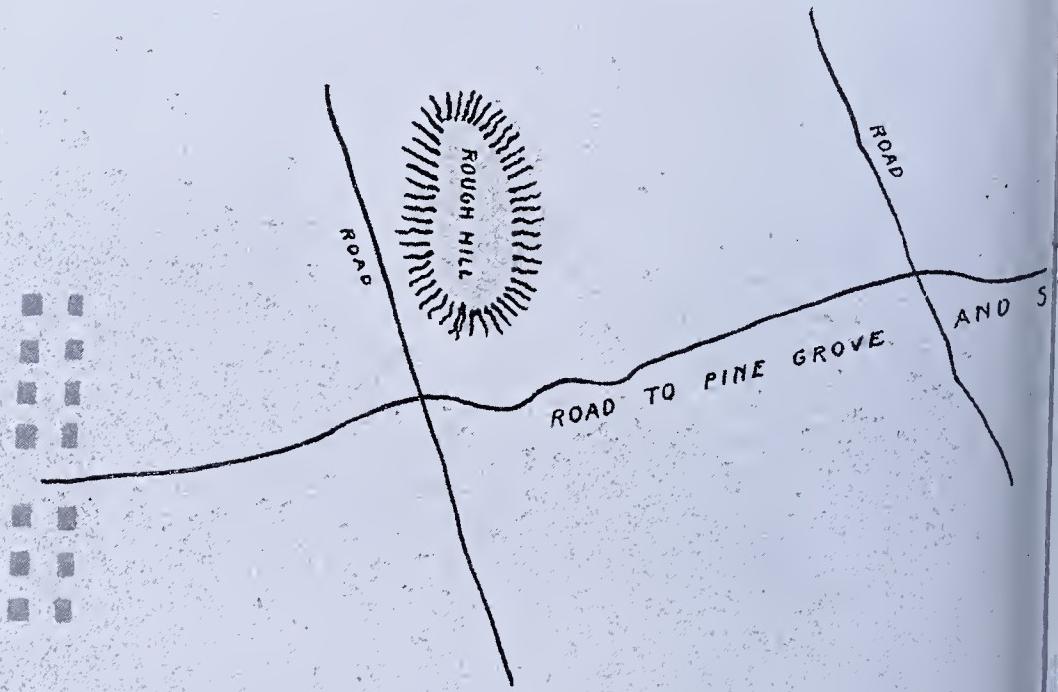
Following the plan of defense which had been laid out, the next fort along the mountains was placed some fourteen miles to the East of Fort Swatara, and called Fort Henry. Sometimes it is mentioned as Busse's Fort, from the name of its Commanding Officer. It was the most important fort between the Susquehanna and Lehigh Rivers, owing to the fact that it was about equally distant from each, and also because it was on the main road to Shamokin (Sunbury) and protected the most populous portion of the entire region. It lay near no village, nor any prominent stream from which it might derive a name or location; neither did it stand at any Gap in the mountain, of which none exists between Swatara Gap and that at Port Clinton, so that it could not be named or located with reference to any such pass. It did, however, practically command the connecting roads between the Swatara or Tolihaiio Gap, and the numerous settlements near it, as the savages were obliged to come through the former to reach the latter. It is, therefore, occasionally referred to as "Fort Henry at Tolihaiio," using the name "Tolihaiio" in a general sense to apply to the surrounding country, not necessarily right at Tolihaiio or Swatara Gap itself. This subject has already been discussed and is only mentioned at this time to impress upon the reader the fact that no matter what may be said of Fort Henry, or under what conditions the name "Fort Henry" may be used it invariably refers to the one now under discussion. It is also called, sometimes, the "Fort at Dietrich Six's" or "at Six's," because the murders which took place, at the outbreak of hostilities, near Dietrich Six's house, had much to do with the selection of its site on his farm.

The history of Fort Henry is very appropriately introduced by this letter of Conrad Weiser written, Nov. 19th, 1755, to Governor Morris:

*The site of this fort was marked by the Berks Co. Historical Society in 1915. Ed.

SITE OF FORT HENRY, BERKS COUNTY.

MILLERSBURG



ISAAC BATZ

BARN

HOUSE

PUMP

SHED WITH
STONE BASE

SHED

FARM

JAS. BETZ

SMALL ROAD

HENRY LONG

HOME OF
MRS. ELIZ. DITZLER.

CREEK

ROAD

IRY.

ROAD

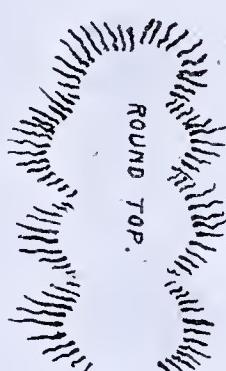
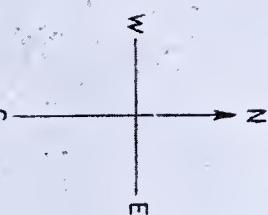
SMALL RUN WATER

SPRING

ELEVATED GROUND

ROUND TOP.

FORT HENRY



"Honoured Sir:

On my return from Philadelphia I met in the township of Amity, in Berks County, the first news of our cruel Enemy having invaded the Country this Side of the Blue Mountain, to witt, Bethel and Tulpenhacon. I left the Papers as they were in the Mesengers Hands, and hasted to Reading, where the Alarm and Confusion was very great. I was obliged to stay that Night and part of the next Day, to witt, the 17th of this Instant, and sot out for Heidleberg, where I arrived that Evening. Soon after, my sons Philip and Frederick arrived from the Persuit of the Indians, and gave me the following Relation, to witt, that on Saturday last about 4 of the Clock, in the Afternoon, as some Men from Tulpenhacon were going to Dietrich Six's Place under the Hill on Shamokin Road to be on the watch appointed there, they were fired upon by the Indians but none hurt nor killed. (Our People were but Six in Number, the rest being behind). Upon which our People ran towards the Watch-house which was about one-half a mile off, and the Indians persued them, and killed and Scalped several of them. A bold, Stout Indian came up with one Christopher Ury, who turned about and shot the Indian right through his Breast. The Indian dropt down Dead, but was dragged out of the way by his own Companions. (He was found next day and scalped by our People). The Indians devided themselves in two Parties. Some came this Way to meet the Rest that was going to the Watch, and killed some of them, so that six of our men were killed that Day, and a few Wounded. The Night following the Enemy attacked the House of Thos. Bower, on Swatara Creek. They came to the House in the Dark night, and one of them put his Fire-Arm through the window and shot a Shoemaker (that was at Work) dead upon the spot. The People being extreamly Surprised at this Sudden attack, defended themselves by firing out of the windows at the Indians. The Fire alarmed a neighbor who came with two or three more Men; they fired by the way and made a great noise, scared the Indians away from Bower's House, after they had set fire to it, but by Thomas Bower's Deligence and Conduct was timely put out again, So Thos. Bower, with his Family, went off that Night to his Neighbour

Daniel Schneider, who came to his assistance. By 8 of ye Clock Parties came up from Tupenhacon & Heidleberg. The first Party saw four Indians running off. They had some Prisoners whom they scalped immediately, three children lay scalped yet alive, one died since, the other two are like to do well. Another Party found a woman just expired, with a male Child on her side, both killed and Scalped. The Woman lay upon her Face, my son Frederick turned her about to see who she might have been and to his and his Comapions Surprise they found a Babe of about 14 Days old under her, raped up in a little Cushion, his nose quite flat, which was set right by Frederick, and life was yet in it, and recovered again. Our People came up with two Parties of Indians that Day, but they hardly got sight of them The Indians Ran off Immediately. Either our People did not care to fight them if they could avoid it, or (which is most likely) the Indians were alarmed first by the loud noise of our People coming, because no order was observed. Upon the whole, there is about 15 killed of our People, Including Men, Women and Children, and the Enemy not beat but scared off. Several Houses and Barns are Burned; I have no true account how many. We are in a Dismal Situation, some of this Murder has been committed in Tulpenhacon Township. The People left their Plantation to within 6 or 7 miles from my House [located at the present town of Womelsdorf] against another attack.

Guns and Ammunition is very much wanted here, my Sons have been obliged to part with most of that, that was sent up for the use of the Indians. I pray your Honour will be pleased, if it lies in your Power, to send us up a Quantity upon any Condition. I must stand my Ground or my neighbours will all go away, and leave their Habitations to be destroyed by the Enemy or our own People. This is enough of such melancholy Account for this Time. I beg leave to Conclude, who am,

Sir,
Your very obedient,
CONRAD WEISER.

Heidleberg, in Berks

County, November 19th, 1755.

P. S.—I am creditably informed just now that one Wolf, a Single Man, killed an Indian the same Time when Ury killed the Other, but the Body is not found yet. The Poor Young Man since died of his Wound through his Belly.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 503).

To Governor Morris:

This first and violent onslaught of the Indians took place, as has been noted, in the vicinity of Dietrich Six's House, located near what is now the village of Millersburg, in Bethel Township, Berks County, where already a watch-tower seems to have been erected.

The excitement amongst the settlers, caused by the depredations of the Savages, was of such a character and brought about such action on their part, that it dare not be passed by in this recital, and will be here given before taking up further matters pertaining directly to Fort Henry.

All was alarm and confusion. In the absence of Weiser who had just been commissioned a Colonel at Philadelphia, where he was doubtless arranging the plan of campaign with the Governor, the farmers arranged to meet again at Benjamin Spickers, near the present Stouchsburg, just as they did in the previous month of October at the time of the alarm at Swatara Gap, and there organize for defense. Just then Mr. Weiser returned, and the following letter written by him to the Governor, immediately after the one given above, and of the same date, well portrays what happened:

May it please the Governor:

That night after my Arrival from Philadelphia, Emanuel Carpenter and Simon Adam Kuhn, Esq'rs, came to my House, and lodged with me. They acquainted me that a meeting was appointed (of the People of Tulpenhacon & Heidleberg and adjacent places) in Tulpenhacon Township [then occupying the whole northwestern part of Berks county.—Author], at Benjamin Spicker's early next morning. I made all the

hast with the Indians I could, and gave them a Letter to Thos. McKee, to furnish them with necessaries for their Journey. Scarujude had no Creature to ride on. I gave him one. Before I could get done with the Indians 3 or 4 Men came from Benja. Spickers to warn the Indians not to go that way, for the People ware so enraged against all the Indians, & would kill them without Distinction, I went with them; so did the Gentlemen before named. When we came near Benjamin Spicker's I saw about 400 or 500 men, and there was a loud noise, I rode before, and in riding along the Road (and armed men on both Sides of the Road) I heard some say, why must we be killed by the Indians and we not kill them! why are our Hands so tied? I got the Indians to the House with much adoe, where I treated them with a small Dram, and so parted in Love and Friendship. Capt'n Diefenback undertook to conduct them (with five other men) to Susquehannah. After this a sort of a Counsel of warr was held by the officers present, the before named and other Freeholders. It was agreed that 150 men should be raised immediately to serve as outscouts, and as Guards at Certain Places under the Kittitany Hills for 40 Days. That those so raised to have 2 Shillings a Day, & 2 Pound of Bread, 2 Pounds of Beaff and a Jill of Rum, and Powder & Lead. (Arms they must find themselves). This Scheme was signed by a good many Freeholders and read to the People. They cried out that so much for an Indian Scalp they would have (be they Friends or Enemies), from the Governor. I told them I had no such Power from the Governor nor Assembly. They begun, some to Curse the Governor; some the Assembly; called me a Traitor of the Country who held with the Indians, and must have known this murder before hand. I sat in the House by a Lowe window, some of my Friends came to pull me away from it, telling me some of the People threatened to shoot me. I offered to go out to the People and either Pasefy them or make the Kings Proclamation; But those in the House with me would not let me go out. The cry was, The Land was betrayed and sold. The Comon People From Lancaster (now Lebanon) County were the worst. The wages they said was a Trifle and said some Body pocketed the Rest, and they would resent it. Some Body had put it

into their Head that I had it in my Power to give them as much as I pleased. I was in Danger of being Shot to Death. In the mean Time a great smoke arose under Tulpenhacon Mountain, with the news following, that the Indians had committed murder on mill Creek (a false alarm) and set fire to a Barn, most of the People Ran, and those that had Horses Rode off without any Order or Regulation. I then took my Horse and went Home, where I intend to stay, and defend my own House as long as I can. There is no Doings with the People without a Law or Regulation by the Governor and Assembly. The people of Tulpenhacon all fled; till about 6 or 7 miles from me some few remains. Another such attack will lay all the Country waste on the West side of Schuylkill.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient,

*

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 504).

Although I can trace a quiet touch of sarcasm in Mr. Weiser's account of how the people fled upon the first rumor of danger, after their threats against him, yet the gravity of the situation cannot be questioned. It was so great, indeed, that some of the more prominent gentlemen present deemed it best to draw up a paper to be sent the Governor. On Novr. 24th the following statement was forwarded:

Honoured Sir:

We the Subscribers hereof, being met together to think on means how to withstand our cruel Indian Enemy, thought fit to acquaint your Honour of the Miserable Condition the Back Inhabitants of these parts are in:

(1st) Since the last cruel murder committed by the Enemy, most of the People of Tulpenhacon have left their Habitation; Those in Heidelberg moves their Effects. Bethel Township is entirely deserted.

(2d) There is no Order among the People, one cries one Thing, and another another Thing. They want to force us to

make a Law, that they should have a Reward for every Indian which they kill; They demanded such a Law of us, with their Guns Cocked; pointing it towards us.

(3d. The People are so incensed, not only against our cruel Enemy the Indians, but also (we beg leave to inform your Honour) against the Governor and Assembly, that we are afraid they will go down in a Body to Philadelphia and comit the vilest Outrages. They say they will rather be hanged than to be butchered by the Indians, as some of their Neighbors have been lately, and the Poverty that some are in is very great.

(4) Yesterday we sent out about Seventy men to the mountains to take Possession of several Houses, and to range the Woods along the mountain in Berks County, on the west Side of Schuylkill. The same Number are sent to the back Parts of Lancaster (Lebanon) County, we Promised them two Shillings a Day, two Pounds of Bread, two Pound of Beaff, and a Jill of Rum a Day, and Ammunition, and that for forty Days, or till we shall receive your Honours Order. We persuaded ourselves Your Honour will not leave us in the Lurch; We must have done such a Thing or else leave our Habitation. If no worse; and all this would not do, we and others of the Freeholders have been Obliged to promise them a Reward of four Pistoles for every Enemy Indian man they should kill. Many Things more we could mention but we don't care to Trouble your Honour any Farther, do therefore conclude, and beg leave to Subscribe ourselves,

Honoured Sir,
your very humble Servants,
CONRAD WEISER,
EMANUEL CARPENTER,
ADAM SIMON KUHN.

P. S.—I cannot forbear to acquaint your Honor of a certain Circumstance of the late unhappy Affair: One —— Kobel, with his wife and eight children, the eldest about fourteen Years and the youngest fourteen Days, was flying before the Enemy, he carrying one, and his wife and a Boy another of the Children, when they were fired upon by two Indians very

nigh, but hit only the Man upon his Breast, though not Dangerously. They, the Indians, then came with their Tom-hacks, knocked the woman down, but not dead. They intended to kill the Man, but his Gun (though out of order so that he could not fire) kept them off. The Woman recovered so far, and seated herself upon a Stump, with her Babe in her Arms, and gave it Suck, and the Indians driving the children together, and spoke to them in High Dutch, be still we won't hurt you. Then they struck a Hatchet into the woman's Head, and she fell upon her Face with her Babe under her, and the Indian trod on her neck and tore off the scalp. The children then run; four of them were scalped, among which was a Girl of Eleven Years of Age, who related the whole Story; of the Scalped, two are alive and like to do well. The Rest of the Children ran into the Bushes and the Indians after them, but our People coming near to them, and hallowed and made noise; The Indians Ran, and the Rest of the Children were saved. They ran within a Yard by a Woman that lay behind an Old Log, with two Children, there was about Seven or Eight of the Enemy.

I am,
Honoured Sir,
your obedient,
C. WEISER.

I intend to send a wagon down to Philadelphia for Blankets and other Necessaries for the People, on their Guard under the mountain, and I hope it will be then in your Honours Power to supply us. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 511).

The Governor was fully aroused by these horrible atrocities and endeavored to perform his whole duty. The correspondence received, together with his recommendations, were at once laid before the Assembly as well as all the prominent officials of Philadelphia County. His success will better be shown by a letter written Nov. 17th (probably 27th) to General Shirley:

Dear Sir: Since writing the Letter herewith I have received Intelligence that the Indians have cross'd the Sasquehanna,

and fallen upon the inhabitants to the Southward of the Mountains at and near a place called Tulpihockin, about sixty miles from hence, where they had, when the express came away, Burnt several houses and killed such of the inhabitants as could not escape from them. The settlement they are now destroying is one of the finest in this Province, the Lands are very Rich and well improved. My Assembly have now been sitting ever since the 3d Instant, but have done nothing for the defence of the Province, nor raised any supplys. The Bill they have proposed for that purpose, being of the same kind of one I had before refused to pass and which they know I have no power by my Commission to pass it. Such a Conduct while the Country is bleeding, seems to me to merit the severest censure. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 525).

It was not until the latter part of the year that action was taken which finally enabled the Governor to organize a system of defense. Troops were regularly enlisted, officered and equipped. Stations for forts, from ten to twelve miles apart, were selected, and companies assigned to each, under the command of Lt. Col. Conrad Weiser. It was at this time, simultaneously with those of Fort Swatara and Fort Lebanon, that the history of Fort Henry really began. It was on Jan. 25, 1756, that Captain Christian Busse, with a company of fifty Provincial Soldiers, was ordered "to proceed to the Gap at Tolihao, and there to erect a Stoccado fort of the form and dimensions given him, and to take posts there, and range the woods from that fort westward towards Swehataro and eastwards towards a stoccado to be built by Capt. Morgan, about half way between the said fort and fort Lebanon." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 547).

On Feb. 1, 1756, Gov. Morris wrote to Gov. Dinwiddie explaining his arrangements for a chain of forts, and says of those between the Susquehanna and Delaware "ye most considerable of them is built at an important Pass thro' ye Kit-taheny Hills, on our Northern Frontier, & I have called it Fort Henry." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 561).

In similar strain, on Feb. 2d, he writes to Col. Washington "on the East side of the Susquehanna the Forts are about ten or twelve miles assunder among which the most consider-

able are Fort Henry, at a pass through the mountains, called Tolihao, Fort Lebanon, on the Forks of Schuylkill and Fort Allen * * *." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 565).

These orders and letters have already been quoted under the head of Fort Swatara, and their misleading language commented upon, and therefore need no further attention here. They go to prove, however, the time when Fort Henry was erected to have been in February, 1756, because in the case of this important position the fort was of considerable size and built by the Government troops. The watch tower, originally erected by the farmers was no longer used. Where this latter stood we do not know, but my opinion is, after a careful examination of the ground and talk with the people, that it was at the spot where the fort stood later, into which it was incorporated, or else torn down.

It is to be regretted that we do not have a complete record of all the occurrences at Fort Henry. The first mention is that noted in the diary of an officer sent to Fort Northkill, wherein he states that on June 13, 1756 (incorrectly given as 1754), he received orders from Col. Weiser to march from Reading. Upon his arrival at Col. Weiser's house he was directed to proceed with his detachment to Fort Henry, obtain from Capt. Busse 20 men and, with them, go to Fort Northkill and take charge of same, which was done. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 159). As this Journal will be given in full later, it can be dispensed with at this time.

Fort Henry seems to have been so well known and in such good condition as not to need as much attention as some of the other places. This is evidenced by the fact that when James Young, the Commissary General of Musters, made his tour of inspection in June of the same year he passed over the mountains after leaving Fort Northkill and went to Fort Lebanon, without stopping at Fort Henry. He says, June 21st, "At 8 o'clock A. M., Capt. Busse, from Fort Henry, Came here (Fort Northkill) with 8 men on horse Back, he Expected to meet Col. Weiser here, in order to Proceed to the Several Forts on the Northern Frontier, but Col. Weiser wrote him that other Business Prevented him, and desired Cap't Busse to proceed with me, and return him an Acc't how he found the

Forts, with the quantity of Ammunition and Stores in Each of which I was very Glad, as the Escort on horse back would Expedite our Journey very much, and be much safer." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 676). Captain Christian Busse, the commander of Fort Henry here mentioned had been a doctor at Reading, Pa., before entering the military service.

Notwithstanding the terrible depredations committed by the Indians, the officers in command of the troops made every effort to prevent them, and their unceasing vigilance is well worthy of commendation.

The following report of Col. Weiser to Gov. Morris, made in July, 1756, bears witness to this statement:

Honoured Sir:

Immediately after my Return from Philadelphia, I sent Orders to the Captains Busse, Morgan and Smith, to meet me at Fort Henry, on the 9th of this Instant, to consult together over certain measures, how to oppose the Enemy of killing the People in Reaping and gathering in their Harvest. The Evening before, to witt, on the 8th of this Instant, Mr. Young arrived with your Honours Orders to me, I therefore sent out next morning about 5 o'clock for Fort Henry, in Company with Mr. Young, as farr as Benjamin Spykers. I arrived at Fort Henry by 10 o'clock. Capt. Busse met me with an Escort of Eight men on Horse Back, about Six Miles on this Side of Fort Henry; about 12 o'clock the Captains Morgan and Smith arrived. I immediately made your Honours Orders known to them, and the following Deposition was made: That eight men of Capt. Smith's Company shall assist the People in the Hole (The place where twice Murder was committed) to gather in their harvest, and stay over Night in the Moravian House; Eight of his men to range westward of his Fort under the Hill, and if occasion require to be stationed in two Parties to guard the Reapers; Sixteen men are to be in and about the Fort to help and protect the neighbours, but constantly 10 out of the Sixteen are to stay in the Fort; Nine men are to stay constantly in Manity Fort, and Six men to range Eastward from Manity towards Swataro, and Six men to range westward towards Susquehannah: Each Party so farr that

they may reach their Fort again before Night. Cap't. Busse's Company stationed as follows: Ten men at Bernhard Tridels, next to the Moravians, Eight men at Casper Snebelies, Six men at Daniel Shue's or Peter Klop's. All these are westward of Fort Henry. Eastwards Capt. Busse is to Post four men at Jacob Stein's, Three men at Ulrich Spies, Six men at the widow Kendal, the Rest, consisting of nineteen men, to remain in the Fort. Cap't. Morgan's Company, as follows: Six men to range from the little Fort on the Northkill, westward to the Emericks, and stay there if the People unite to work together in their Harvest, Six men to range Eastward on the same footing, Eight men to stay in that Fort, fifteen men are to stay in Fort Lebanon, Eight men to protect the People over the Hill in harvest Time, Ten men to range constantly Eastward or Westward, and if the People return to their Plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work.

All the aforesaid men are posted as much in a Range as was possible, and would sute the Settlement best.

Your Honour will observe that there is not Men enough left in the Forts to change or relieve the Men on Duty, but scarce sufficient to keep the Forts, and send Provisions to the several Posts.

I did propose to the Captains to make a draft of about twenty-five men out of the three Companies, and send them over the Hills to a certain Place on Kind Creek, to lie in Ambush there for the Enemy, for about Ten Days, but the large Frontier which they have to guard with their men, would not Admit of it at this Time, so I was therefore obliged to give over that Point.

A great number of the Back Inhabitants came to the Fort that Day, and cried out for Guards. Their situation is indeed desperate. About forty men from Tulpenhacon have been out for their Protection, but they got soon tired, and rose Disputes and Quarrels in Order to get home again.

I hear that the People over Susquehanna will have Protection, cost what it will; If they can't obtain it from the English, they will send to the French for it. I believe (by what I hear) that some on this Side of the River are of the

same Oppinion, at least there is such a Mumbling among the back Inhabitants.

I must mention to your Honour that when the People about Swatara and the Hole heard of Capt. Smith's being accused for neglect of Duty, they wrote a Letter to me in his Favour, which I send by Sammy Weiser, who can translate it if your Honour orders him to do it. I also send a Letter from Capt. Busse, which contains the Particulars of the last murder. I received it by the way coming from Philad'a, and stopt the Express (as it was only to me) in Order to save Changes.

As I had no Clerk for some time, I wrote a General Letter yesterday to all the Commanding Officers Eastward from Fort Henry to Easton, with a Copy of your Honours Orders inclosed. I could not send every one a Copy, but ordered them to take it themselves and send it forward immediately.

Just this moment my Son Sammy arrived from Fort Henry, and tells me that there had been an Engagement at Caghneka-cheeky, wherein twelve on our side were killed, and Six Indians; That our People kept the Field and scalped the Indians, and that the Indians ran off without any Scalp. As bad news as it is, I wish it may be true.

I have at Present no more trouble your Honour with, But Remain,

Sir,
Your very obedient and
humble Servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

Heidleberg, in the County of Berks,

July the 11th, 1756.

P. S.—I should have told your Honour that I keep a Serjeant, with nine private men of my Company at Fort Henry, under Capt. Busse, with that Proviso, that they shall stay in the fort and defend it when the Capt's men are on their several posts or Ranging; the Capt'n must keep a Ranging party all along; to-morrow another Serjeant marches from Reading with nine men, to relieve those of my Company that have been out two weeks. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 696).

On Nov. 16th, 1756, Sec'y Peters notifies Capt. Orndt, in accordance with the Governor's orders, "that measures are taking, as well at Shamokin (Sunbury) as in the Forts in Berks County, to pursue the Enemy Indians who have lately committed murders on the Inhabitants near Fort Henry, Fort Lebanon & Fort Franklin, of which the Governor desires our Friendly Indians may be advised least our Parties should meet w'th these Indians, mistake them for the Enemy & if so fall upon them." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 51).

The reader will please notice that Fort Henry is mentioned as a "Fort in Berks County," whereas if it had been literally situated at Swatara Gap it would have been in Lancaster (Now Lebanon) County.

The consultation of the Governor with Lord Loudoun, at Philad'a in April, 1757, has previously been referred to, and the fact mentioned that it was then decided to reduce the number of forts East of the Susquehanna to three, of which Fort Henry was one, and the only one, between the Susquehanna and the Lehigh. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 119). It was found impracticable, however, to carry this plan into immediate operation.

In June of that year Fort Henry was honored by a visit from Governor Denny, the successor of Governor Morris, under peculiar circumstances. The Government had been notified of a threatened attack in force on Fort Augusta at Shamokin (Sunbury) just at a time when the terms of enlistment of the troops composing its garrison had expired. No persuasion could induce more than forty men to re-enlist. In the emergency it became necessary to order immediately three Companies from Col. Weiser's regiment to the scene of action, whilst the Governor, in person, hastened from Lancaster into the County of Berks to encourage the raising of these one hundred and fifty-nine men. When he came there he found men enough but met with an unexpected obstacle. The country people, supported by their Magistrates and the leading men of the County, refused to serve under the Provincial officers but insisted upon choosing their own. This, it seems, was put into their heads at Lancaster, by some of the Commissioners and Assembly men, who made them think

it was a most valuable privilege. The Governor adds:—"Intending to go to Fort Henry, the only Garrison my Time would allow me to visit, I desired Col. Weiser to acquaint the Leaders of these infatuated People, that I shou'd be glad they would come and speak with me at the Fort. Accordingly, above Fifty substantial Freeholders, well mounted and armed, joined the Escort, & attended me to Fort Henry, where I had an Opportunity of undeceiving them. Convinced of their Error, they presented me a very respectful Address, assuring me of their Desire to have a proper Militia Law, and that they were determined under such a Law to serve and do their duty to their King and Country. Forty instantly were enlisted by Colonel Weiser out of this Neighborhood, and a Magistrate about twenty Miles off wrote me he had enlisted forty more." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 194).

We have already seen that there was a lack of soldiers for the proper protection of the people, and can readily imagine what a sad deficiency was caused by the withdrawal of three Companies to Fort Augusta. It is, therefore, a matter of no surprise to read the following letter written Octo. 1st, 1757, from Reading, by Col. Weiser to Gov. Denny:

"I humbly intreat your Honour to pity our Cause and give orders that the men belonging to the first Battalion of Pennsil'a Regiment, now at Fort Augusta, may all return to their proper or former Stations. When this present trouble is over I will very gladly send a reinforcement again either to Fort Augusta or wherever your honour please is. It is certain that the enemy is numerous on our Frontiers, and the people are coming away very fast, so that the Forts are left to themselves with the men in them, but no more neighbours about them." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 277).

So urgent is the matter that Col. Weiser, three days later, writes to the Governor's Secretary, Mr. Peters:

Sir: I did not think on the Post till he entered my doors, else I would have wrote particularly to the Governor, tho' I have been very Buisy with writing to the Commanding officers of the several forts under my Care. It is now Come so Farr

that murder is Comited Allmost every day; there never was such a Consternation among the people, they must now leave their houses again, with their Barns full of Grain; five Children have been carried off last Friday, some days before a sick man killed upon his bed, begged of the Enemy to shoot him through his heart which the Indian answered, I will, and did so. A girl, that had hid herself under a Bedsted, in the next room, heard all this, two more families were about that time destroyed. Inclosed is the Journal of last month of my Ensign at North Kill. Capt. Bussey lies dangerously sick at John Harris. I hear he is tired of everything; I have neither men nor a sufficient n'br of officers to defend the Country. If his Honour would be pleased to send me orders for to recall all the men belonging to my Battalion, from fort Augusta, he would justly bring upon him the blessing of the most high. I can not say no more. I think meselfe unhappy, to fly with my family in this time of danger I can't do. I must stay, if they all go. I am now preparing to go to fort Henry, where I shall meet some officers to consult with, what may be best to be done. I have ordered ten men, with the Governor's last orders, to fort Augusta; I shall overtake them this Evening at Fort Henry, and give them proper instruction. For God's sake, dear Sire, beg of the Governor, press it upon him in my behalf, and in behalf of this distrest inhabitants, to order my men back from fort Augusta. I will give my reason afterwards, that I am in the right. I Conclude with my humble respects to his Honour,

And remain, Kind Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

Excuse my hurry.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 283).

Who can fail to sympathize with Col. Weiser as he endeavors to faithfully perform his duties surrounded by these many trials and difficulties. It is with much satisfaction, therefore, that we find, on Nov. 8th, orders sent by the Governor for Capt. Busse to return with his detachment to his former Post. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 38).

In the midst of all his discouragements Col. Weiser does not forget his sick friend Capt. Busse, and snatches a moment's time from his multitudinous labors to pay him a visit at Fort Harris. Here, by chance, he was informed of the capture of a French deserter at Fort Henry. We will let him tell the incident in his own words, as we find them in a letter of Octo. 16, 1757, to Gov. Denny, written from Reading. He says,

Honoured Sir:

According to my last I went up to John Harris's Ferry to visit Captain Busse, where I found him in a very poor Condition, but he told me he was much better than he had been the day before; and after about two Hours Conversation, he went to Hunter's Fort by Water, though against my Advice, as he had Lieut. Philip Marsloff with him, and Ensign Kern by my Order (not knowing that Marsloff was there) was come up to wait on the Captain, &c. Kern had but an half hour to stay when he was ordered by me to follow the Captain by Land, with an Escort of four men of the Battalion under my Command. Before he sat off he inform'd me that on the 12th Instant, a French Deserter or Spy came down the Hill near Fort Henry, and made towards Deitrich Six's house, which the Centry of the Fort observing, acquainted the Commanding Officer of the Fort thereof, who sent an Officer and two Soldiers to seize and bring him into the Fort, which was accordingly done. I order'd, by Express, my Son Samuel, who Commanded at the Fort on Sweetara, to march with a ranging party with all possible speed and care and take the said prisoner and convey him safe down to my House in Heidelberg, where he arrived safe with the prisoner about noon yesterday. I examined the Prisoner by such an Interpreter as I could get, but thought fit to bring him down hither to have a more full Examination by the Assistance of Capt'n Oswald and Mr. James Read, and accordingly came here with him last night. The paper enclosed and a Fusee were found in his Possession. The Examination I left to Captain Oswald and Mr. Read, who will transmit a fair Copy to your Honour. As I've no Men to Spare in this dangerous Time, and Capt. Oswald hath been so kind as to offer a Party of the Regulars under his Com-

mand here to guard the Prisoner to Philadelphia, I have accepted of his Offer, and accordingly put him into Custody of the Guards appointed by the Captain, which I hope will not be disagreeable to your Honour.

I am,
Honoured Sir,
Your most Humble Servant,
(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 293). CONRAD WEISER.

We have then recorded the examination of the prisoner at Reading, and later his more complete examination at Philadelphia, both of which abound in interesting statements, but have no proper place in this history and must therefore be omitted. Suffice it to say, briefly, that his name was Michael La Chauvigerie Jun, and his age seventeen. His father was a Lieutenant of French Marines and Commandant of Fort Machault, just building, which was seventy-two leagues up the Allegheny River from Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh) and near the Lakes. The son had been given command of a party of thirty-three Indians, principally Delawares, who were sent out on a marauding expedition. As they neared the Blue Mountains he tells the sad tale of Prisoners taken and numerous deserted homesteads. By accident one day he dropped a piece of bread and whilst looking for it his party of Indians became separated from him and he found he was lost. After wandering around for seven days he was forced to surrender at Fort Henry to save himself from starvation.

In this connection, I desire to call attention to the fact that Fort Henry is mentioned as being in close proximity to Dietrich Six's house, which fully corroborates the position which will be given presently.

James Burd, in the Journal of his inspection of various forts, has this to say of Fort Henry :

Tuesday, Feby. 21st, 1758.
March'd at 1 P. M., for Fort Henry (from Fort Swatara) at
3 P. M., gott to Soudder's 7 miles, left Lieut. Broadhead to
march the party 4 miles to Sneevlys there to hault all night

& to march to Fort Henry in the morning, 6 miles, the roads being very bad, march'd myself with Adjutant Thorn and 8 men on horse-back arrived at Fort Henry at 5 P. M., found here Capt'n Weiser, Adjutant Kern & the Ensigns Biddle & Craighead, doing duty with 90 men. Ordered a Review of the Garrison to-morrow at 9 A. M.

22d, Wednesday.

Had a Review this morning at 9 A. M., found 90 soldiers under good Command, & fine fellows. Examined the stores, & am informed by the Comdg Officer there is 2 mo's more ab't 6 miles from here at Jacob Myers Mill; no poudder, 224 lbs. of lead, no flints, ab't 80 Province Arms belonging to these two Comp'ys, good for nothing.

Ordered Ensign Craighead with 18 men of this Garrison to march to-morrow morning to Fort Swetarrow, & there to apply to Capt'n Allen and to Receive from him 7 men, & with this party of 25 men to march from thence to Robertson's mill, there to take post to order from thence a Serg't Corporall & 8 men to the house of Adam Read, Esq'r, & to Employ his whole party in Continual ranging to Cover these Fronteers; This I found myself under a Necessity of doing otherwise several Townships here would be Evacuated in a few days.

Ordered Ensign Heller to march back my Escort to Hunter's Fort to-morrow morning, & Capt'n Weiser to Continue to range from this to Fort Northkill & Swetarrow, to Employ all his Jugm't to waylay the Enemy & Protect the Inhabitants. This is a very good Stockaded Fort, & everything in good order, & duty done pritty well.

March'd to-day at 11 A. M., & arrived at Conrad Weiser's, Esq'r., at 3 P. M., 14 miles, where I found 4 Quarter Casks of poudder belonging to the Province, 3 of which I ordered to Forty Henry, and 1 to Fort Swetarrow, no lead here, very bad roads & cold weather, stayed all night. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 553).

Before considering the matter of location I submit the following letter from Captain Busse to Colonel Weiser, written at Fort Henry on June 19th, 1758, which has an important bearing on the subject:

Dear Sir: At noon I received news that this morning about 8 o'Clo'k, the Indians took and carried away the wife of John Frantz, with 3 children, 6 miles from here, deep in the Country. I sent momently Lieut. Johnson with a party of 9 men to go along the Mountains, and to Stay at the Hole to intercept them. Them being gone, a Farmer was following on Horseback, came back and told that he Saw 3 Indians near the Fort at the place of Six. Being not able to Spare more men, as just a Detachment was out to meet the wagon with provision, I sent Serg't Christ Mowrer only whit two men to look for their Tracts. It is a cruel fate where wee are brought to that, wee shall fight without Powder or Led. If some is there, be pleased to send it to us. I hope you will be so kind as to give Capt. Blakwood Notice hereof, whit my Compliments.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your very Humble Servant,

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 425).

CHRISTIAN BUSSE.

In this letter Capt. Busse speaks of the Frantz family, who lived 6 miles from Fort Henry. I have just recently talked with Mr. Wm. Frantz, 73 years old, residing at Millersburg, about this very event in his family, he being a descendant of those mentioned. He informed me that the event happened at their home which was on the Little Swatara Creek, some two miles north from Millersburg, which would make it six miles from Fort Henry if located at Dietrich Six's house. Indeed Capt. Bussee, himself, in the letter, refers to the Fort as being at Six's place. But I especially desire to call attention to the fact that a detail was sent to the Hole (Swatara Gap) to intercept the Indians as they retreated and possibly rescue the captives. This clearly shows that the Swatara Gap was looked upon and used as the ordinary passage way through the mountains to the whole locality in said neighborhood, and that it would be but natural, as I have already argued, to speak of Fort Henry as at Tolihao Gap although actually fourteen miles distant from it.

It only remains to say, what the reader has already discovered, that Fort Henry was located near the home of Dietrich Six. This property was on the old Shamokin (Sunbury) Road, three miles north of Millersburg, in Bethel Township, Berks County. Dietrich Six owned the farm during the French and Indian War. It was purchased from him by Frantz Umbenhauer, born Oct. 23, 1751, died Mar. 31, 1812, and buried in the Union Church Yard near Millersburg, who came to that locality when a young man and settled there. From him it descended to his son Peter Umbenhauer, who always kept the place intact and sacred, for the benefit of the many visitors who came to see it. It afterwards came into the possession of Mr. George Pott, and is now owned by James Batz. It was my privilege to interview Mrs. Elizabeth Ditzler, a bright, active old lady 83 years old, who was the daughter of Peter Umbenhauer and still lives with her married daughter but a short distance from the site occupied by the fort. She has frequently seen it, but even when she was 15 or 16 years old it was in ruins, and not much more than a heap of stone remained. Her father, who died at the place some 60 years ago when 63 years old, told her all about the fort and its exact location, which agrees precisely with what is recorded, and is corroborated by the testimony of many other reliable authorities.

The following map will now give a more clear insight into the matter:

The fort stood in what is now a cultivated field, about 25 yards northeast one-fourth east from the shed with stone base standing by the roadside. It was on slightly elevated ground and commands a splendid view of the approaches from the Blue Mountains and of the valley to the West. At the foot of the elevated ground runs a little stream of water, originating at the Spring back of the fort. Mr. Batz still ploughs up stone belonging to the fort, as well as pieces of common clay pipe stems, and finds chips of flint at the Spring, all, undoubtedly pertaining to the garrison. This spring, which is the origin of the stream, is in a gully about 175 yards from the shed, and must therefore have been comparatively near the fort.

We have already discussed and settled the time when this fort was built. With regard to the fort itself unfortunately we know nothing definite, except that it was a stockade. In our generaion it has been merely a heap of ruins, but we are assured from them that it was more pretentious in size than usual. This we would have reason to expect because of its importance, and from the number of soldiers in the garrison. I have been unable to get any description of it from any one, except from Mr. Daniel Hostetter, of Springsville, who is some 60 years old. Even this is of a rather vague character. He says most of the stone belonging to the fort was taken by the farmers for building purposes, but when he first saw it the marks of the building were plain, and that even fourteen years ago about a quarter of the wall was still there. To him it seemed to be shaped like a half moon, and in the centre was a house which evidently had a cellar underneath. The walls of the fort were about three feet thick and about two hundred long, and Mr. Hostetter adds that he never saw such a place in his life and doubts if there is any other like it in the State.

About one mile east of the fort rises abruptly from the plain Round Top Mountain. So abruptly does it rise that it is almost impossible to scale the side facing the fort. Dr. W. C. Kline, of Myerstown, who has at various times visited this locality and who twenty-five years ago also saw traces of the walls of Fort Henry, at one time made an effort to reach the summit of Round Top. With much difficulty he clambered up its steep face until he reached a point about half way from the top where he was surprised to find what seemed undoubtedly an artificial plateau, about 40x150 feet formed by spreading out stones taken from the hill behind, thus making a wall in the rear. The stones seem to have been broken to a small size and were entirely different from the rock comprising the other part of the mountain over which he had climbed. They were much harder and made somewhat of a ringing sound when knocked together. The Doctor was entirely unable to give any explanation of the fact, nor did the farmers living there know of it. I here mention it as a matter, certainly of interest and possibly of value. It has suggested itself to me

that the Indians, who occupied that part of the country before the advent of the white man, there obtained the stones from which to make their axes, arrowheads, etc., as the more prevalent stone in that neighborhood is too soft for such purposes. I have also thought that the soldiers of the garrison may have obtained some of their flints from this place, but as they would have needed only a very few compared to the large number of stones seen, I am rather inclined to my former opinion. There may also be some connection between this theory and the numerous flint chips even now found at the spring in the gully back of the fort, too many to have been made by the soldiers. Does it not indicate an Indian village or villages, in the distant past at that point?

That Fort Henry's position should be perpetuated by a monument hardly admits of controversy. In my judgment the spot on which to place it would be on the site of the public road near the shed having a stone base.

At the time of the conference with the Indians at Easton in July, 1757, Col. Weiser's guard of soldiers from Forts Swatara, Henry, Lebanon and from Allemanle, were under the command of Capt'n Busse. (Penna. Arch., iii, p. 218). On Feb. 5, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Captains Busse and Weiser at Fort Henry, with 89 men in their two companies, and its distance from Fort Swatara 14 miles. In his detailed report of same date he specifies, besides the two Captains, Lt. & Adj't. Kern, Ensigns Beedle & Craighead, 92 Provincial arms on hand, 26 men with their own arms, 12 lbs. of powder, no lead, 2 months provisions, 14 cartridges, and the Messrs. Weisers as Commissaries for the Station. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 339-340).

Here comes to an end the recorded history of Fort Henry, but not its actual existence, as in July, 1763, we find a letter of instructions from Governor Hamilton to Col. Armstrong, in which he says that he has appointed one hundred men for each of the three counties of Lancaster (Lebanon), Berks and Northampton, to be reinforced from other points as occasion may demand. (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 115). We have every right to presume that Fort Henry, the most important of the chain of

forts, was then occupied. During the interim, however, between 1759, when the Indians had retired with their French ally, and 1763 which signalized the new outbreak under Pontiac, comparative peace existed and we need not be surprised at a lack of stirring events on record. Prior to 1759 there certainly was no lack of such events in the neighborhood. Many of the merciless acts committed by the savages in the general locality of Fort Henry have been given under Fort Swatara. Others in its more immediate vicinity still remain to be told.

In the Penn'a Gazette of Dec. 18, 1755, it says, "We hear from Reading, in Berks County, that on Sunday last, about nine o'clock at night, the guard belonging to that County, about seventeen miles from that town, were attacked by some Indians, with whom they exchanged several fires, and put them to flight; that none of the guard were wounded; though one of them had the skirt of his jacket shot away, and that they supposed some of the Indians were badly burnt, as they heard a crying among them as they ran off; but that the guard having spent their ammunition, could not pursue them."

On March 7, 1756, Andrew Lycan, who lived over the mountain, 25 miles below Sunbury, at or near the Wiskinisco Creek, was attacked by Indians. He had with him a son, John Lycan, a negro man, a boy, and two of his neighbors, John Revolt and Ludwig Shut. As Andrew Lycan and John Revolt went out early that morning to feed the animals, two guns were fired at them, but they escaped unhurt, ran to the house and prepared for an engagement. The Indians then got under cover of a log house near the dwelling, whereupon John Lycan, Revolt and Shut crept out to get a shot at them, but were fired at by the Indians instead, and all wounded, Shut being hit in the abdomen. Andrew Lycan then noticed one of the Indians and two white men run out of the log house and get a little distance from it. Upon this the inmates of the house endeavored to escape but were immediately pursued by the Indians to the number of sixteen or more. John Lycan and Revolt being hardly wounded, were able to do nothing, and so went off with the negro, leaving Andrew Lycan. Shut and the boy engaged with the enemy, who pursued so

closely that one of them came up with the boy, and was about to strike his tomahawk into him when Shut turned and shot him dead. At the same time Lycan shot another, whom he is positive was killed, saw a third fall and thinks others were wounded by them. Being now both badly wounded and almost exhausted, they sat down on a log to rest themselves, whilst the Indians stood a little way off looking at them.

One of the Indians killed was Bill Davis, and two others they knew to be Tom Hickman and Tom Hayes, all Delawares and well known in those parts. All of the farmers escaped through Swatara Gap into Hanover Township, and recovered under the care of a doctor, but lost all they were worth. (Penn. Gazette, March 18, 1756).

The Editor of the Gazette, of June 24, says: "we have advice from Fort Henry, in Berks County (Bethel Township) that two children of one Lawrence Dieppel, who lives about two miles from said fort, are missing, and thought to be carried off by the Indians, as one of their hats has been found, and several Indian tracks seen." In relation to this statement the Editor adds on July 1st, "we learn that one of Lawrence Dieppel's children, mentioned in our last to be carried off, has been found cruelly murdered and scalped, a boy about four years, and that the other, also a boy, eight years old, was still missing."

On Nov. 19, 1756, Col. Weiser writes to Gov. Denny that the Indians had made another incursion into Berks County, killed and scalped two married women and a lad fourteen years of age, wounded two children of about four years of age, and carried off two more. One of the wounded was scalped and likely to die, and the other had two cuts on her forehead, given by an Indian who had attempted to scalp her but did not succeed. There were eight men of Fort Henry, posted in different neighbor's houses, about one mile and a half off, who, when they heard noise of the guns firing, immediately went towards it but came too late. The Penna. Gazette of Dec. 9, also says they had heard of a woman who had been missing from Heidelberg Township for three weeks past, and was supposed to have been carried off by the savages.

Again in the issue of July, 1757, the Penn'a Gazette gives

this extract from a letter dated, Heidelberg, July 9th: "Yesterday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, between Valentine Herchelroar's and Tobias Bickell's, four Indians killed two children; one of about four years, the other five; they at the same time scalped a young woman of about sixteen; but, with proper care, she is likely to live and do well."

A woman was terribly cut with the tomahawk, but not scalped—her life is despaired of. Three children were carried off prisoners. One Christian Schrenk's wife, being among the rest, bravely defended herself and children, for a while; wresting the gun out of the Indian's hands, who assaulted her, also his tomahawk, and threw them away; and afterwards was obliged to save her own life—two of her children were taken captive in the meantime. In this house were also twenty women and children, who had fled from their own habitations, to take shelter; the men belonging to them were about one-half mile off, picking cherries—they came as quick as possible and went in pursuit of the Indians, but to no purpose, the Indians had concealed themselves."

In August, 1757, people were murdered by the Indians in Bern Township, and others carried off. At Tulpehocken a man named Lebenguth, and his wife, were killed, and scalped. On Oct. 4, 1758, a letter from Fort Henry says, "The first of October, the Indians burnt a house on Swatara, killed one man, and three are missing. Two boys were found tied to a tree and were released. We are alarmed in the fort almost every night by a terrible barking of dogs; there are certainly some Indians about us." (Penn. Gazette, Octo. 19, 1758). On Sept. 9, 1763, a letter from Reading says:—"A few of the Rangers who had encamped in Berks County, were apprized of the approach of Indians by their outscouts; the Indians advanced cautiously to take them by surprise; when near, with savage yells they rushed forward, but the Rangers, springing on their feet, shot the three in front; the rest fled into a thicket and escaped. The Indians were armed with guns and provided with ammunition. These Indians, it is supposed by some, had been on their way from the Moravian Indians, in Northampton County, to the Big island. Runners were sent

to the different parties of Rangers with information and others sent in pursuit of those who fled." (Rupp, p. 77).

During the same month, eight well armed Indians came to the house of John Fincher, a Quaker, residing north of the Blue Mountains, in Berks County, about twenty-four miles from Reading, and within three-quarters of a mile of a party of six men of Captain Kern's company of Rangers, commanded by Ensign Scheffer. At the approach of the Indians, John Fincher, his wife, two sons and daughter, immediately went to the door and asked them to enter in and eat, expressing the hope that they came as friends, and entreated them to spare their lives. To this entreaty the Indians turned a deaf ear. Both parents and two sons were deliberately murdered, their bodies being found on the spot. The daughter was missing after the departure of the Indians, and it was supposed from the cries heard by the neighbors that she also was slain.

A young lad, who lived with Fincher, made his escape and notified Ensign Scheffer, who instantly went in pursuit of these cold-blooded assassins. He pursued them to the house of one Miller, where he found four children murdered; the Indians having carried two others with them. Miller and his wife, being at work in the field, saved their lives by flight. Mr. Miller himself was pursued near one mile by an Indian, who fired at him twice in hot pursuit. Ensign Scheffer and his squad continued after the savages, overtook them, and fired upon them. The Indians returned the fire, and a sharp but short conflict ensued, when the enemy fled, leaving behind them Miller's two children and part of the plunder they had taken.

These barbarous Indians had scalped all the persons they murdered, except an infant about two weeks old, whose head they had dashed against the wall, to which the brains and clotted blood adhered as a silent witness of their cruelty.

The consequence of this massacre was the desertion of all the settlements beyond the Blue Mountains.

A few days after these atrocious murders, the house of Frantz Hubler, in Bern Township, eighteen miles from Reading, was attacked by surprise. Hubler was wounded, his wife

and three of his children were carried off, and three other of his children scalped alive, two of whom died shortly afterwards.

On Sept. 10, 1763, five Indians entered the house of Philip Martloff, in Berks County, at the base of the Blue Mountains, murdered and scalped his wife, two sons and two daughters, burnt the house and barn, the stacks of hay and grain, and destroyed everything of any value. Martloff was absent from home, and one daughter escaped at the time of the murder by running and secreting herself in a thicket. The father and daughter were left in abject misery. (Rupp, p. 78).

A brief mention has already been made of the Frantz family, in Bethel Township. The Penn'a Gazette of June, 1758, gives the following account of the case, which substantially agrees with the tradition told me by one of the descendants, still living in that locality:

"At the time this murder was committed, Mr. Frantz was out at work; his neighbors having heard the firing of guns by the Indians immediately repaired to the house of Frantz; on their way they apprised him of the report—when they arrived at the house they found Mrs. Franz dead (having been killed by the Indians because she was rather infirm and sickly, and so unable to travel), and all the children gone; they then pursued the Indians some distance, but all in vain. The children were taken and kept captives for several years.

A few years after this horrible affair, all of them, except one, the youngest, were exchanged. The oldest of them, a lad of twelve or thirteen years of age, at the time when captured, related the tragical scene of his mother being tomahawked and shamefully treated. Him they compelled to carry the youngest.

The anxious father, having received two of his children as from the dead, still sighed for the one that was not. Whenever he heard of children being exchanged he mounted his horse to see whether, among the captured, was not his dear little one. On one occasion he paid a man forty pounds to restore his child, who had reported that he knew where it was. To another he paid a hundred dollars, and himself went to Canada in search of the lost one—but, to his sorrow, never

could trace his child. A parent can realize his feelings—they cannot be described."

The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D. D., in the Hallische Nachrichten, tells the soul-stirring story of Frederick Reichelsdorfer, whose two grown daughters had attended a course of instruction, under him, in the Catechism, and been solemnly admitted by confirmation to the communion of the Ev. Lutheran Church, in New Hanover, Montgomery county.

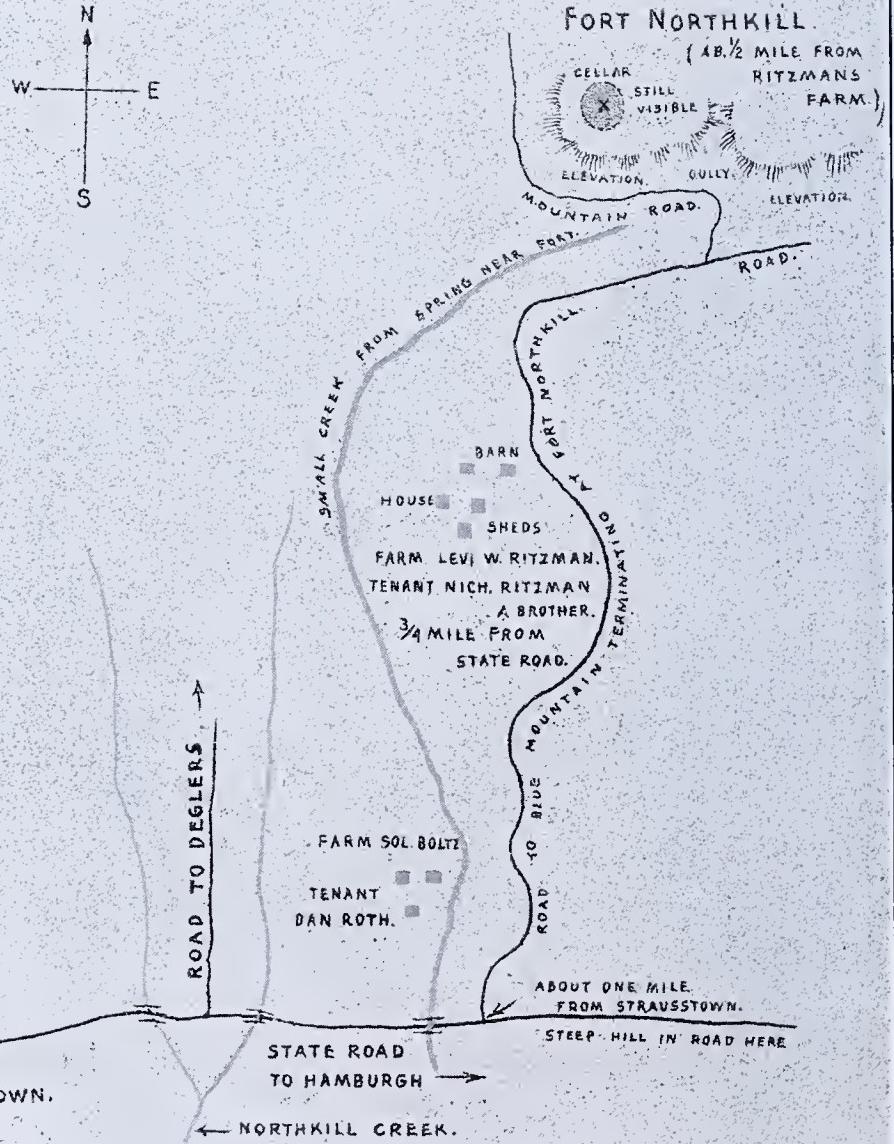
"This man afterwards went with his family some distance into the interior, to a tract of land which he had purchased in Albany township, Berks county [see under Fort Everett also]. When the war with the Indians broke out, he removed his family to his former residence, and occasionally returned to his farm, to attend to his grain and cattle. On one occasion he went, accompanied by his two daughters, to spend a few days there, and bring away some wheat. On Friday evening, after the wagon had been loaded, and everything was ready for their return on the morrow, his daughters complained that they felt anxious and dejected, and were impressed with the idea that they were soon to die. They requested their father to unite with them in singing the familiar German funeral hymn,

"Wer weiss wie nahe meine Ende?"

(Who knows how near my end may be?)

after which they commended themselves to God in prayer, and retired to rest.

The light of the succeeding morn beamed upon them, and all was yet well. Whilst the daughters were attending to the dairy, cheered with the joyful hope of soon greeting their friends, and being out of danger, the father went to the field for the horses, to prepare for their departure home. As he was passing through the field, he suddenly saw two Indians, armed with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives, making towards him at full speed. The sight so terrified him that he lost all self command, and stood motionless and silent. When they were about twenty yards from him, he suddenly, and with all his strength, exclaimed "Lord Jesus, living and dying, I am thine!" Scarcely had the Indians heard the



PRESENT SITE OF FORT NORTHKILL.

words "Lord Jesus" (which they probably knew as the white man's name of the Great Spirit), when they stopped short, and uttered a hideous yell.

The man ran with almost supernatural strength into the dense forest, and by taking a serpentine course, the Indians lost sight of him, and relinquished the pursuit. He hastened to an adjoining farm, where two German families resided, for assistance, but, on approaching near it, he heard the dying groans of the families, who were falling beneath the murderous tomahawks of some other Indians.

Having providentially not been observed by them, he hastened back to learn the fate of his daughters. But, alas! on arriving within sight, he found his home and barn enveloped with flames. Finding that the Indians had possession here too, he hastened to another adjoining farm for help. Returning, armed with several men, he found the house reduced to ashes and the Indians gone. His eldest daughter had been almost entirely burnt up, a few remains only of her body being found. And, awful to relate, the younger daughter though the scalp had been cut from her head, and her body horribly mangled from head to foot with the tomahawk, was yet living. "The poor worm," says Muhlenberg, "was able to state all the circumstances of the dreadful scene." After having done so she requested her father to stoop down to her that she might give him a parting kiss, and then go to her dear Saviour: and after she had impressed her dying lips upon his cheek, she yielded her spirit into the hands of that Redeemer, who, though His judgments are often unsearchable, and His ways past finding out, has nevertheless said, "I am the resurrection and the life, if any man believe in me, though he die yet shall he live."

FORT NORTHKILL.*

Unpleasant as is the duty, it becomes necessary for me here to refer to the inaccurate positions of various forts, whose history has just been given or will presently be taken up, on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, published by the

*The site of this fort was marked by the Berks Co. Historical Society in 1915—Ed.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1875. Fort Harris and Fort Hunter are correctly marked; Fort Manada and Robinson's Mill are at the right place but each on the wrong side of Manada Creek; Fort Henry at Swatara Gap is placed where Fort Swatara belongs, but also on the wrong side of the Swatara Creek; Fort Swatara as given on Swatara Creek is entirely wrong and should be obliterated; Six's Fort is correct except that the name should be properly given as Fort Henry; Fort Northkill's position on the Tulpehocken Creek is altogether wrong, as it belongs at the base of the Blue Mountains just below the Fort at Dietrich Snyder's, which is right; Fort Lebanon should be nearer the mouth of the Bohundy Creek and on the other side of the stream. The remaining forts are placed very nearly at their correct locations. At Lehigh Gap, however, the fort above the mountains has been omitted. It was on the north bank of the the Aquanshicola Creek, almost at the entrance of the Gap.

With this digression we are prepared to follow along the mountains to the next station, called Fort Northkill, eleven miles distant from Fort Henry to the west, and equally distant from Fort Lebanon to the east; that is to say, Fort Northkill was half way between its two neighbors. This statement practically explains its existence, which was owing to the fact that the rich and thickly populated county of Berks demanded for its protection more than the two forts which were twenty-two miles apart. Indeed the utmost vigilance of the garrisons in all three forts did not save its settlers from their merciless enemy, except in part.

On Jany. 25th, 1756, Captain Jacob Morgan, in command of Fort Lebanon, above what is now Port Clinton, was ordered to leave twenty men at his fort and with the remaining thirty proceed "to some convenient place about half way between that Fort and Fort _____ at Tolihao, and there to erect a stoccado of about 400 foot square, where he is to leave 20 men under a commiss'd officer and to return to Fort Lebanon, which he is to make his Headquarters and from that stoccado & form fort Lebanon, his men are to Range and scour the woods both eastward and westward." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 547.)

In choosing the ground for the stockade he is to take care that there is no hill near it which will overlook or command it, from whence an enemy might annoy the people within, and also to see that there is a spring or running stream of water either in the fort or least within command of their guns. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 548.)

The orders were duly carried out and the stockade erected, but evidently with somewhat less care than should have been exercised. Commissary James Young, when making his tour of inspection in 1756, has this to say of its shape and appearance:

June 20th, at 2 P. M., I set out from Reading, Escorted by 5 men of the town, on horseback, for the Fort at Northkill; at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, we came to the Fort, it is ab't 19 miles from Readin, the Road very hilly and thick of wood; the Fort is ab't 9 miles to the Westw'd of Schuylkill, and Stand in a very thick Wood, on a small Rising Ground, half a mile from the middle Northkill Creek; it is intended for a square ab't 32 ft. Each way, at Each Corner is a half Bastin, of very little Service to Flank the Curtains, the Stoccades are very ill fixed in the Ground and open in many Places; within is a very bad Logg house for the people, it has no Chimney, and can afford but little shelter in bad weather; when I came here, the Serjant who is Commander, was absent and gone to the next plantation, half a mile off, but soon came, when he had intelligence I was there; he told me he had 14 men Posted with him, all Detached from Capt. Morgan's Comp'y, at Fort Lebanon, 5 of them were absent by his leave, Vist. two he had let go to Reading for three days, One he had let go to his Own house, 10 miles off, and two more this afternoon, a few miles from the Fort, on their own business; there was but Eight men and the Serjant on Duty. I am of opinion there ought to be a Commission'd Officer here, as the Serjant does not do his Duty, nor are the men under proper Command for want of a More Superior Officer; the woods are not Clear'd above 40 Yards from the Fort; I gave orders to cut all down for 200 y'ds; I inquired the reason there was so little Powder & Lead here, the Serjant told me he had repeatedly requested more of Capt. Morgan, but to no purpose. Provisions here, Flower

and Rum, for 4 Weeks; Mr. Seely, of Reading, sends the Officer money to purchase meal as they want it.—Provincial Arms & Ammun'tn at North Kill Fort, vizt: 8 Gd. muskets, 4 Rounds of Powder — Lead, pr. man, 15 Blankets, 3 Axes.

The next day he left for Fort Lebanon, and upon his arrival there informed Captain Morgan that the Sergeant in command at Northkill was derelict in his duty, and requested him to send a commissioned officer to relieve him, whereupon his Lieutenant was detailed for that purpose, and started for the post accompanied by two additional men taking with them 4 pounds of powder and 10 pounds of lead. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 675-676.)

In July Col. Weiser directs Capt. Morgan to order "Six men to range from the little Fort on Northkill westward to the Emericks, and stay there if the people unite to work together in their Harvest, Six men to range Eastward on the same footing, Eight men to stay in that Fort." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 696.)

From the foregoing we see that Fort Northkill was built by the Government troops in the beginning of February, 1756. We have just read a description of its size and appearance. Not very extensive and hastily constructed, it was never intended for more than a station, which it was absolutely necessary to sustain between the two large forts. From the journal of its commanding officer, which will follow in full, we notice that in the summer of 1757 preparations were made for the erection of a more substantial place of defense. It is very doubtful whether this latter was ever constructed, for in the beginning of March, 1758, as we will see presently, the stockade was abandoned. The position, now determined, corresponds precisely with the description given above of the original fort, and nothing is known of any other in that locality. It is possible, of course, that the new fort may have been built beside the other, although there is barely room on the little elevation on which it stood for that. The new fort, again, may have only meant a general putting in order of the old, but I am inclined to believe that the project of its erection was abandoned after it had been commenced, and that we have only

to deal with the original stockade. The maps herewith given will illustrate its position.

This is one of the very few forts of which any trace exists. The cellar is still visible, although now nearly drifted full with forest leaves. This is unquestionably owing to its isolated location. Its site is about two miles distant from Strausstown in Upper Tulpehocken township, Berks county, and about half a mile from one of the branches of the Northkill creek, from which it derives its name. It stood directly at the base of the mountains, and, even now, is still on the edge of the wood land. Its position, however, was good. It was but a short distance from the main, State road, and on slightly elevated ground which gave it a full view of the cultivated valley lying all around it. A small stream of water, emanating from a spring, was close to it. At the time of the Indian troubles, as now the land was cultivated almost up to the fort, but, even now, as then, its site stands on the edge of waste mountain land, and it is owing to its undisturbed condition that some trace of it can still be seen. Mr. Jonathan Goodman, of Strausstown, a gentleman who in 1879 was nearly eighty years old, and who was born and lived all his life time in that neighborhood, remembered that, in his younger days the stockades were still in position and higher than the ceiling of a room, and that the form of the fort could still be seen. (*Indians of Berks County*, D. B. Brunner, p. 23.) To this day the location of Fort Northkill is well known in and about Strausstown.

Whilst it may have been a comparatively insignificant station, it was a most important one. We will see from its records that its garrison and officers were always most actively engaged. In fact they probably had more than their share of actual encounters with the savages. It would certainly be an ill-advised act not to erect a monument to mark the location of Fort Northkill. It should be placed on the site of the fort.

A number of these interesting occurrences are, fortunately, on record, and their perusal will add much to the interest which attaches itself to this fort.

One of these encounters is related in a letter from Lieut. Humphreys, in command, to Col. Weiser:

Thursday, Nov. 4th, 1756.

* * * * *
Fort above the Northkill.

May it please the Colonel:

Yesterday we were alarmed by a number of Indians, who came and took a Child away. Immediately upon hearing the News, I, with nine men, went in Pursuit of 'em, leaving a Number of Farmers to guard the Fort 'till we should return. But we found nothing 'till this morning, we went out again; and, in our Return to the Fort, we were apprized of 'em by the firing of several Guns; when I ordered my men to make what speed they could. We ran till we were almost out of Breath, and, upon finding Nicholas Long's House attack'd by the Indians, the Farmers, who were with us to the Number of Twenty, deserted and fled, leaving the Soldiers to Fight. We stood in Battle with 'em for several minutes 'till there was about Sixty Guns discharged and, at length, we put the Indians to Flight.

We have one Man wounded, and my Coat was shot through in four Places. The Number of the Indians was twenty. Our Number at first was twenty-four, But they all deserted and fled except seven. Two old men were killed before we came, one of whom was Scalped. Ten Women & Children were in the Cellar and the House was on Fire; But we extinguished it and brought the Women and Children to the Fort. I desire the Colonel to send me a Reinforcement; for the men solemnly say they will not go out with the Farmers, as they deserted in the Battle and never fired a Gun. The Indians cryed the Halloo during the Battle.

We have one of their Guns and a Blanket, which had two Holes with a Bullet in, and is Bloody. The Indians had all red Hats and red Blankets.

Sir,

This in Distress (wanting
Reinforcement) from
Yours to command,
SAMUEL HUMPHREYS.

May it please the Colonel to send by the Bearer, Adam Hayerling, as much Powder and Lead as you can spare.
(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 28.)

Lieut. Humphreys also made his report to Capt. Morgan, who, in turn, on Nov'r 4th writes to Gov. Denny, giving him details of occurrences around Fort Lebanon, and this account of the fight at Northkill:

"At 12 of the clock at Night I Rec'd an Express from Lieu't Humphres, Commander at the Fort at Northkill, who inform'd me that the same Day about 11 o'clock in the Forenoon (about half a Mile from his Fort), as he was returning from his Scout, came upon a Body of Indians to the Number of 20 at the House of Nicholas Long, where they had killed 2 old Men and taken another Captive, and doubtless would have kill'd all the Family, they being 9 Children in the House, the Lieut's party tho' 7 in number, fired upon the Indians and thought they killed 2, they dropping down and started up again, one held his Hand (as they imagined) over his Wound, and they all ran off making a Hallowing Noise; we got a Blanket and a Gun which he that was shot dropt in his Flight. The Lieut. had one Man shot through the right arm and the right side, but hopes not mortal, & he had 4 Shotts through his Own Cloaths. I this day went out with a party to burry the dead nigh here; we are all in high spirits here; if it would please his Honour to order Reinforcement at both Forts, I doubt not but we should soon have an Opportunity of Revenging the Loss." (Penn Arch., iii, p. 30.)

It is gratifying to know that Lieut. Humphreys received at least a fair amount of credit for his gallant action. James Read, Esq., in writing Nov. 7th, to Gov. Denny, observes that "By concurrent Accounts from several Persons, whose character will not suffer me to doubt what they tell me, I am persuaded that Mr. Humphreys behav'd in a most laudable Manner, and manifested that calm courage and Presence of Mind which will ever gain an Advantage over superior Numbers, whose Leader is too precipitate and void of Discretion" (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 36). Immediately upon receipt of this the Governor directs Capt. Morgan to "thank Lieutenant Humphreys and the men under him on my part for ye gallant Behaviour in the later Action ag't the Indians." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 39.)

The next record of events at Fort Northkill is the following

copy of an interesting Journal kept by the officer in command, extending from the middle of June to September 1st, 1757, and fortunately preserved. I say in 1757, although the Penn. Archives, Vol. ii, page 159, speaks of it as a "Journal in 1754." This is simply impossible, and so evidently an error of some description as to hardly need comment. Suffice it to say that in 1754 the settlers were at peace with the Indians, at least in that vicinity, neither in 1754 were there such officers as Capt. Smith and Capt. Busse, both frequently mentioned, who were not commissioned until Nov., 1755, and Jan'y, 1756. It could not therefore be a "Journal of 1754." Neither was it written in 1755, because Fort Northkill of which it speaks and to which it unquestionably refers, was not built until Feby., 1756. It could not have been written from June to Sept., of 1756, because in June, 1756, Commissary James Young paid a visit of inspection to the fort, and, as we have seen, found there a sergeant in command, and made complaint of his inefficiency, recommending at the same time that a commissioned officer replace him, which was immediately done. The person who wrote this journal was unquestionably a commissioned officer. It could not possibly have been written in 1758, because we are told that in the beginning of March in that year the stockade had been abandoned and partly demolished. It could only then have been in 1757, and the journal bears evidence of that fact in its contents. It will be recalled that during the latter part of May and beginning of June, 1757, it became necessary to reinforce Fort Augusta at Shamokin (Sunbury) and that three companies from Col. Weiser's battalion were ordered there for that purpose. We will also recall how the Forts in Berks county suffered for the lack of these troops, so much so, in fact, that Col. Weiser was obliged to order an officer and detachment from his own company at Reading to Fort Northkill (the rest of the company being ordered to Fort Augusta). This is distinctly specified in the Journal. The officer also says that he relieved Ensign Harry, whom we know to have been in command of Fort Northkill about this time, and probably immediately after Lieut. Humphreys. Moreover on Octo. 4, 1757, Col. Weiser in writing to Mr.

Peters, the Governor's Secretary, says "Inclosed is the Journal of last month of my Ensign at Northkill (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 283), most likely referring to the very one here given.

A Journal of Fort Northkill, 1757.

June 13. Received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Weiser, to march from Reading with all the Company remaining there (the rest being commanded to Fort Augusta.) Accordingly I sat out from Reading by Break of Day, on the 14th. Arrived at Lt. Col'l Weiser's where I rec'd Orders to march with the Company or Detachm't, to Fort Henry, and from there take a Detachm't of 20 Men, & continue 'till to Fort Northkill. Accordingly on the 15th, In the morning took the said 20 men from Fort Henry of the New Levies and marched strait Way to the said Fort accompanied with Capt'ns Busse and Capt'ns Smith, as soon as I arrived I gave Ensign Harry (then Commander of said Fort) Notice of my Orders, and Sent off two Men immediately to the Colonels with a Report of the Condition I found the fort in, & sent him a List of the new Levies who were detached from Captain Busse's Fort with me to this Fort.

16th. Capt'ns Busse & Smith sat off ab't 10 o'clock with a Scout of 10 men, which Capt'n Busse had ordered from his Company on the 15th. And Ensign Harry march'd out of the fort ab't 12 o'clock (after delivering it to me), with his Men to Fort Lebanon, according to Orders. Provision I found in the fort as follows, 5 lb Powder, 198 lb Flower, 10 Small Barrs of Lead, 15 lb of Beef and Pork, $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb Candles.

17. I, with a Corporal & 20 Men, according to Orders from Lt. Col'l Weiser, went a scouting & Ranging the Woods till to Fort Lebanon, where We arrived ab't 2 o'clock in the Afternoon. We staid there all Night, being not able to scout any further, or return home because of a heavy Rain.

18. Sat off from Fort Lebanon in the morning being rainy Weather, and ranged the Woods coming back, as before, with the same number of men, & arrived at Fort on Northkill about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

19. Gave Orders to Serj't Pet'r Smith to Scout to Fort Lebanon & to bring me Report the next Day of his Proceed-

ings. Accordingly He arrived on the 20th ab't 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and made Report that He had done according to his Orders, and that He had made no Discoveries. Rec'd a Letter by him from Capt'n Morgan, informing me that He had no News, &c.

21. Sent off Corporal Shafer to scout as before.

22d. Minister Shumaker came & preached a Sermon to the Company. The scout arrived from Fort Lebanon. The Corporal reported that Nothing strange had come to his knowledge. A scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived about 11 o'clock, and ret'd ab't 4 towards their forts, but upon the Indian Alarms they immediately ret'd back to my fort and gave me Notice. In the midst of the Rain, I sent on the first Notice, Serj't Smith, with 18 men, and ordered them to divide themselves in two Parties.

June 23d. Serj't Smith ret'd and made Report that he arrived at Dietz's House about 10 o'clock in the Night, where they heard a Gun go off at Jacob Smith's about a mile from there. They immediately sat off again for said Smith's towards the Place where the Gun went off, and Surrounded the House (according to my Orders). They searched all the House but found no marks of Indians. From there they marched to Falks House in the Gap, and surrounded it, but found no Indians. From there they went to the Mountain, and arived there at 2 o'clock in the morning, where Serj't Smith according to Orders, Waylay the Road in two Parties, and as soon as it was Day went back and buried the man that was killed, to wit, Peter Geisinger, who was shot, and killed the Day before. At Buruying him, they heard 5 Guns go off ab't 2 miles from said Place, whereupon Serj't Smith Immediately repaired to the Place, & divided themselves in two Parties (I had sent off Corporal Sheffer with 8 men on the 22d to their assistance). Serj't Smith also makes Report that this Morning at 7 o'clock a Girl ab't 15 years, Daughter of Balser Schmidt, was taken Prisoner, by two Indians, whose Tracts they saw and followed, but to no Purpose. A Party of Capt'n Busse's Company went along from this and remained with my men all the Time. 15 or 16 of the Inhabitants came to

me and apply'd for assistance. I ordered out several Detachm'ts to asist them.

24. I sat off with 20 men from this to Capt'n Busse's Fort along the mountain, & called at the Place where the Murder was committed. Went up as far as the Gap of the Mountain, but as I found no Tracts there, I thought the Indians would be on this Side the mountains, therefore I went up along the mountains without opposition, till to Capt'n Busse's Fort, and as it rained very hard all Day and We went far about, We arrived there towards the Evening.

25. Sat off in the morning with the same number of men, and scouted the Woods back near the same Way back again, and arrived towards Evening in the fort, being rainy Weather.

26. Rec'd in the morning a Letter, for my positive Orders not to neglect my scouting towards Fort Lebanon, accordingly immediately called in my Detachm'ts. This afternoon a Woman living ab't $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from here, came to the fort, and said she had seen an Indian just now in her Field, almost naked, & had a Gun, but said she did not stay to look long. I immediately sent off Serj't Smith with 2 Parties, consisting of ab't 20 men. They searched the Place, and found nothing, but saw 2 Barefeet Tracks. They divided into small Parties & Scoured the Woods til Evening & then ret'd to the Fort, and as I had to Day but men sufficient to guard the fort, I sent out no scout. This evening Intelligence came to me from the Colonel's, informing me that He had notice from Capt'n Orndt of 15 Indians going to fall on this Settlement or hereabouts. He ordered me therefore immediately to Send Notice thereof to Capt'n Busse's Fort, in order that it might be from there conveyed to Fort Swatara, accordingly I did.

June 27. Gave Orders to Serj't Smith to go scouting the Woods between this and fort Lebanon, and if Capt'n Morgan thought that it was serviceable, to range some Way up Schuylkill (as that Gap is their common Rendevouz).

28. A scout of Capt'n Busse arrived in the Forenoon, & sat off again this afternoon.

29. In the Evening there came two men to the Fort, and reported that the Indians had invaded about 6 miles from

this, ab't 9 o'clock this morning, I was somewhat concerned that I had no sooner Intelligence of it, however, I imminately sent off 12 men under 2 Corporals.

30. About noon the 2 Corporals returned and made the following Report. That Yesterday he could not reach the Place as they were tired, but staid at a House til nigh Break of Day, and then sat off again. He did not immediately go to the Place where the man, &c., were killed, but went somewhat further down towards Schuylkill, thinking that the Indians had invaded lower down, but as it was not so, He took another Rout, towards Schuylkill, thinking that perhaps the Indians had invaded lower down, but as it was not so he took another Rout towards the place, where the murder was committed, and as he came there, he found the Man's Wife (Fred. Myers) who had been at a Plough, and shot thro' both her Breasts, & was scalped. After that he went to look for the Man, whom they found dead & scalped some Way in the Woods. They took a Ladder & carried him to his Wife where the Neighbors came, & helped to bury them, after which they went towards the mountain, and scouted along the same & arrived here about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It is reported by the Farmers who saw the deceased a short while before, that he was mowing in his Meadow, and that his Children were about him, which makes them Believe that the Man, after he heard the Shot (which killed his Wife) he went to run off with only the youngest Child in his Arms, as the Man was Shot thro' the Body, and the Child is $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of Age and is scalped, but yet alive, and is put to a Doctor's. The other three, who were with their Father, are taken Prisoners; One of them is a Boy ab't 10 years old, the other a Girl of 8 years, & the other a Boy of 6 years. There was a Baby, whom they found in a Ditch, that the water was just to its Mouth. It was lying on its Back crying. It was taken up, and is like to do well. A Boy of one Reichard, of Eight years, was taken Prisoner at the same time. This was all done within half an Hour, as some Nengbors had been there in that Space of Time.

July 1. Serj't Pet'r Smith ret'd with the Scout, and reported that when he came to Ft. Lebanon, Capt'n Morgan sent

a Detachm't under Ensign Harry to the Gap of the Schuylkill. And that on the 28th last past, they ascended the Mountains, and when they came on the other side, they found an encamping Place of the Indians, which, after Ensign Harry had surrounded with his Party, he sent off Serj't Smith with another Party to lay in ambush on the Indian Path all Night, but as nothing was to be heard of the Indians, they met again the next Day; The Indians, as he supposes, having left that Place the Day before. However, they found 2 Match Coats, one Spear, one Scalping Knife, some Virmilion, and 800 Blank Wampum, also a great variety of Salves. The 29th they yet lay in Ambush in several Parties, but all to no purpose. The Indians having without Doubt discovered them, in Case any was thereabouts. The 30th they sat off from the Hills, and arrived within a few Miles of this fort. And the 1 July, they arrived Accordingly in the Fort.

July 2. Being rainy Weather I sent no Scout, but put the Men to work to repair the Stoccadoes.

3. Early in the Morning my Men were all gathered, & I ordered a Corporal to Scout with a Party to Fort Lebanon, & return part of the Way and encamp in the Woods upon a rising Ground, that He might the easier discover a fire.

4. In the Morning a Scout of Captain Busse's arrived & returned again in the Afternoon. The Scout from Fort Lebanon returned & the Corporal made Report, that he had ranged as directed but had made no Discoveries.

5. Being a very rainy Day, could send no Scout.

6. Sent Serj't Smith on a Scout to range on this Side the Mountains, towards Schuylkill.

7. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & set off again directly. In the afternoon my Scout ret'd, but had no News. It rained hard, they lay in a House about 12 Miles from here.

8. Being appointed by his Honour the Govern'r a Day of Fast, I sent no Scout, but had a Sermon read in the fort, where numbers of the Neighbors had assembled. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd directly.

9. Sent off Corp'l Shefer with a Scout to Fort Lebanon, who ret'd on the

10. But brought no Inteligence. I rec'd Orders to repair to Reading, where I arrived this afternoon.

11. Returned again to the Fort, where Serj't Smith informed me a Scout of Capt'n Busse's had arrived at the fort & ret'd. That he had ranged the Gap about 2 Miles from this, and had been over the Mountains, but had discovered nothing.

12th. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd Immediately. Sent a Corporal and a Scout to Range to Fort Lebanon.

13. My Scout from Fort Lebanon returned. The Corporal reported he had ranged as ordered, but had no Discoveries.

14. Capt'n Busse arrived this morning with a Party of Capt'n Smith's and his own, to the Number of ab't 28. I gave him 15 of my Men, in order to escort the Treaty at Easton.

15. It being a rainy Day I sent no Scout.

16. Continuing rainy Weather, I could send no Scout. In the Evening repaired some Stoccadoes, the Rain having held up.

17. The Water being high & the Bushes wet, I could send no Scout to Day. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived, there being no Water between his & this fort.

18. Sent a Scout along the Mountains. They arrived in the Evening & had no Intellig-ce.

19. A Scout of Captn. Busse's arrived and ret'd directly. Sent Serj't Smith with a Scout to Fort Lebanon.

20. Serj't Smith ret'd & reported that he had been at Fort Lebanon & ret'd some Part of the Way & laid in the Woods, but had made no fire. They made no Discovery. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd Instantly.

21. Having laid out part of my Men to protect the Farmers & the Rest fatigued with Yesterday's Scout, I could send none to Day.

22. Sent a Scout along the Mountain who ret'd without Discovering any Thing.

July 23d. I went Scouting with a Party over the Mountains, and as it was very warm, I ordered the Men about Noon to rest themselves a Couple of Hours when We were over the Mountains, I then ordered them to march, and as We

came to Schuylkill, I saw it was too high for the Men to wade through. I then got Horses, & towards Evening We got over Schuylkill. We arrived at Fort Lebanon towards Night, & was obliged to stay there that Night.

24th. Returned, and as soon as We came over on this Side of the Mountains (it being early in the Day) I took quite another Rout thro' the Woods, but made no Discovery, so We arrived at the Fort in the Evening. I had not been there one half an hour befr. three Farmers came and informed me that this Morning the Indians had taken a Boy of about 14 Years Prisoner, but had done no other Damage. I immediately sent off a party, but as it happened, the Boy being taken Prisoner in the Morning, Night came on before my Men could get there.

25. In the Morning I heard the Boy had escaped, and that he made Report that there were 4 white Men & 4 Indians with him, & that At night he escaped, they had tied him and he was obliged to lay between them, but as they all got drunk, and fast asleep, he untied himself and ran off. He further says that when he was taken Prisoner he made a noise, and that they struck him & told him to be silent. I imagine they saw me with my Men go over the Day befr. yesterday. The Indians were this Night ab't the fort, but it was very dark, therefr, I did not sally out.

26. This morning sent out Serj't Smith, with 5 Men to search ab't the fort for Tracks, but he only found one which was in a muddy Place. But it being nothing but Stones, He could not follow the Tracts. It rained all Day very hard, therefr. I could send no Scout.

July 27th. Sent a Scout down on this Side of the Mountain. The Scout ret'd in the Evening having no intelligence.

28th. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived and ret'd ab't Noon ; Nothing Extraordinary happened.

29th. Sent Serj't Smith with a Scout along the Mountains. He ret'd having nothing particular.

30th. A Scout of Lt. Philip Weiser, from Cap't Busse arrived. Having laid aside out several Detachments to assist the Farmers, I could send no Scout to Day.

31. Lieut. Weiser ret'd from his Scout. I called in the Detachm'ts this Day, and sent out a Scout which ret'd this Evening.

Augt. 1st. The Men being tired & their Feet in Blisters, I let them rest this Day.

2d. Sent a Scout along the Mountains with Orders to range to Schuylkill.

3d. The Corporal ret'd from his Scout and reported he had ranged as ordered.

4. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd the same Day. The Inhabitants desiring Assistance to bring in their Harvest, I gave them some men & went altho' a scouting, but as I left few Men in the Fort, I ret'd this Evening.

5. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & went off aft'r they had rested awhile. Sent. Serj't Smith with a Scout & ordered him to range the Woods on this Side of the Mountains. He ret'd and had nothing particular.

6. Sent off a Scout. They went along on the foot of the Mountains & ret'd the Evening without any Intelligence.

7th. Being Sunday, I took a Party & went to Church with a Party, as the Church lies near the Mountain & the Minister could not come without a Guard.

8. The Centry fired at an Indian. The Indian stood behind a Bush ab't 300 Yards off, and was viewing the fort. I went off with 18 Men and parted them in 6 Parties and went after the Indians, but could not come up with them. Went to clearing ab't the fort, it being thick with Bushes.

9. Continued Clearing & burning Brush so that on the South Side of the Fort, it is cleared a full Musket Shot. A Party of Captain Busse's arrived.

10. Sent off a scouting Party, who ret'd and brought no Intelligence. This Night the Centry ab't an Hour after Dark perceived that a fire had been kindled to burn Brush, but was befr. Night gone out, began to burn afresh; upon which he called the Serjeant of the Guard, who perceiving the same ordered the Guard to fire, on which the Indians ran off. The Dogs pursued 'em, & kept barking after 'em, ab't half a Mile. I had the Men all under Arms; but everything being now quiet, dismissed 'em, ordering them to be in continual Readi-

ness with their Accoutrements on. In ab't an Hour, the Indians ret'd and took a Firebrand out of the Fire & ran off. They were immediately fired on, but in vain.

Aug. 11. Ensign Biddle arrived at the fort with the Detachment of our Company that were in Easton.

12. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd directly.

13. This day I left the fort in Order to go to the Cols. agreeable to his Orders. I left Ensign Biddle in the fort. Sent a Corporal to range towards Schuylkill, who ret'd the same Evening & the Corporal reported that he ranged as directed and had made no Discoveries. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived, & ret'd the same Evening.

14. Being Sunday, Minister Shumaker came here, & the Soldiers being fatigued with continual Scouting, there was no Scout to Day.

15. Ensign Biddle sent a Corporal with a Scout to range Eastwards towards Schuylkill & return under the Mountains. The Scout ret'd towards Evening, & the Corporal made Report, he had ranged as directed, and had no Intelligence.

16. Sent an express Serjeant with 15 Men to range Eastward along the Mountain. A Scout of Capt'n Busse's arrived & ret'd immediately. In the Afternoon, the Scout ret'd. The Serj't made Report he had ranged as directed, but had no news.

17. Early this Morning Ensign Biddle sent Serj't Smith with 10 men to escort Lieut. Col. Weiser, who was expected here this Day. This Day Col'l Weiser arrived, accompanied with Capt'n Busse and myself, together with the said Escort. The Col'l returned the same Day homewards, after We had chosen a place where to build a New Fort. Ensign Biddle went along with Capt'n Busse.

18. Sent off a Scout to Fort Lebanon, and ordered them to range the Woods between here & that fort till Night.

19. The Scout ret'd ab't 4 o'clock & informed that he had done according to his Orders. Capt'n Morgan came with the Scout and ret'd the same Evening.

20. Sent a Scout of 15 Men to range the Woods towards Schuylkill, into Windsor Township, & with Orders to call in

some Detachments lying in said Township, according to Lieut. Col's Orders.

21. The Scout ret'd with the Detachm'ts. The Corporal reported he had done according to his Orders, but had no News. The same day Capt'n Busse & Ensign Biddle arrived from Fort Henry. Captain Busse ret'd the same Evening.

22d. Rec'd an Express from Lieut. Col'l Weiser, with Orders to come to his House. In Pursuance of which, I sat off immediately, leaving Ensign Biddle in the fort.

23d. A Scout of Capt'n Busse arrived. The Centrys heard the Indians distinctly whistle this Night in the fort Woods.

24. Ensign Biddle, acording to Orders, with a Scout of 20 Men, went over the Mountains to Captain Morgan's Fort.

25. Lieut. Philip Weiser came here from Fort Henry, with a Scout.

26. Ensign Biddle ret'd from his Scout, having been at Cap't Morgan's Fort, & from thence scouted over the Mountains into Allemangle & from thence along the foot of the Mountains till here. This Day I also arrived in the fort from Lt. Col'l Weiser's.

27. Having Orders from Lt. Col'l Weiser's to look out for a proper Place to build a new fort, this being so bad, I began to lay out one on a spot which had been befr. pitched upon by the Colonel and Capt'n Busse, But night coming, We could not finish.

28. Laid out the remaining Part of the fort.

29. Had some Brush cut, round the new intended fort, till Evening.

30. Sent off a Scout towards Schuylkill. They ret'd in the Evening, but made no return with the remaining party of the Men. I continued clearing & burning of Brush.

31. Sent off Serjt Smith with a scouting Party, towards Schuylkill. He ret'd but made no Discovery.

After this there seems to have been more or less irregularity with regard to the occupation of Fort Northkill. Probably the Government was already considering the matter of its abandonment, in connection with the plan of consolidating the various defences into a fewer number. It would seem as

if the officer writing the above Journal was ordered away, with his command, in the beginning of September, because in a letter of Octo. 1st, 1757, to Gov. Denny, Col. Weiser says that Captain Oswald, who commanded a company of regular troops, from the Royal American Regiment, stationed at Reading, sent immediately two Lieutenants, with 40 Privates, to the assistance of the people about Northkill who were in distress, which could hardly have been the case if the Fort had been still garrisoned. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 277).

James Burd, in his Journal of inspection, Feby., 1758, visited Fort Henry and directed its commander to continue ranging to Fort Northkill on the East. He also visited Fort Lebanon, or Fort William as then called, found Lieut. Humphreys and Ensign Harry there, and likewise directed its commander to patrol to Fort Northkill on the west. He paid no visit to Fort Northkill. This would indicate, without much doubt; that the Fort was no longer occupied by a regular body of soldiers, under the command of a commissioned officer, as heretofore, although it is possible that detachments many have still temporarily taken possession of it.

By March, 1758, it was completely abandoned as shown in the following petition to Gov'r Denny from Berks county, and its history ceases:

March 15, 1758.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Township of Bern and parts adjacent in the County of Berks in the said Province,

Sheweth;

That from the beginning of the Indian Incursions into this Province, the Neighborhood wherein your Petit'rs live hath been frequently harass'd by the Enemy, and numbers of their Neighbours cruelly murder'd, others captivated, and many of your petit'rs obliged to fly from their Dwellings to avoid the same Unhappy fate, to their unspeakable Terror and Distress. That during this winter the Severity of Weather hath prevented those Barbarians from committing their wonted Cruelties; but as the Snow is now melting, and the weather is growing fair, your Petitioners are every moment dreading an attack from the Enemy, and find themselves less secure than heretofore,

from their attempts, as the Blockhouse at Northkill is destroyed and no Garrison kept in those parts.

Your Petitioners, in the deepest Distress, implore your Honour's Protection, and most earnestly beg that they may not be left a Prey to the Savage Enemy, protesting that without Assistance from the Public, they are utterly unable to defend themselves, and must on the first attack, abandon their Habitations, and rather embrace the most extreme poverty than remain subject to the merciless Rage of those bloody murderers; And that they have the greatest Reason to expect an Attack is obvious from the many former Successfull attempts of the Enemy, three or four Indian Paths leading into their Neighborhood.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly beg your Honour to compassionate their miserable Circumstances, and order Soldiers to be Stationed for their Defence in some of the most exposed Farm Houses, or take such other effectual Measures for their Security and Protection as to your Honour's Wisdom shall seem meet.

And as in duty bound they will every pray, &c.

(Here follow the signatures in German.)

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 361).

Besides the occurrences already mentioned, the Penn'a Gazette of May 19, 1757, says "We have an account from Fort Babel (Northkill) that on Friday last, a boy was killed and scalped; and another who had the small pox, was dangerously wounded by the Indians, within a mile and a half of said fort. Lieut. Humphreys went out, but could find nothing of the enemy. The wounded lad says, he saw but two Indians, one was painted black, the other red; they cut him badly, but would not scalp him for fear of the infection, as is supposed."

The same paper in its issues of Octo. 6 and 13, 1757, mentions about four persons being killed and four made prisoners near the Northkill, by a party of Indians, supposed to be about fifty.

In April, 1758, at Tulpehocken, a man by the name of Lebenguth and his wife were killed and scalped. At North-

kill, Nicholas Geiger's wife and two of his children were killed; and also Michael Ditzelar's wife was killed—these were all scalped. The Indians divided themselves into small parties, and surprised the settlers unawares. (C. Sauer's German Paper, April 1758).

Hon. D. B. Brunner, in his Indians of Berks County, p. 23, speaks of seeing, in Nov'r, 1879, an interesting relic consisting of an old chest, the property of Mr. John W. Degler, who lived a short distance from Fort Northkill on a farm, settled by his great grandfather before the Indian War. Old Mr. Degler, who possessed the virtues of honesty, kindness, generosity and hospitality, was on excellent terms with the Indians, who frequently visited him, and to whom he always gave food and such other things as they might need. When the war broke out, and the Indians began murdering his neighbors, although he had not, as yet, been molested Mr. Degler feared treachery and moved his family in close proximity to the fort. The Indians, seeing this, believed he had become hostile to them and joined their enemies, so they at once proceeded to his home, ransacked the house, and demolished things generally. Amongst these things was the chest in question, which was of cedar, unpainted, and protected on the edges with iron. This was split completely through the middle. It was afterwards repaired by placing small iron bands around the ends, but the lid still remained in two pieces. The chest bears the date 1757, at which time it is presumed the Indians committed the deed just mentioned.

FORT AT DIETRICH SNYDER'S.*

No mention is made of this fort in the old records. It is, however, properly given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania. In reality it was no fort, but merely a settler's log house used as a lookout station. It will be recalled that no gap exists in the mountains between Swatara Gap and the Schuylkill Gap. Whilst the enemy generally made use of these natural passages, they also, not infrequently, crossed

*The site of this fort was marked by the Berks County Historical Society in 1915.—Ed.

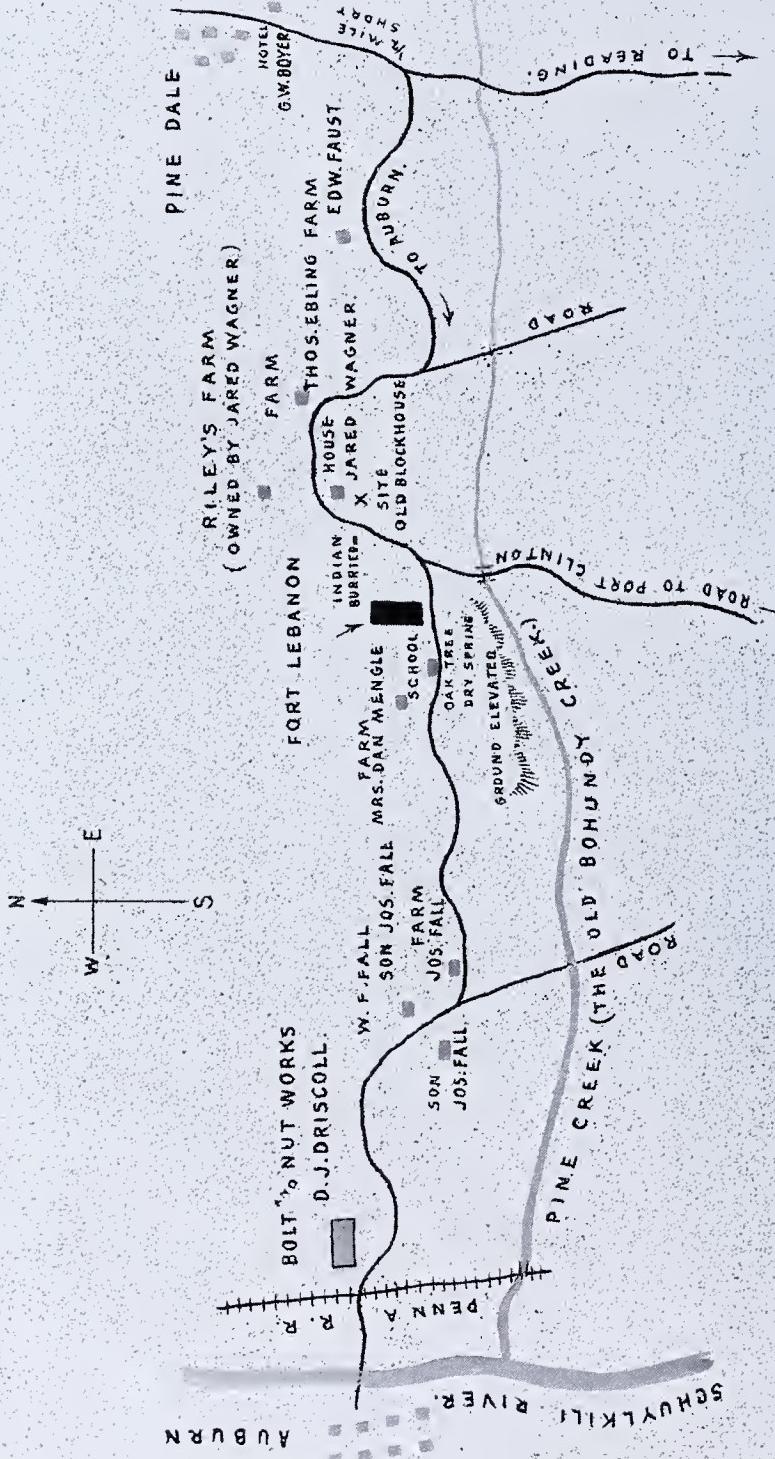
directly over the mountains, especially when they could take advantage of a roadway leading over them. Such was the case in this instance. Not far distant from the locality of Fort Northkill is a road leading over the mountain to Pottsville, the only one in that vicinity. On this road, at the top of the Blue Mountains, on one of its most conspicuous points, Dietrich Snyder had built for himself a one story log house, about 20x40 feet. From this a view of the surrounding country could be had, and the approach of marauding parties of savages, easily discovered by the trail of buring farm houses in their tracks, reported at once to the commander of Fort Northkill which stood but a mile and half, or two miles, below them. Then again this building, properly garrisoned, commanded the road over the mountains. Its advantages were so great that it is hardly likely they would have been overlooked, and we have good reason to presume that soldiers occupied the house. To corroborate this fact, Mr. D. B. Brunner was told, in 1879, by Mr. Jonathan Goodman, of Strausstown, an old gentlemen thoroughly familiar with the place, that a fort was located there. Mr. Henry Brobst, of Rehrersburg, a gentlemen 73 years old, also well acquainted with the vicinity informed me that, upon the death of Dietrich Snyder his wife still remained in the old house. She lived to be 115 years old. Upon her death the property was sold to a Mr. Miller, who tore down the old building and erected a new hotel, now owned by Mr. Harry Nine, which is still standing. The old blockhouse stood a short hundred yards directly north of the hotel. Mr. Brobst was acquainted with Mrs. Snyder and frequently saw the old building. Mr. Jos. Potteiger, of Strausstown, 65 years old, corroborated Mr. Brobst's statement, and added that the house was boarded inside and not plastered.

FORT LEBANON (AND WILLIAM).*

Not far distant from Fort Northkill to the East is the important gap in the mountain made by the Schuylkill River, where Port Clinton now stands. Some six miles north of

*Marked by Mahantongo Chapter, D. A. R., 1913.

PRESENT SITE OF FORT LEBANON.



Port Clinton is the town of Auburn, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Auburn stood Fort Lebanon, distant eleven miles from Fort Northkill, by the route usually taken, which was along the northern base of the Blue Range, then across the mountain. This fort, during the latter part of its history, was also called Fort William.

The first mention made of it is in a letter of instructions sent by Gov. Morris to Col. Weiser, on January 25, 1756, in which he speaks of having ordered "Captain Jacob Morgan,* who is posted at a fort in the forks of Schuylkill, called fort Lebanon," to take twenty men and build Fort Northkill. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 547).

The order, itself, as sent Capt. Morgan, is dated January 26th, 1756, and begins, "As you are Captain of a Company of foot in the pay of this Province, now posted in a fort in the forks of Schuylkill, I think it necessary to give you the following Orders and Instructions for your better government and direction, (in the execution of the trust reposed in you. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 555).

Then follows the order relative to Fort Northkill.

When writing to Col. George Washington, February 2, 1756, Gov. Morris mentions "Fort Lebanon, in the Forks of Schuyl-

*Captain Jacob Morgan was born in the district or shire of Caernarvon, in the northern part of Wales, in 1716, and emigrated with his father, Thomas Morgau, to Pennsylvania some time previous to 1730. In connection with a colony of Welsh people they migrated up the Schuylkill Valley from Philadelphia to the mouth of the French creek, and thence along its waters and beyond until they reached the headwaters of the Conestoga creek, in Caernarvon township of Berks County, where they settled. The tract of land taken up by Thomas Morgan was in the vicinity of the present Morgantown, which was laid out by Jacob in 1770, and named after the family. At the outbreak of the Revolution, although nearly 60 years of age, he at once became very prominent, and retained this position until his death. In June, 1776, he was re-elected to represent Berks county as a delegate to the Provincial Conference, and in July following as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. In 1777, upon the creation of that office, he was appointed Lieutenant of the county, being selected from a number of prominent and influential citizens. He filled this office with great credit until his resignation in December, 1780. He officiated as a judge of the county for the years 1768, 1769, 1772, and from 1774 to 1777, also as a justice of the peace for the southern district of Berks county, which included Caernarvon township from 1777 to 1791. He was a man of great courage, and a most distinguished citizen of his adopted county and State. He died at Morgantown on November 11, 1792, at the age of 76 years, and was buried in the graveyard of St. Thomas Episcopal Church of that place. He left two sons, Jacob and Benjamin, and three daughters, Sarah (married to — Jenkins), Mary (married to Nicholas Hudson), and Rebecca (married to John Price, an attorney at Reading).

kill," as being one of the forts erected East of the Susquehanna. (Penn. Arch, ii., p. 565).

The date when this defense was built is not given, but, on January 25, 1756, it is already mentioned as in existence. Knowing, as we do, that the Indian depredations did not reach this vicinity until about November, 1755; knowing also that the Fort was built by the Government as one of the chain of defenses erected about November, 1755, and then too, knowing that Capt. Morgan, its commander and undoubtedly its first commander, was not commissioned until December 5, 1755, we are entirely justified in saying that it came into existence during the month of December, 1755, and we have good reason to think that it was built by Capt. Morgan, and his soldiers.

Fortunately we have this description of the fort, which tends to prove the correctness of my reasoning:

Description of Fort Lebanon, 1756.

Fort Lebanon, about 24 miles from Gnadenhutten (Fort Allen at Weissport), in the Line to Shamokin (Sunbury).

Fort, 100 Foot Square.

Stockades, 14 Foot high.

House within built 30 x 20, with a large Store Room.

A Spring within.

A Magazine 12 Foot Square.

On a Barren not much Timber about it.

100 Families protected by it within the new Purchase. No Township.

Built in three weeks. Something considerably given by the neighbors toward it. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 665).

It was one of the larger and more important forts.

Commissary James Young has this to say of it during his tour of inspection :

June 21st, 1756—Accordingly we sett out for Fort Lebanon (from Fort Northkill); all the way from North Kill to Lebanon is an Exceeding bad road, very Stony and mountanus. About 6 miles from North kill, we Crossed the North Mountain, where we met Captain Morgan's Lieut. with 10 men, Ranging

the woods between the Mountain and Fort Leb'n; we past by two Plantations, the Rest of the Country is Chiefly Barren Hills, at noon we came to Fort Lebanon, which is situated in a Plain, on one side is a Plantation, on the other a Barren Pretty Clear of Woods all round, only a few trees about 50 yards from the Fort, which I desired might be cut down. This Fort is a square of ab't 100 f't well staccoded with good Bastians, on one side of which is a Good Wall Piece, within is a good Guard house for the People, and two other Large houses built by the Country people who have taken refuge here, in all 6 Families. The Fort is a little too much Crowded on that acc't; I acquainted Cap't Morgan that the Serjeant at Northkill did not do his Duty, and I believ'd it would be for the good of the Service to have a Com'd Officer there, on which he ordered his Lieu't, with two more men to go and take post there, and sent with him 4 lbs Powder & 10 lb Lead. Provincial Arms & Ammun'tn: 28 G'd Muskets, 10 wanting Repair, 9 Rounds of Powder & Lead, 4 lb Powder, 24 lb Lead, 30 cartooch boxes, 40 Blankets, 1 Axe, 1 Wall Piece.

By Capt. Morgan's Journal, it appears, he sends a Party to Range the woods 4 or 5 times a week, and Guard the Inhabitants at their Labor. At 1 P. M. I muster'd the People and Examined the Certificates of Inlistments which appear in the muster Roll, after which I ordered the men to fire at a Mark, 15 of 28 hit within 2 foot of the Center, at the Distance of 80 yards. Provisions here: Flower and Rum for a Month; the Commissary sends them money to Purchase meal as they want it. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 676.)

On July 11th, 1756, Col. Weiser writes to Gov. Morris that his orders to Capt. Morgan, with regard to the garrison at Fort Lebanon, are that 15 men shall stay in Fort Lebanon, 8 men protect the people over the hill in harvest time, 10 men range constantly eastward or westward, and, if the people return to their plantations thereabouts, to protect those that first join together to do their work. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 696.)

I think it is well to give at this time a sketch showing the location of Fort Lebanon.

Fort Lebanon stood on what is now the farm of Lewis Marburger, on the north side of the road between Auburn and

Pine Dale, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from each. In the olden time this was not much more than a path, but still the line of communication between the East, West and South. We are told that there was a spring inside of the fort. There are still traces of an old spring (now dry) some 15 feet back of the oak tree which stands on the south side of the road immediately opposite the site of the fort. It is more than likely that the old road did not run exactly as the present one. It may have been somewhat nearer the creek, and the fort may have extended across the present road so as to include the spring mentioned. It is also possible that another spring may have been north of the road, and inside of the fort, which has long since dried up and disappeared, but of such an one the people know nothing.

This position of the fort, besides agreeing with all records extant, comes from a most authentic source. Mr. Thos. J. Ebling, 56 years old, now living on his farm about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of the fort, is a son of Gideon Ebling, who died in 1893, about 80 years old, and a grandson of John Ebling, who died 40 years ago, aged 85 years. Mr. Thomas Ebling was born in an old blockhouse, which was burned down some 30 years ago and which stood about 50 feet from the road, back of where Jared Wagner's house is at this time. I have marked its site on the map. Paul Heim lived in it during the Indian troubles, when it was used as a house of refuge. It was planked inside with heavy timbers. At one time Mr. Heim saved a family near him from being burned to death. The Indians had set the building on fire and fastened the door to prevent any one from getting out. Hearing of this, Mr. Heim jumped on his white horse, took his gun, and managed to draw the enemy off, or frighten them away. He then returned and rescued the people before the house was destroyed.

Mr. Thomas Ebling is an intelligent man, as was also his father, Gideon Ebling, recently deceased. Outside parties testify to this fact also, and say that he retained all his faculties until his death. He delighted to tell about occurrences that happened in the past. His widow, a very old lady, lives yet. The grandfather, John Ebling, was personally acquainted with Paul Heim, of whom we have just read. Mr. Thomas

Ebling says that both his father and grandfather frequently showed him the place where the fort stood and told him about it. They told him that it measured one hundred feet from the road north, which is verified by the official report previously given, and that they had frequently ploughed up grubbing hoes, stones, etc., used in the construction of the fort. This position was corroborated by the statement of people at Pine Dale. Mr. Ebling was moreover told by his father and grandfather that the soldiers obtained their water from the spring at the oak tree. About 75 feet west of the oak tree there still remains a part of the stump of a tree near an apple tree in which quite a number of bullets have been found. The soldiers were probably in the habit of firing at it as a mark. The fort stood about 60 yards west of the road to Port Clinton, which there crosses Pine creek by a bridge. It is about the same distance north of Pine creek. The ground is level and somewhat elevated, falling down to the creek just below the oak tree. Pine creek is the old Bohundy creek, and it is not long since that a boat plying on the canal at Auburn was called the "Bohonto" after it.

Of the old fort nothing remains, except a hollow place in the field, 20 feet north of the road, which marks the location of the cellar.

Just to the north of the bridge, about midway on that part of the road which runs north and south, and on the west side of the road, tradition has it that an Indian was buried.

Fort Lebanon was unquestionably of much importance, occupying or rather commanding the Schuylkill Gap. A monument should certainly be erected to mark its position. I would recommend that it be placed by the public road, immediately opposite the oak tree and fronting the site of the fort.

The location of the fort being now defined, we can the more intelligently turn to the record of events which are given as having transpired in its vicinity.

The first mention is in the following report made by Captain Morgan to Gov. Denny:

Jacob Morgan to Gov. Denny, 1756.

November Fourth, 1756.

Hon'd Sir, Yesterday Morning at Break of Day, one of ye Neighbours discovered a Fire at a distance from him; he went to ye top of another Mountain to take a better Observation, and made a full Discovery of Fire, and supposed it to be about 7 miles off, at the House of John Finsher; he came and informed me of it; I immediately detach'd a party of 10 Men (we being but 22 men in the Fort) to the place where they saw the Fire, at the said Finsher's House, it being nigh Skulkill, and the Men anxious to see the Enemy if there, they ran through the Water and the Bushes to the Fire, where to their disappointment saw none of them, but the House, Barn, and other out houses all in Flames, together with a Considerable Quantity of Corn; they saw a great many tracks and followed them, came back to the House of Philip Culmore, thinking to send from thence to alarm the other Inhabitants to be on their Guard, but instead of that found the said Culmore's Wife and Daughter and Son-in Law all just kill'd and Scalped; there is likewise missing out of the same House, Martin Fell's Wife and Child about 1 Year old, and another Boy about 7 Years of Age, the said Martin Fell was Him that was kill'd, it was just done when the Scouts came there, and they seeing the Scouts ran off. The Scout divided in 2 partys, one to some other Houses nigh at Hand, & the other to the Fort, (it being within a Mile of the Fort) to inform me; I immediately went out with the Scout again, (and left in the Fort no more than 6 men) but could not make any disocvery, but brought all the Famileys to the Fort, where now I believe we are upwards of 60 Women and Children that are fled here for refuge, & at 12 of the Clock at Night I Rec'd an Express from Lieut. Humphres, commander at the Fort of Northkill, who inform'd me that the same Day about 11 o'clock in the Forenoon, (about a Half a Mile from his Fort) as he was returning from his Scout, came upon a Body of Indians to the Number of 20 at the House of Nicholas Long, where they had killed 2 old Men and taken another Captive, and doubtless would have kill'd all the Familey, they being 9 Children in

the House, the Lieut's party tho' 7 in Number, fired upon the Indians and thought they killed 2, they dropping down and started up again, one held his Hand (as they imagined) over his Wound, and they all ran off making a hallowing Noise; we got a Blankett and a Gun which he that was shot dropt in his Flight. The Lieut. had one Man shot through the right Arm and the right side, but hopes not mortal, & he had 4 Shotts through his Own Cloathes. I this day went out with a party to bury the dead nigh here; we are all in high spirits here; if it would please his Honour to order a Reinforcement at both Forts, I doubt not but we should soon have an Opportunity of Revenging the loss, from

Honour'd Sir
your most Humble Serv't to Command,
JACOB MORGAN.

Fort Lebanon, Wednesday, the 4th of November, at 3 of the Clock, post Miridian.

To the Honourable William Denny, Esq'r, Lieut. Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsyl'a, and County of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware.

The Humble Petition of Jacob Morgan, Cap'n. Commander at Fort Lebanon, most Humbly sheweth:

That having two Forts belonging to one Company, and my Men to the Number of 19 was drafted from me, being total but Fifty-Three, Your Petitioner thinks himself too weak to be of any Service to the Frontiers, seeing the Enemy commits violet Outrages nigh the Forts; as Yesterday, the 3d of November, I found 3 Persons Scalped, and their is 3 more missing within a Mile of Fort Lebanon, & 2 Men killed and one took Captive within $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile of the Fort at Northkill, and dangerous it is to keep ye Forts if their was a Superiority in Number to besiege them, So your Petitioner in Humility begs that your Honour would take ye Premising into Consideration, & do as it shall seem meet or expedient to your Honour, which is in distress from him that for your Honour shall ever Pray.

JACOB MORGAN.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 30).

This was sent by express to Col. Weiser, then in Philadelphia, with the request that he present it to the Governor after his own perusal of its contents. The express passed through Reading and of course told the news, leaving, at the same time, a letter from James Read, Esq., who chanced to be absent at Lancaster. Upon his return he likewise writes to the Governor giving him an account of the occurrences at Fort Lebanon. He says, "What I can gather from a Person who was near Fort Lebanon, (where Captain Morgan is Station'd) at the Burial of the People kill'd thereabouts is, That on Wednesday last, about noon, a Party of Savages came to the farm of one Jacob Finsher, about Six miles from that Fort, and set Fire to his House, Barn, and Barracks of Corn and Hay; upon first notice whereof, Captain Morgan detach'd ten men from his Fort, and soon after followed with a few more, who, as they were returning from their Pursuit, not having met any Enemy, found Finchers Barn, &c. consumed, and at Martin Fell's House, about a Mile from the Fort, found Martin and his Wife's Sister and her Mother scalp'd, the young woman being not yet quite dead, but insensible, and Stuck in the Throat as Butchers kill a Pig; she soon died, and was buried with the others. Martin's Wife, and two Children, one about a Twelve month, the other about Seven years old, were carried off Captives. By a Gentleman who left Fort Lebanon yesterday afternoon, I hear that Sixty Women and Children have fled into it for Refuge, and several Families have come further into the Settlements, with their Household Goods & Stock. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 36).

On June 24th, 1757, Captain Morgan writes:

"On Wednesday last we were alarmed by one of the neighbours that came to the Fort, and acquainted us that one Jno. Bushy had seen an Indian at his house, (which was about 3 miles from Fort Lebanon). I immediately went out with a party of men to the place where we found the tracts of three, but could not see any of them.

Yesterday morning about 8 of the clock, the son of one Adam Drum, (whom the Indians had killed the night before in Allemingle, and took the Son Captive) found an oppor-

tunity to make his Escape, and came to the Fort; he inform'd me that the Indians, (8 in number) had got a quantity of Liquor out of his Fathers House, and came to a Hill about 7 miles from the Fort, where they got a dancing, and made themselves drunk, he took the opportunity and escaped to the Fort, the Indian followed him near a mile and half whom our men afterwards tract'd; so as soon as the young man came I sent out a party to the place where the man left them, but when they came there they only found an old pair of Mogassins, and a Deer Skin whom they had left, but the Indians were fled; they tract'd them as far as they could but night coming, obliged them to return home. I have this Day sent out a Party to intercept them in the way, to the Gap of the second Mountain, (where Schuylkill comes through) being the place which I often found where they retreat back; the men will range about 2 days." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 190).

A portion of the guard which attended Col. Weiser at Easton, during the conference with the Indians in July, 1757, came from Fort Lebanon. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 218).

The Governor, or Col. Weiser, seems to have given instructions to the various commanding officers of the forts that they should keep a daily record of events and duties performed at their stations. We have several of these preserved. Amongst them is the Journal of Capt. Morgan for the month of July, 1757, which now follows:

Monthly Journal for July, per Jacob Morgan, 1757.

July the 1st. Sent a Corporall with 11 men on a Scout to Clingaman Hausaboughs, at Allemingle, who staid all Night; sent Serjt Mathews with several men to Reading, to be Qualifyed & be supplied with necessaries.

2d. The Scout return't from Allemingle, and reported they had made no discovery of the Enemy.

3d. Sent a party to range to Allemingle, same date came a Scout from Northkill Fort & return'd again the same day, bringing no news.

4th. Our men returned to Allemingle, and reported, that some of the inhabitants that were afraid, near the mountain,

were removing downwards; Serjt' Matthews returned with the men from Reading, the rest guarding at the Fort.

5th, 6th, 7th. Was exceeding heavy rain, & the water very high.

8th. Being a day of Humiliation we appl'd our selves thereto.

9th. Rainy weather, we could not Scout.

10th. I sent out a party to range to Allemingle; this Day Serjt' Matthews return't from Colonel Weisers, with orders for me to station 10 men in Windsor Township, & to keep 10 men in readiness to go to Easton.

11th. The Scout return'd back, I prepared the men in readiness according to orders, & sent some men to guard the Farmers in their Harvest.

12th. I went with the 10 men to Windsor Township & stationed them there, where I found the most proper. In the Evening was very heavy rain & thunder, obliged me to stay all night; we sent some partys from the Fort to guard the farmers.

13th. I returned in the morning to the fort, I received a Letter from Lieut. Colonel Weiser, to send 10 men to Easton to Guard at the Treaty; partys went to Guard the Farmers, & this Day, in my return, I met the Scout which I had posted in Windsor township, ranging about the farmers houses.

14th. I sent Serjt' Matthews with 9 men to Easton to the Treaty to Guard, & sent out some partys to range and Guard the Farmers, who did return in the Evening by reason of the heavy rain and thunder, which fell in the Evening.

15th. Being all Day very heavy rain, & the Creeks so high that Schuylkill rose perpendicular fifteen feet in about nine hours time, being considerable higher than ever was known in these parts; the Guards could not return, and we remained in the Fort, with only 8 men to Guard.

16th. The rain continued but more moderate, our partys could not return, we staid in the Fort and Guarded as usual; the party ranging up Long Run among the vacant houses, they found old tracts but none new.

17th. Some of our Guards returned, being reliev'd by others in their lieu—the Creeks fell very much this Day.

18th. I sent a party to Guard the farmers at their Harvest, and left some at the neighboring houses, the rest to Guard at the Fort.

19th. I likewise sent a party to guard who return'd in the Evening, the residue guarding at the Fort.

20th. I sent out two partys to range and Guard the Farmers, who both returned in the Evening.

21st. I likewise sent out a party to Guard, we were adver-tis'd by Jacob Shefer that an Indian was seen near his house, we having 2 men ranging there they saw nothing of their tracts, & believe it was a mistake.

22d. Sent out a party to range to the Fort, at Northkill, with Ensign Harry for Ammunition, who staid all night, the rest guarding at the Fort and farmers.

23d. The party from North Kill return'd with a Command of Col'l Weiser's men, with Lieut. Weiser himself, who staid here all Night; sent out a party to Guard the Farmers, who return'd in the Evening to the Fort.

24th. Lieut. Weiser retun'd with his Company, sent a party of ten men to relieve the party in Windsor township; the rest to Guard.

25th. The party return'd from Windsor township to the fort, when a party of them enlisted for three years.

26th. Sent Serj't Robert Smith with a Company of men to Reading to be Qualifyed, and being but a few at the fort could not range; have two Commands at the Farmers.

27th. I went down to Windsor among the men to see whether they kept good orders; I found everything very well, and enlisted more men and staid there all Night, the Com-mand remaining at the Farmers.

28th. I returned back to the fort and found everything well; Serj't Smith, with his party, returned from Reading, the guard remaining still with the Farmers.

29th. Ensign Harry went out with a party to range among the farmers, and sent out two partys to Guard the Neigh-bours at their Harvest; they return'd without any discovery or signs of the Enemy.

30th. I went over the Hill to Windsor township, in order to

send some men to Reading to be Qualifyed, I sent a Corporall with Sixteen men; I return'd in the Evening to the fort.

31st. The party return'd from Reading; we had partys at the neighbouring houses, who remained there on Guard (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 252).

As we have already learned, Captain Morgan was in command of Fort Lebanon. He was its first commanding officer and retained the position. His commission was dated December 5, 1755. Andrew Engel was his Lieutenant at that time, commissioned January 5, 1756, and Jacob Kern his Ensign, whose commission dated from the same time. Later on, Ensign Harry seems to have taken the place of Mr. Kern, and Lieut. Humphreys of Mr. Engel, transferred to Allemingel. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 88).

In February, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Capt. Morgan still on duty at the same place, and gives its distance from Fort Henry as 22 miles. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 339). Here, however, for the first time we find it called Fort William instead of Fort Lebanon. When and why its name was changed we do not know. It was probably done towards the latter part of 1757 or beginning of 1758, but the reason for so doing cannot be surmised. Fort William, however, is unquestionably one and the same place as Fort Lebanon. The name of its officers, and the distance from Fort Henry, as given by Adjutant Kern, are ample proof of this fact. It is verified, however, in the journal of Mr. Burd, which follows, wherein he likewise names its officers and speaks of its situation between Forts Northkill and Franklin.

On February 5, 1758, Adj. Kern reports, in addition to the above, at Fort William Capt. Morgan, Lt. Humphreys, Ensign Harry 50 men, 30 province arms, 23 private guns, 75 lbs of powder, 80 lbs of lead, 14 days' provisions, 12 cartridges, and Jonas Seely as the Commissary of the Station. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340).

The Journal of James Burd has this to say of the Fort:

Friday, Feb. 24th, 1758.

This morning sett out (from Reading) for Fort William,

arrived at Peter Rodermils at 2 P. M., 15 miles from Reading, it snowed and blowed so prodigeously I stayed there all night.

25th Saturday.

March'd this morning, the snow deep, for Fort William, arrived at Fort William at 12 M. D., here was lieut. Humphreys & Ensign Hary, ordered a Review of the Garrison at 2 P. M.; at 2 P. M. Reviewed the Garrison & found 53 good men, difficient in Dissipline, stores 3 Quarter casks of poudder, 150 lb of lead, 400 flints & 56 blankets, no arms fit for use, no kettles, nor tools, nor drum, 2 months Provision.

Here I found a target erected ordered the Company to shout at the mark, sett them the Example myself by wheeling around & fireing by the word of Command. I shott a bullet into the Centre of the mark the size of a Dollar, distance 100 yards. Some of them shott tolerable bad, most of their Arms are very bad.

Ordered Cap't Morgan to continue to pattroll to Northkill & Alemingle.

26th Sunday.

Marched from hence at 10 A. M., went over the Mountains to Mr. Everitt's, where Captain Weatherholt is stationed.
* * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 354).

The Penn'a Gazette of September 1, 1757, says, "We hear from Berks County, that several Indians have lately been seen near Fort Lebanon; and that on Sunday, the 21st August, the house and barn of Peter Semelcke were burnt, and three of his children carried off; himself, wife and one child, being from home at the time. This was done within two miles of the fort."

The Gazette goes on to say, October 6 and 13, that their accounts from the frontiers, are most dismal; that some of the inhabitants are killed or carried off; houses burnt and cattle destroyed daily; that, at the same time, the people are afflicted with severe sickness and die fast, so that in many places they are neither able to defend themselves, when attacked, or to run away.

Our history of Fort Lebanon here ends. It is to be re-

gretted that there is not extant a more detailed report of events at what was one of the important stations on the line of defense.

FORT FRANKLIN.

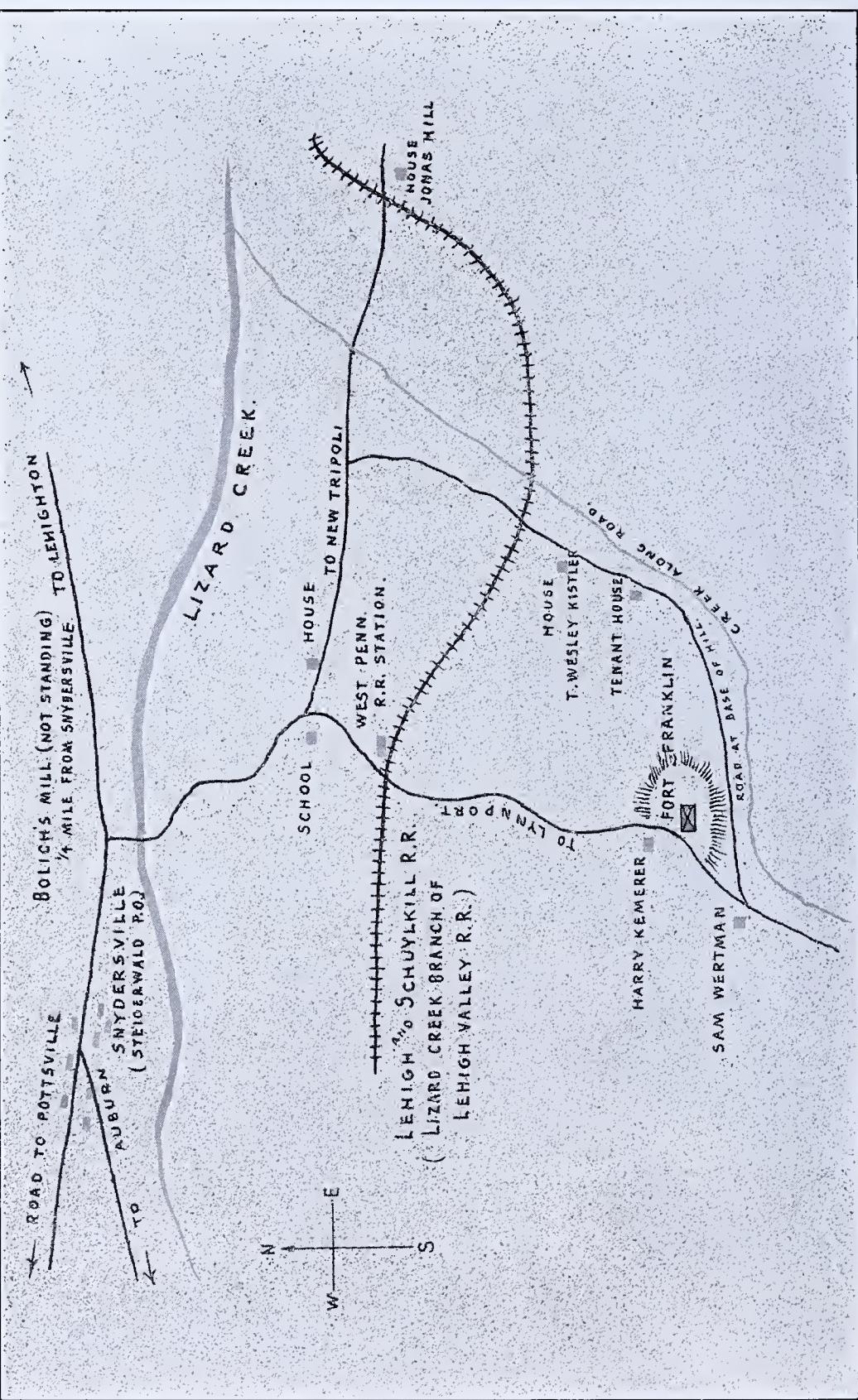
Continuing along the northern base of the Blue Mountains, for about nineteen miles from Fort Lebanon, we reach the next garrison at Fort Franklin.

This fort is of especial interest from the fact that it was one of those erected by order of Benjamin Franklin. Immediately after the massacre at Gnadenhutten (Weissport) in November, 1755, Franklin, accompanied by James Hamilton, later Governor of Pennsylvania, set out for the scene of operations to arrange for the defense of that part of the Province. They were at Bethlehem on January 14, 1756, where sundry preparations were made and orders given. Capt. Wayne was directed to build a fort at Gnadenhutten, and another company raised, under Capt. Charles Foulk, to aid him in the work. On January 25th, this fort was in a fair state of completion, the flag was hoisted in the midst of a general discharge of musketry and swivels, and the name of Fort Allen was given it by Mr. Franklin, who was present in person. He immediately sent Capt. Foulk "to build another, between this and Schuylkill Fort, which I hope will be finished (as Trexler is to Join him) in a week or 10 Days." (Col. Rec., vii, p. 16).

This tells us definitely when and by whom the station under consideration was erected. It was undoubtedly finished during the early part of February, 1756, and, when completed, was named Fort Franklin after Benjamin Franklin, even then a distinguished man and actively engaged in caring for the welfare of his adopted Province.

The first reference we have to Fort Franklin is in the postscript of a letter from Wm. Edmonds to Sec'y R. Peters, written June 14th, 1756, in which he speaks of inclosing the copy of a letter sent there, which unfortunately is not extant (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 669).

PRESENT SITE OF FORT FRANKLIN.



It is occasionally referred to as the Fort above Allemangle," because of its location immediately across the mountain from Albany Township of Berks county. The name Allemangle or Albany means "All Wants," and was given because of the arid condition of part of the land.

Commissary Jas. Young, whilst on his tour of inspection, visited Fort Franklin. The following account is taken from his journal:

Fort above Alleminga,—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P. M. (June 21st, 1756) we sett out with the former Escort & 2 of Cap't Morgan's Comp'y (from Fort Lebanon) for the Fort above Alleminga, Commanded by Lieu't Ingle (of Capt. Morgan's Company, who was relieved by Lieut. Sam'l Humphreys); at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we got there; it is Ab't 19 miles N. E. from Fort Lebanon, the Road a Narrow Path very Hilly and Swampy; ab't half way we came thro' a very thick and dangerous Pine Swamp; very few Plantations on this Road, most of them Deserted, and the houses burnt down; $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the Westward of this Fort is good Plantation, the people retires to the Fort every Night. This Fort stands ab't a mile from the North Mountain; only two Plantations near it. This Fort is a square ab't 40 foot, very ill staccaded, with 2 Logg houses at Opposite Corners for Bastions, all very unfit for Defence; the Staccades are very open in many Places, it stands on the Bank of a Creek, the Woods clear for 120 yards; the Lieu't Ranges towards Fort Lebanon and Fort Allen; ab't 4 times a Week; much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain all Night. Provincial Stores: 28 G'd Muskets, 8 wants Repair, 16 Cartooch Boxes, 8 lb Powder, 24 lb Lead, & 12 Rounds for 36 men, 36 Blankets, 1 Axe, 1 Adse, 1 Auger, 2 Plains, 1 Hammer, 2 Shovels, 9 Small Tin Kettles.

June 22d—At 6 A. M. I ordered the People to fire at a mark; not above 4 in 25 hit the tree at the Distance of 85 yards; at 7, Mustered them, found 25 Present, 2 Sick, 2 Absent on Furlough, 2 Sent to Reading with a Prisoner, and 5 at Fort Allen on Duty. Provisions, One Cask of Beef Exceeding bad, Flower and Rum for 3 Weeks. At 8 A. M. We sett out for Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten. * * * (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 677).

In his journal, under date of November 5, 1756, Col. Weiser makes mention of a warning which had been given him of a proposed attack of the Minisink Indians on Easton and the capture of Gov. Denny, who was there in Conference with Teedyuscung. It was reported that the Minisink Tribe was very much averse to peace with the English, and, that if Teedyuscung showed any inclination to treat with their enemy, they proposed to kill both him and the Governor, lay waste Easton and then destroy Bethlehem, thus making themselves masters of the whole country. Col. Weiser immediately sent an express to Lieut. Engle, at Fort Franklin, to come with a detachment of 20 men, including a Sergeant, in all possible speed, to reinforce the Town Guard during the time His Honor, the Governor, should stay in Easton. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 32).

With great difficulty I succeeded in definitely and correctly locating Fort Franklin. I drove on various occasions through the entire neighborhood, covering many miles of territory, but without obtaining information which I considered sufficiently satisfactory. This part of the country is not thickly populated now, and was very sparsely settled then. I saw a number of very interesting buildings, many partly in ruin, which must date from the time of the French and Indian war. Not a few of them are still pierced with portholes. If any of them, however, have a history, at all unusual, I could not learn of it. At last I ascertained from a Mr. Joseph Miller, an intelligent, elderly man with an exceedingly good memory, living not far distant from Snydersville, that a place known as the "Fort Field," amongst his elders, was to be found on the Bolich farm, now owned by Mr. J. W. Kistler, not far from West Penn Station, of the Lehigh and Schuylkill R. R. or, as sometimes called, the Lizard Creek Branch of the Lehigh Valley R. R. I drove there instantly and was fortunate in meeting Mr. Jonas Hill, residing in the immediate vicinity of the spot, who at once confirmed Mr. Miller's statement and pointed out the exact location of the fort. Mr. Hill is about 60 years old, and obtained the information from his father. He states that there can be no doubt of the fact, and, of this there can hardly be any question, as it corresponds in all re-

spects with the information we have about it. Its isolated position will readily account for the general lack of knowledge concerning it. I may add that, later, I again visited the place, driving across the mountains from the site of Fort Everett, to still more fully satisfy myself on the subject, when I met Mr. Kistler, who corroborated the information obtained from Mr. Hill.

The sketch herewith given shows more fully its position.

Fort Franklin was situated on a hill, a part of what was at one time the Bolich Farm, now owned by J. Wesley Kistler. It had a most commanding view of the entire country. It was distant from Snydersville about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, on the North, and distant one mile from the base of the Blue Mountains on the South. It stood directly on the road across the mountain to Lynnport, the location of Fort Everett, but a few rods distant from the main road between Fort Allen and Weissport, and Fort Lebanon, at Auburn. At the base of the hill is a fine creek of water, coming from the mountain and emptying into Lizard creek, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant. It may be almost literally said that "it stood on the banks of a creek." It may be well, however, to correct, at this time, the error made by some writers, who have stated, without due investigation, that it stood on the banks of the Lizard creek, taking it for granted that when Commissary Jas. Young said it stood on the banks of a creek he means Lizard creek. It is well to take nothing for granted in this world until we are sure of its accuracy. If we did so there would be more real history written, and less romance. Its distance from Fort Lebanon is some nineteen miles, and from Fort Allen some fourteen miles, all as stated.

We could wish, from the name it bore, that this fort, might have been amongst the more important ones. Unfortunately such was not the case. Poorly constructed in the first place, in the next place its location was in a part of the Province as yet but poorly settled. Being north of the Mountain, the district was entirely open to the assaults of the savages. Already many of the plantations, so called, had been deserted; buildings and property had been destroyed or were fast going to ruin, and their owners had fled across the mountains to Al-

bany Township, or elsewhere, to find a more thickly settled region and greater safety. I think it is doubtful whether the fort would ever have been built except to fill in the long gap in the chain of defences between Forts Allen and Lebanon.

We are not then surprised to read what Col. Weiser wrote November 24, 1756, after the Conference with the Indians at Easton was over. He was then at Fort Allen. He says:

"I took my leave of them (certain Indians) and they of me very candidly; Capt. Arnd sent an Escort with me of twenty men to Fort Franklin, where we arrived at three o'Clock in the afternoon, it being about fourteen miles distant from Fort Allen. I saw that the Fort was not Tearable, and the House not finished for the Soldiers, and that it could not be of any Service to the Inhabitant Part, there being a great Mountain between them. I ordered Lieut'n Engel to Evacuate it, and come to the South side of the Hills himself with Nineteen men at John Eborts Esq'r., and the Rest being Sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad, both places being about three miles distant from each other, and both in the Township of Linn, Northampton (Lehigh) County, until otherwise ordered.

23d. Left Fort Franklin. The Lieut., with Ten men, escorted me as far as Probst's, about Eight mile, where I discharged him, and arrived at Reading that Evening." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 68).

Whether the garrison was entirely removed at once, or whether, as is more likely, it was still occupied, after a fashion, by some of Capt. Wetterholt's men, we cannot positively say. It is certain, however, that it was more and more neglected if not actually abandoned. To such an extent was this true that the remaining settlers, for some still remained, felt obliged to present the following petition, which was read in the Provincial Council on Saturday, May 7th, 1757:

To the Honourable William Denny, Esq'r, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent & Sussex, on Delaware, &c.

The Petition of George Gilbert, Adam Spittleman, Henry

Hauptman, Casper Langeberger, Nicholas Kind, George Merte, Henry Norbech, the widow of Mark Grist, Deceased, the widow of George Krammer Deceased, (which said Grist and Krammer have lost their Lives in the Defence of their Country lass fall) William Ball, Phillip Annes, Jacob Leisser, Will'm Weigand, Anthony Krum, Philip Scholl, Jacob Keim, John Frist, Philip Kirsbaum, William Gabel, John Wissemer, George Wartman, Jacob Richards, Christopher Speeher, John Scheeffer & George Sprecher, all Inhabitants of Berks County [now Schuylkill], within four miles of and about Fort Franklin, over the blue Mountains:

Most Humbly Sheweth—

That your Petitioners are informed that Fort Franklin aforesaid is to be removed to this Side of the said mountains and a considerable way into Albany Township;

That if in Case the said Fort is to be Removed your Petitioners will be Obliged to Desert their Plantations, for their Lives and Estates will then lye at Stake, and a greater part of this Province will lye waste and your Petitioners humbly conceives that it would be the Safest way to have the said Fort continued & rebuilt, as it is very much out of order and Repair.

Therefore your Petitioners humbly prays your Honour to take the Premises in Consideration and Issue such orders as will Prevent the Removal of the said Fort & order a Suff't Number of Men in it, and to grant your Petitioners such other relief as to you in your wisdom shall seem Mete, and your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, will Ever Pray for your Eternal welfare.

Signed at the Request & in behalf of all the petitioners.

GEORGE GILBERT,
ADAM SPITTLEMEYER.

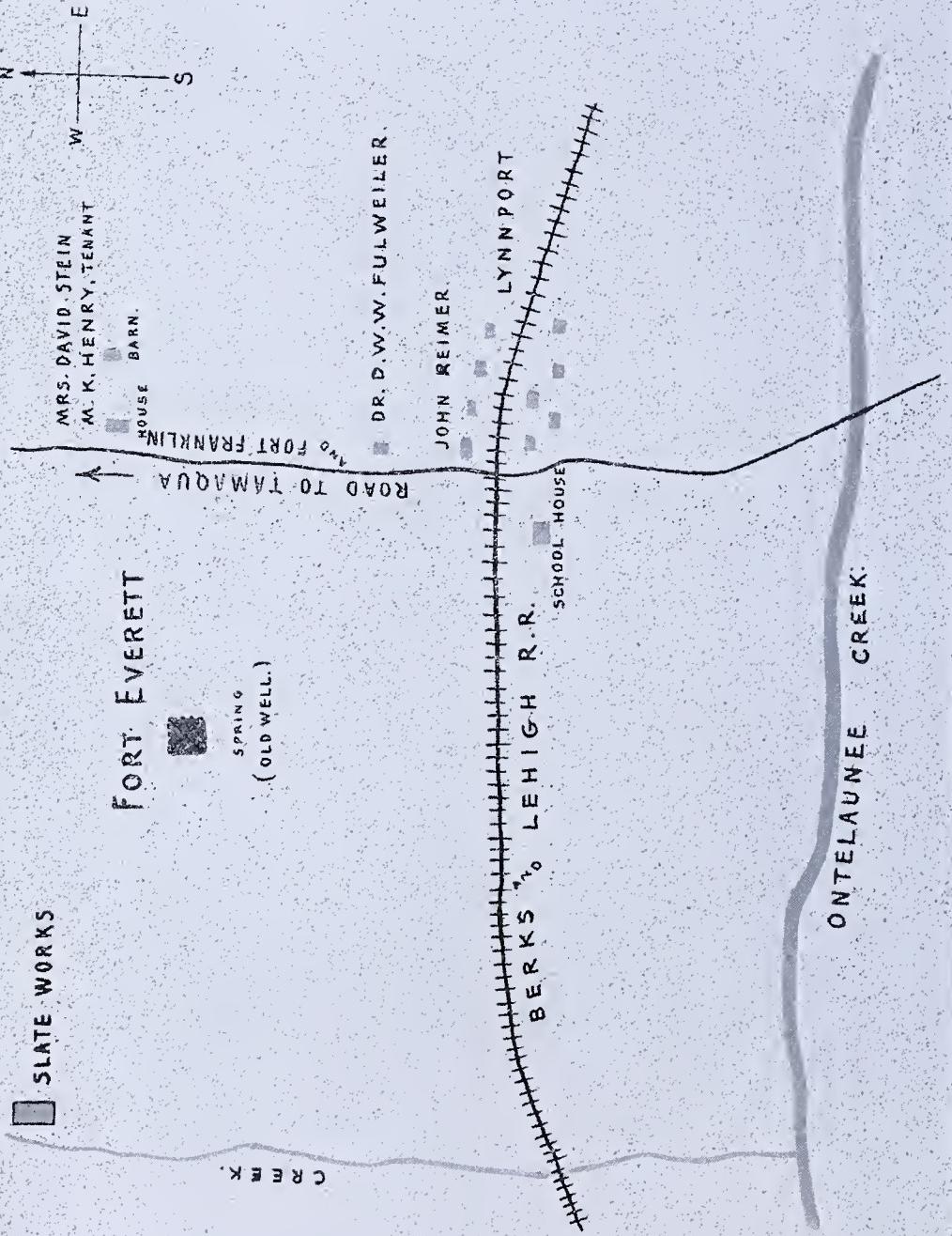
(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 153.)

About the same time a petition was presented by the people of Lynn Township, on the South side of the mountain, praying that Lieut. Weatherhold, who was daily expecting marching orders, be not sent away with his detachment. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 152.)

These several petitions seem to have had their weight with the Government. Fort Franklin was put in a better condition and soldiers retained there. In November, 1757, it furnished its quota for Col. Weiser's guard at Easton, during the Conference with the Indians at that time. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 218.) Shortly after however, it seems to have been again abandoned, probably about the end of 1757, when there came a lull in the frequency of Indian depredations. When James Burd made his visits to the various forts in February, 1758, his journal makes no mention whatever of Fort Franklin. True, he directs Capt. Morgan to continue patrolling between his fort, Lebanon, and Ale mingle, but we must remember that Ale mingle refers to Albany Township south of the mountains, and undoubtedly Fort Everett is meant at this time. Fort Franklin was the "Fort above Ale mingle," and never at Ale mingle. Then again Mr. Burd speaks of leaving Fort Allen and arriving at "Lieut. Ingle's Post," 15 miles distant. Whilst Lieut. Engle had formerly commanded at Fort Franklin, a moment's thought will show that what is here called "Lieut. Ingle's Post" could not have been Fort Franklin. Mr. Burd had left Fort Everett, continued East to Fort Allen, and was now leaving Fort Allen to cover territory towards the Delaware. No other construction is possible. Lieut. Engle had long since, in May, 1757, been transferred from Fort Franklin to the command of Fort Norris. Besides the distance from Fort Franklin to Fort Allen was but fourteen miles and not fifteen, which is the distance from Fort Allen to Fort Norris.

No, our history of Fort Franklin ends with the year 1757. If we may judge from the published records, it did not play such a part in the history of our State as did its great namesake. For that we dare not blame it or its faithful garrison, but can only attribute it to the force of circumstances. Had the necessity for action come, as at other places, the duty would doubtless have been faithfully performed. It was one of the regular chain of forts and its position should be marked; I would recommend a tablet, in close proximity to its site, along the public road to Lynnport.

I have said that in this general neighborhood are many points of interest, of which, however, the history is unknown.



PRESENT SITE OF FORT EVERETT.

I picked up, nevertheless, several traditions which are worthy of note. Mr. Chas. Focht, at New Ringgold, a gentleman 80 years old, was told by a Mr. Zimmerman some 60 years ago, the latter then an old man, that the settlers were accustomed to take refuge in a mill, known 60 years ago as Stein's Mill, now as Stout's Mill, located about 2 miles S. W. of Snydersville, near the base of the Blue Mountains, on a creek which flows into Lizard Creek. In this vicinity the Indians had captured a Mr. Fies and his son. The bones of Fies were discovered a long time after, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from his house, being recognized as his by sundry buttons and a frying pan lying near by. The son was never heard of. This incident was corroborated by Mr. Abr. Focht, his brother, who also mentioned a block house of refuge on what was formerly the Schwartz farm, but is now in the Borough of New Ringgold, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of the railroad station.

Mrs. Koch, the mother of Mr. H. B. Koch, who is proprietor of the excellent New Ringgold Hotel, an intelligent old lady, 73 years of age, called my attention to a place where persons had been buried during the Indian War. They were supposed to have been Indians, but were more likely settlers who had been killed by them. She had been told about it by her grandmother who lived at the time. It is on the upper side of the Summer Mountain, about 3 miles directly north of Kepners, but a short distance from the house of Mr. Kelchner, and also near the creek which empties into Lizard Creek at Snydersville. I visited the spot, and found, as I had been told, that it was kept sacred and never ploughed over.

Through the kindness of Mr. H. B. Koch I have also been informed by Mr. R. F. Leidy, an old gentleman of that locality who obtained his information from a Mr. Shellhamer, that a house of refuge, or so called Indian Fort, stood about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Kepnersville, of which part of the stone wall can yet be seen.

FORT EVERETT.

This fort is located very near the town of Lynnport, in Lynn township, of Lehigh county. During the Indian wars the

territory covered by the adjacent township of Albany, in Berks county and Lynn township, in what was then Northampton county, from which Lehigh county was taken, was known as "Allemeangel," meaning "All-Wants," from the arid character of a part of the land, as previously mentioned.

That part of the State was already well settled, and, with the outbreak of Indian hostilities in the Fall of 1755, an established military organization became a matter of necessity. Plans were accordingly laid and Benjamin Franklin sent up the Lehigh Valley to execute them. Our introduction to the subject now under consideration is an extract from a letter written Jan. 14, 1756, from Bethlehem, by Franklin to the Governor, in which he says, "To secure Lyn and Heidelberg Township, whose Inhabitants were just on the Wing, I took Trexler's Company into Pay, (he had been before commission'd by Mr. Hamilton) and I commission'd Wetterholt, who commanded a Watch of 44 men before in the Pay of the Province, ordering him to compleat his Company." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 549.)

It also mentions the name of Wetterholt, which will appear before the reader more or less frequently in connection with the history of Lehigh and Northampton Counties. There were two Provincial olbcers of the same name, who were brothers. From "Murders by the Indians in Northampton County," written by Joseph J. Mickley in 1875, I glean the following brief account of each:

"Johann Nicholaus Wetterholt arrived in Philadelphia, October 22d, 1754, in the Ship Halifax, Thomas Coatam, captain, from Rotterdam. He was either a Hollander or a German, most likely the latter. In the same ship came a large number of German emigrants. He entered the military service, probably soon after his arrival in this country, as it appears by his having been commissioned Captain in the First Battalion Pennsylvania Regiment, December 21st, 1755, and by the different sums of money paid to him for his and his company's services, and for provisions, viz:

1756—April 29—	To Captain John Nicholaus Wetterholt, for his Company's pay,	£332 3s. 0d.
1756—May 28—	To Captain John Nicholaus Wetterholt, for pay for himself and Company and allowance for thirty-six guns furnished by his men,	£166 5s. 6d.
1756—June 21—	Samuel Depuy, in full, for his account for purchasing provisions for a detachment of Captain Wetterholt's Company,	£33 1s. 8d.
1756—Dec'r 15—	Samuel Depuy's order for victualling Captain Wetterholt's Company, &c.,	£108 1s. 8d.

In the year 1762 Captain Nicholaus Wetterholt resided in Heidelberg Township, Northampton County, now Lehigh, and his name is on the tax list of 1764, at the same place."

"Johann Jacob Wetterholt came to this country in the same vessel with his brother Nicholaus. He was commissioned Lieutenant in Major Parson's Town Guard, December 21st, 1755; in April, 19th, 1756, as Lieutenant, stationed at Dietz's; and as Captain, in September 21st, of the same year; 1757, September 2d, he was paid, for enlisting 53 men in the Provincial service, £88 6s. 6d.

Captain Jacob Wetterholt possessed undaunted courage, which was accounted for in his firmly believing he had the power of making himself invulnerable (*kugelfest*); that is that he could not be killed by a gun shot; he was therefore well suited for the military service on the frontier. (He bravely met his death, however, in 1763, as will appear later.)

In 1762, he resided in Lynn Township, now Lehigh County; his widow still resided there in 1764, as per tax list. George Wetterholt, formerly Sheriff of Lehigh County, living in Allentown, is his grandson."

It so chances that the two brothers, both eventually of the same rank, operated in the same general territory. They

practically had charge of the country along the southern base of the Blue Range from Fort Everett to the Delaware River, and both reported to the same superior officer, Timothy Horsfield. Unfortunately, in the records of the time, the last name only is given in most cases, so that it becomes difficult in many instances to know which is meant. Wherever possible I will endeavor to specify the one intended. It may be generally taken for granted, in the case of Fort Everett, that wherever Captain Wetterholt is mentioned it refers to Nicholaus, and where the term "Lieutenant" is used it refers to Jacob.

Whilst it is true that the district of Allemeangel, south of the Blue Mountains, was quite populous, and that therefore, Fort Everett occupied an important position, yet, unfortunately, we have practically nothing recorded concerning it. This was doubtless owing to the fact that it was the only defensive station on that side of the mountain between the Schuylkill and Lehigh Rivers, and, because the territory was so large, the garrison was ranging around the country literally all the time. Events, of any consequence, in and about the fort were probably, of necessity, few. We need not be surprised therefore to read much of the two Wetterholts and their doings, and but little of Fort Everett.

In fact, Fort Everett held somewhat of an anomalous position. Captain Wetterholt, who had charge of that part of the country, seems to have been in it but little, and it is even possible that it was not constantly occupied by a garrison of soldiers.

Whilst many occurrences were continually taking place, some of which will be given later, the first actual mention of the station is by Col. Weiser, on November 24th, 1756. He had just visited Fort Franklin and seen its poor condition; he also saw that most of the inhabitants lived south of the mountain, and concluded that its condition was of but little value. He accordingly says, "I ordered Lieu't Engle to Evacuate it, and come to the South side of the Hills himself with Nineteen men, at John Eberts, Esq'r, and the Rest being Sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad, both places being about

three miles distant from each other, and both in the Township of Linn, Northampton County, untill otherways ordered." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 68.)

We do not know definitely whether Lieut. Engle did actually proceed as directed, or not, but it is altogether likely he did, for whilst Fort Franklin was not entirely abandoned until the Fall of 1757, we have no reason to doubt that during the latter part of 1757 it was certainly in charge of Capt. Wetterholt, and it is therefore possible that he may have garrisoned it even previous to that time, and that Lieut. Engle occupied Fort Everett as originally ordered. Even if such were the case Lieut. Engle was ordered away in the latter part of May, 1757, to take command of Fort Norris, and Fort Everett once more resumed its former status.

During this period the following petition was forwarded to the Governor. Whilst emanating from Lynn Township, it was intended to apply, in a general sense, to the whole of Northampton County, south of the moutains, as far east as the Delaware:

Northampton County, Lynn Township, May 4 Day, 1757.

To His Onner, the Governor and Commander in Cheaf of the Provence of Pennsylvania:

Youre Most Humbly S'vant—

These is to Acquaint youre Honner of the Difficultyes, Hardships and Dangers that youre Poore Partitioners Ly Under at this Present Time, Being the Frunteeairs, and being yester Day A Copy of an Express Sent to us and others from Mr. Parsons, Major, Which he reseaved from Cornel Wiser, that He was Credebly Informed by A frind Indian that a Grat Body of French and Indians Was one there march from Ahio Fort, Desined against Som Parts of Pennsylvania, Minnesink, Patter Co. and som Murder Has Lately ben Don at the Minnesinks in this County, and Like Wise at Scoolkill in Barks County, and this is what wee was Desired and Warned to be one of our Gards, and to associate our Selves and others Immediatly into Companies under Discreet officers of oure one Choice, But as youre Honner Vere well knows the Natour and Mis Manegment of the Generaty Part of the People, when that

these are at thaire one freedom, without Some Paresns in Shap Authority to Compel them, and further wee Do Think it A Great Hard Ship that wee the Frontears, that is Almost Already Ruened By being Cep So much out of oure Laboure. Being the Poorer Sort of People at the Beginning, and the Loer Inhabentance the mean time Lyes Quiat and Ease and out of Danger, and wee Desire and Humbly Beg that your Honner Will Take oure Case into Consideration, and Cause Us to be Better Garded by Soldiers, at the expence of the Provence, while the Loer Inhabitance will be obliged to Baire Part of the Burden as Well as wee, and wee Do think that if the Gerressens that is Now Lying over the Blue Mountaine in the Forts was all Removed to This side of the Mountaine and Laid 4, 6, 8 or 10 men in a Good House at Not a grate Distance apart, and a Road Cut from one Plantation to the other, of About 3 or 4 Perches Broad, as the Plantations is Prete Neaire to Gether, on this Side of the Mountaine. We do think that it would Cause the Indians to be Afraid to Com in small Companies over the Road, as theaire yousel way is to Goo, for faire of Being taken agoing Back, for when Ever there is Murder Don within the Road there must be A Good Watch Cept on that Road to Take them as they Pas Back, and by Larem Guns there Can be many People Cald to Gether in Short Space of Time Besides the Soldiers, and further, the People in General is Removed from the other Sid of the Mountain and Dayre Not Goo to Live on theaire Plantations til Better times Excepting 2 or 3 famelyes Round Each Fort, and from the other Settlers on this Side of the Mountaine to the Forts is som 10, Som 16 miles to Fort Franklen, is to Fort Allen 10, to Fort Norres 16, to Fort Hambelton 16 miles. So that in Case of Nesety the Soldiers Can't Com to oure Assistance, nor Wee to Theairs Not in any Resenable Time, Til the Eneme wold Be Gone Againe, for Wheaire they fal in They make No Long Stay, and Besides the Hills and Hallows is so bad over the Mountaine that the Indians might Destroy all the Wagens and Provishens Coming to the Fort, if they take Care to Wayley them in Som Deep Hallows, and the Soldiers as they are Scouting and marching from one Fort to the other, and at Present Leftenant Wetherhols Lyes in our Township with

About 40 Men Against Fort Franklin, which is Now Empty of Soldiers, and he Expects Every Day to Receave order to March from us, there wil then Ly open without any Sholders abot 28 M'lds that there will be no Soldiers, and youre Patisionners Do umbly Beg that youre Honner Would Take oure Case Into Consideration, and not Let these Soldiers be Removed But Rather order more in these Parts, as in Dute Bound Wee shall Ever Pray.

(Signed by 41 persons, whose names appear chiefly in German). (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 151).

From this we see that Lieut. Wetterholt was then in Lynn Township "against Fort Franklin," that is south of Fort Franklin. The petition of the people, urging the retention of soldiers with them, was successful. In February, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Capt. Wetterholt still on duty at Fort Everett with 41 men, distant from Fort William 12 miles, and having 12 men stationed at "A Block House," 10 miles from Fort Everett and 20 miles from Fort Allen. The detailed report shows at Fort Everett, Capt. Wetterholt, 41 men, 22 Province arms, 21 Private guns, 4 ms. provisions, 10 cartridges, and at the Block House Lieut. Geiger (absent), who had relieved Lieut. Hyndshaw then at duty at Teads Block House, below wind Gap, 12 men, 8 Province Arms, 5 Private Guns, 4 mos. provisions, 8 cartridges. Jacob Levan, Esq'r, was their Commissary. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340).

Fort Everett was visited by Jas. Burd during his tour of inspection, in February, 1758. His journal gives the following record:

26th Sunday.

Marched from hence (Fort William) at 10 A. M., went over the Mountains to Mr. Everett's, where Captain Weatherholt is stationed, the snow exceedingly deep could make little way, at 3 P. M. arrived at Valentine Phileprots, 20 miles, here I stay all night.

27th Munday.

Marched this morning at 8 A. M. for Mr. Everett's, arrived at 9 A. M., 4 miles, ordered a Review of that part of the Com-

pany that is here, found Cap't Weatherholt, Lieut. Geiger & 24 men, 3 being sick & absent, 3 months' Provisions, 5 pounds powder, no lead, each man has a pound of powder in his Cartouch box & lead in proportion, no Kettles, nor blankets, 25 Province Arms.

Ordered to Cap't Weatherholt 56 blankets, 25 lb of powder & 50 bars of lead & 400 flints, Cap't Weatherholt to Scout to the Westward 10 miles & to the eastward 10 miles, Lieut. Geiger from thence to his post in Coll. Armstrong's Battalion.

Marched from hence to Fort Allen at 11 A. M., gott to the top of the Blue Mountain at 2 P. M., from hence saw Allamingle, it is a fine Country, but the Country on the North side of the Mountain is an intire barren wilderness, not capable of Improvements.

Arrived at Fort Allen at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 2 P. M. a prodigious Hilly place, and poor land, 15 miles from Mr. Everett's, ordered a review of this Garrison tomorrow at 8 A. M. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 355).

The accompanying topographical map gives the exact location of Fort Everett.

It stood in what is now a level, ploughed field, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of Lynnport, Lynn township, Lehigh county, distant about 150 feet from the house of M. K. Henry, a tenant of Mrs. David Stein, to the East, and about 250 feet from the creek to the West, which flows past the Slate works and empties into Ontelaunee creek. A spring, but a few feet south of where the fort was erected, marks the position of what was then a well of water. It was a blockhouse, about 25 ft. x 30 ft. It stood on the property of John Everett, a man of prominence at the time, and of the same family as Edw. Everett, of Massachusetts, whence he came. Whether, however, the building was the house of Mr. Everett, or whether the fort was a separate building erected on his place, it is difficult to say. From what I could learn I am inclined to believe that it was a separate building, erected as a house of refuge and defense, consisting of a log house surrounded by the regulation stockade. In that case we may very properly fix upon the beginning of 1756 as the time of its birth, otherwise we are unable to name

any date fixing the time of its erection. Mr. Henry stated that, even to this day, he occasionally ploughs up some of the foundation stones.

For this information I am indebted to Mr. Charles Everett, residing near the spot, whose great grandfather was a brother of John Everett. Mr. Charles Everett is now 75 years old. He was told all about the fort; and the soldiers which occupied it, by his father, Jacob, who died 25 years ago, 80 years old; also by his grandmother, Mary Miller, who died 60 years ago, aged about 70 years.

I would recommend a tablet to mark the position of Fort Everett, to be located by the public road near the site.

It will be remembered that mention was made of orders given Lieut. Engel to proceed himself to Fort Everett, and to send a detachment of sixteen men to John Eckenroad's, three miles distant. I made diligent inquiry concerning this latter place, but, whilst many had heard of the Eckenroth family, none ever knew of a fort at his house. There certainly was none. If anything his own house was merely used temporarily as a station.

Besides Mr. Eckenroth's house I also learned of several other interesting places between New Tripoli and Lynnport. One of these is the old block-house at Benj. Oswald's, which I visited. It is a curious old relic, well worth examination. The building is one story high, now weather-boarded on the outside, but inside almost exactly the same as it was 150 years ago. Its preservation, unaltered, is owing to the fact that it is only used as a wash house and for storage purposes. The hugh old fire place still stands as of old, and over the door is cut a port hole at an angle to command the entrance. It was then the home of a Mr. Seisloch, who was killed whilst fleeing away from it. It stands about one mile from New Tripoli. The above information Mr. Oswald, who is 65 years old, obtained from his father, Benj. Oswald, who died 21 years ago, at the age of 75.

Sam'l Reitz, 67 years old, living about one mile beyond Lynnport on the road to New Tripoli, says there was a house of refuge on the bank of Ontelaunee creek, right down from the dwelling of Cornelius Peter. He also stated that immediately

in front of his own home there stood a similar building, having a cellar, the entrance to which was covered by a large stone. In this cellar the people would secrete their effects when obliged to flee away. He was told these facts by his grandfather, Lawrence Reitz, who died over 50 years ago, aged nearly 80 years.

The vicinity of Fort Everett was not exempt from its scenes of violence and death.

Timothy Horsfield writes to Gov. Denny from Bethlehem, November 30th, 1756, that "John Holder came here this Evening from Allemangle, and Informed me that last Sunday Evening, ye 28th Inst. three Indians Came to the House of a Certain Man Named Schlosser, and Nockt at the Door, the People within called who is there? Answer was made, A good Friend; they within not Opening the Door, they Nockt Again, they within answer'd Who is there? No Answer being made from Without, Then one of the Men Named Stonebrook, Lookt Out of the window, when an Indian Discharged a gun and kill'd him on the Spot. They then Open'd the Door, the Woman & two Children Endeavoring to Escape, and the Indians pursued & took Both the Children; One of the Men Fired at the Indians, and Saw One of them fall, when one of the Gairls he had possession of, made her Escape from him, but the other they took away; the Indian y't was fired at which fell Cryed Out Very much, but in a Short time he got up & made off.

The above said Holder Informs me he had this Acco't from good Authority, said Schlosser's House is situated in Allemangle." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 771).

We now give a characteristic letter which, in itself, would show that it came from Jacob Wetterholt, even if his name were not signed to it. It is written to Major William Parsons at Easton, and is headed:

(Lehigh) Northampton County, Lynn Township, July 9, 1757.
Honored Sir:

These are to Acquaint you of A murder Hapened this Day at the Houce of Adam Clance, in said Township of Lynn, whaire three or fore Nabors was Cutting said man's Corn; as they Was Eating thaire Dinner they waire fell one By A

Perty of Saviges, Indians, and Five of the Whits Took to there Heals, two men, two Women, and one Gerl, and Got saf out of theire hands. Was killed and Scalped, Martin Yager and his Wife, and John Croushores, wife and one Child, and the Wife of Abraham Secles and one Child of one Adam Clouce and the Wife of John Coucehere, and the wife of Abram Secles was Sculpt and is yet Alive, But Badly wounded, one Shot Thro' the Sid and the other in the Thy, and two Children kild Belonging to said Croushore, and one to said Secles, and one Belonging to Philip Antone Not Sculpt, and this Was Don at Least three Miles within the out side Settlers, and 4 miles from John Everett's, and Philip Antone's wife was one that Took her Tilit and came hom and acquainted her husband, and he came and Acquainted me, and I went Emeaditly to the Place with Seven men Besides my Self and Saw the Murder, But the Indians was Gon and I Derectly Purs'ed them About 4 Miles and Came Up with them in the thick Groves weaire Wee met with Nine Indians, and one Sprung Behind a Tree and took Site at me and I run Direct at him, and another one the sid Flast at me, and then Both took to there Heals, and I shot one as I Goge Thro' the Body, as he fell on his face, But I Loaded and after another that was Leding A maire, and ye meane time he Got up and Run away and I fired on the other, and I think I shot him in ye Buttux, and my Soldiers had ippertunity to shot three times, and then they Got out of oure Site in the thick Groves, and Wee Cold Not find them No more, But I Got from them one maire and two Saddels, one Bridel and Halter, & one Bag with a Cag of Stil Licker in it, and Cloths and one Brace Cittel and fore Indian Cake Baked in the ashes of wheat meal and to Aquat you further, that I have Several New Soldiers that has No Guns, and were Little Powder and Led, and I have sent this Express to you Hoping that you Wold Help me with Arms and Ammenishan, and so I Remaine yours friend and Umble Servent

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 211). JACOB WETHERHOLD.

Referring to this sad occurrence, Col. Weiser writes Gov. Denny from Easton on July 15th:

"In coming along thro' the Maxitawny, I heard a melan-

cholly Account of Ten People being killed by the Enemy Indians. They passed by two or three Plantations on this side of the mountain before they attacked. A certain woman ran off towards her Place and told her Husband of the attack, who cut the Gears off his Horses then in the Plow, and rid as fast as he could to Lieut. Wetherholts, about three miles off. Lieut. Wetherholt, with a small Detachment, I am told Seven in number, came away immediately, and came to the Place where the murder was committed, where, by that time, a number of People had gathered. Wetherholts proposed to pursue the Enemy but none would go with him, so he took his Seven men & pursued the Enemy a few miles from the House & found the Place where they rested themselves, and in ab't three miles He overtook them in thick Brushes, at a very little Distance. It seems they saw one another at once. One of the Indians was before hand with Wetherholts & aimed at him, but his Gun flashed. Wetherholt, a moment after, fired at the Indians, and thinks he hit him, but is not sure. Several Guns were fired by our People but did no Execution, and the Indians Guns missing Fire they ran off & left two Horses behind them, one belonging to the man they killed, laden with the best of his Household Goods." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 218).

In a letter written by Valentine Probst to Jacob Levan, of Maxatawney, dated February 15, 1756, he gives the following account of another murder:

Mr. Levan :

I cannot omit writing about the dreadful circumstances of our township, Albany [see this under Fort Henry also]. The Indians came yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, to Frederick Reichelderfer's house, as he was feeding his horses, and two of the Indians ran upon him, and followed him into a field ten or twelve perches off; but he escaped and ran towards Jacob Gerhart's house, with a design to fetch some arms. When he came near Gerhart's, he heard a lamentable cry, Lord Jesus, Lord Jesus!—which made him run back towards his own house; but before he got quite home, he saw his house and stable in flames; and heard all the cattle bellowing, and thereupon ran away again.

Two of his children were shot, one of them was found dead in his field, the other was found alive, and brought to Hakenbrook's house, but died three hours after. All his grain and cattle are burnt up. At Jacob Gerhart's they have killed one man, two women, and six children. Two children slipped under the bed; one of which was burned; the other escaped, and ran a mile to get to the people. We desire help, or we must leave our homes.

Yours,
VALENTINE PROBST.

Mr. Levan immediately repaired to Albany Township, but before he reached the scene of horror, additional intelligence was received by him of other murders. In a letter from him to James Read and Jonas Seely, of Reading, he says: "When I had got ready to go with my neighbors from Maxatawney, to see what damage was done in Albany, three men that had seen the shocking affair, came and told me, that eleven were killed, eight of them burnt, and the other three found dead out of the fire. An old man was Scalped, the two others, little girls, were not scalped." (Rupp, p. 58).

On the 24th of March following, ten wagons went to Allemangle (Albany) to bring down a family with their effects, and as they were returning, about three miles below George Zeisloff's, were fired upon by a number of Indians from both sides of the road; upon which the wagoners left their wagons and ran into the woods, and the horses frightened at the firing and terrible yelling of the Indians ran down a hill and brake one of the wagons to pieces. That the enemy killed George Zeisloff and his wife, a lad of twenty, a boy of twelve, also a girl of fourteen years old, four of whom they scalped. That another girl was shot in the neck and through the mouth and scalped, notwithstanding all of which she got off. That a boy was stabbed in three places, but the wounds were not thought to be mortal. That they killed two of the horses, and five are missing, with which it thought the Indians carried off the most valuable goods that were in the wagon." (Penn'a Gazette, April 1, 1756).

In November, 1756, the Indians carried off the wife and

three children of Adam Burns, the youngest child being only four weeks old. In June, 1757, they murdered one Adam Trump. They took Trump's wife and his son, a lad nineteen years old, prisoners, but the woman escaped, though upon her flying she was so closely pursued by one of the Indians (of whom there were seven) that he threw his tomahawk at her and cut her badly in the neck. (Rupp, p. 124).

The following extract from a letter written by James Read, from Reading, June 25th, 1757, refers to the Trump murder: "Last night Jacob Levan, Esq., of Maxatawney, came to see me and showed me a letter of the 22d inst. from Lieutenant Engel, dated in Allemangel, by which he advised Mr. Levan of the murder of one Adam Trump in Allemangel, by Indians, that evening, and that they had taken Trump's wife and his son, a lad nineteen years old, prisoners; but the woman escaped, though upon her flying, she was so closely pursued by one of the Indians, (of which there were seven) that he threw his tomahawk at her, and cut her badly in the neck, but 'tis hoped not dangerously. This murder happened in as great a thunderstorm as has happened for twenty years past; which extended itself over a great part of this and Northampton counties. * * * * *

I had almost forgot to mention (but I am so hurried just now, 'tis no wonder), that the Indians after scalping Adam Trump left a knife, and a halbert, or a spear, fixed to a pole of four feet, in his body. (Rupp, p. 70).

In March, 1756, the Indians laid the house and barn of Barnabas Seitle in ashes, and the mill of Peter Conrad, and killed Mrs. Neytong, the wife of Baltser Neytong, and took his son, a lad of eight years old, a captive. Next morning Seitle's servant informed Capt. Morgan of the injury done by the Indians, whereupon the Captain and seven men went in pursuit of the enemy, but did not find any. On his return he met a person named David Howell, who told him that when on his way to the watch-house, these Indians shot five times at him—the last shot he received a bullet through his arm.

And on March 24th, the house of Peter Kluck, about four-

teen miles from Reading, was set on fire by the savages, and the whole family killed—while the flames were still ascending, the Indians assaulted the house of one Lindenman, in which there were two men and a woman, all of whom ran up stairs, where the woman was shot dead through the roof. The men then ran out of the house to engage the Indians, when Lindenman was shot in the neck, and the other through the jacket. Upon this Lindenman ran towards the Indians, two of whom only were seen, and shot one of them in the back, when he fled and he and his companion scalped him and brought away his gun and knife. (C. Saure's German Paper, March, 1756).

About the same time the Indians carried off a young lad named John Schoep, about nine years old, whom they took by night, seven miles beyond the Blue Mountain; where, according to the statement of the lad, the Indians kindled a fire, tied him to a tree, took off his shoes and put moccasins on his feet; —that they prepared themselves some mush, but gave him none. After supper they marched on further. The same Indians took him and another lad between them, and went beyond the second mountain, having gone six times through streams of water, and always carried him across. The second evening they again struck up fire, took off his moccasins, and gave him a blanket to cover himself; but at midnight, when all the Indians were fast asleep, he made his escape, and by daybreak had traveled about six miles. He passed on that day, sometimes wading streams neck-deep, in the direction of the Blue Mountain. That night he stayed in the woods. The next day, exhausted and hungry, he arrived by noon at Uly Meyer's plantation, where Charles Folk's company lay (probably at or near Fort Franklin), where they wished him to remain till he had regained strength, when they would have conducted him to his father. He was accordingly sent home. (C. Saure's German Paper, March, 1756).

The next place which properly follows Fort Everett is the

FORT AT LEHIGH GAP.

With its consideration we can, at the same time, carry on somewhat consecutively other matters with which the Wetterholt brothers were concerned.

Strictly speaking, it is hardly proper to denominate this station as a fort. It was merely a blockhouse, erected in the latter part of 1755 by various families in its neighborhood, and at no time occupied by any considerable number of soldiers. Yet, nevertheless, it stood at a most important position, and, whilst it so chanced that it was permitted to add but a small contribution to the pages of history, yet it might well have been otherwise. We will, however, let the record speak for itself.

We are already aware that after the Gnadenhutten massacre, and first outbreak of hostilities, Benjamin Franklin and James Hamilton were sent up the Lehigh River to arrange protection for the settlers. In his letter of January 26, 1756, from Fort Allen, to the Governor, he says:

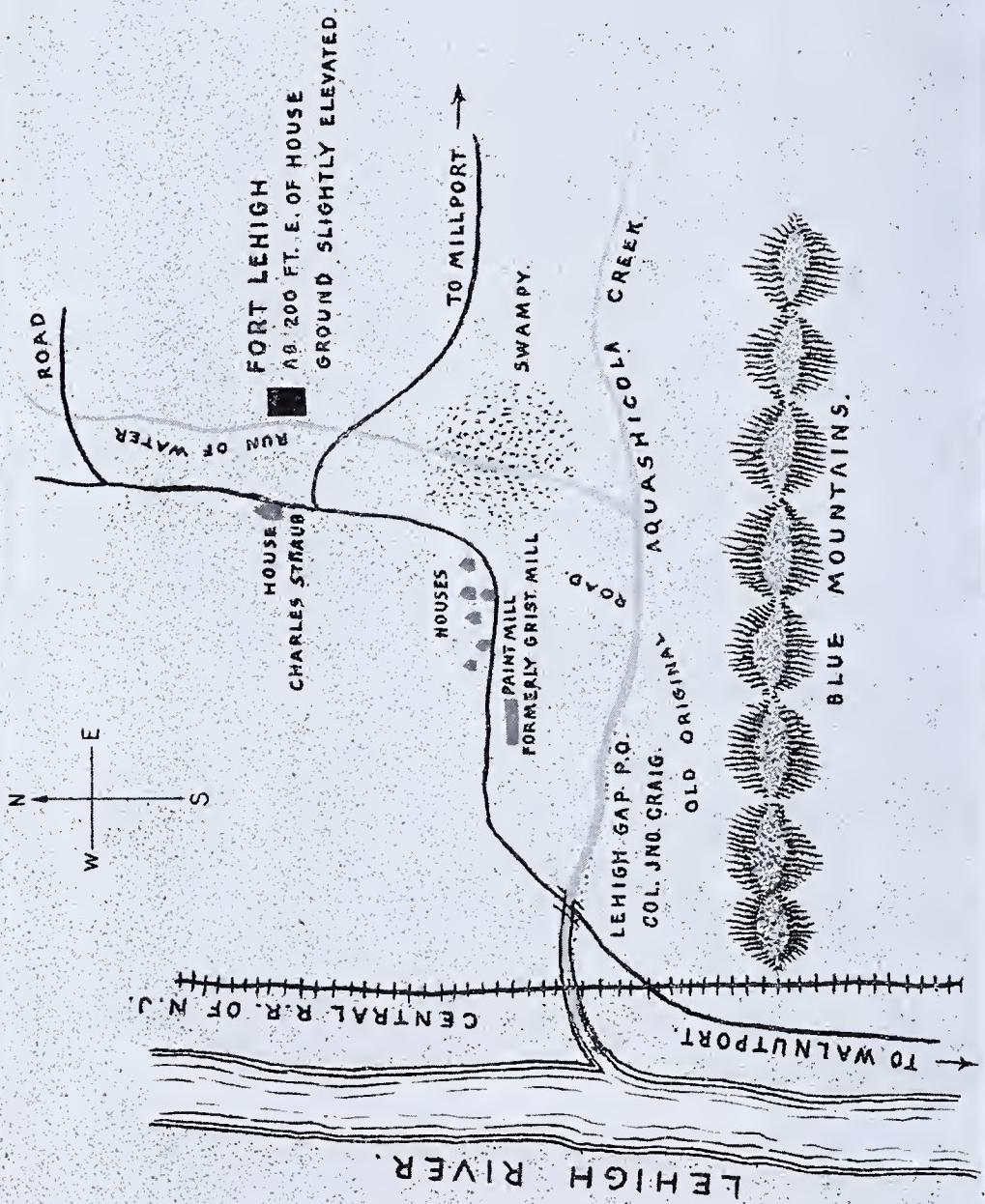
Sir:

We left Bethlehem the 10th instant with Foulk's Company, 46 men, the Detachment of McLaughlin's 20, and 7 waggons laden with Stores and Provisions. We got that night to Hays' Quarters, where Wayne's Company joined us from Nazareth.

The next day we marched cautiously thro' the Gap of the Mountain, a very dangerous Pass, and got to Uplinger's but twenty-one miles from Bethlehem, the Roads being bad and the Waggons moving slowly." (Col. Rec., vii, p. 16).

The only other record we have is from the Journal of Jas. Young, when inspecting the various forts in June, 1756, viz:

June 22—At 4 P. M. Sett out (from Fort Allen), at 6 came to Leahy Gap where I found a Serjeant and 8 men Stationed at a Farm house with a small Staccade Round it, from Fort Allen here the Road is very hilly and Swampy, only one Plantation ab't a mile from the Gap. I found the People here were a Detachment from Capt'n (Nicholas) Weatherholts Comp'y, he is Station'd on the other side of the Gap, 3 miles from this with 12 men, the rest of his Comp'y are at Depues



SITE OF FORT LEHIGH.

and another Gapp 15 miles from this. I dispatch'd a messenger to Capt'n Weatherholt, desiring him to Come here in the morning, with the men under his Com'd, to be muster'd, the People Stationed here and on the other side the Gapp I think may be of great service, as it is a good road thro' the mountain and very steep and high on each side, so may in a great measure prevent any Indians to pass thro' undiscovered if they kept a good guard, here the River Leahy Passes thro' the mountain in a very Rapid Stream.

23 June—Leahy Gapp, North Side.—At 7 in the morning, I mustered the men here, the Serjant inform'd me that Capt'n Weatherholt was gone 12 miles from this and he believed on his way to Philad'a for there pay, which was the reason the people did not come here, and I finding this Comp'y so much dispers'd at different Stations in small parties, I could not regularly Muster them therefore at 8 A. M. I sett out for Fort Noris. * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 678).

In the Penn'a Archives, vol. iii, p. 325, is given what is called the "Position of the Troops in Northampton County in 1758." In this list we have "A Sergeant and 5 men at Uplinger's," which means the Fort at Lehigh Gap, and "Capt. Foulk, with 63 men, at the new Fort not named between Fort Allen & Fort Lebanon."

This date is unquestionably wrong. A foot note in the Archives practically admits that fact when it says "There was no date to this paper, it was found among the papers of this year (1758)," and because of that fact it was placed amongst the Archives of that year. A moment's reflection will show that it is really the position of troops in Northampton county during the early part of 1756. As we have already seen, Mr. Young, in June, 1756, found at Lehigh Gap a Sergeant and 8 men, which agrees almost precisely with the report; then again it could only have been in the early part of 1756 that Capt. Foulk would be at the new Fort not named, between Fort Allen and Fort Lebanon, which was Fort Franklin, then building and not even yet named. By careful examination I have found that this report should be dated April, 1756, and that it belongs to a letter of Gov. Morris, dated April,

1756, in Penn. Archives, vol. ii, p. 637, from which it evidently became separated.

On February 5, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Lieut. Engel in command of Fort Lehigh, with 30 men, 16 Provincial Arms, 14 Private guns, 40 lbs of powder, 80 lbs of lead, 4 months provisions, 10 cartridge, Jacob Levan Commissary, the distance from Fort Allen 10 miles, and from P. Doll's Block house 8 miles. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340).

We see from this that it was considered a position of sufficient importance to be not only retained, but to have its garrison increased. The map herewith given shows its location.

Fort Lehigh was at Lehigh Gap, immediately on the north side of the mountain. Its distance from Col. Jno. Craig's store, at which is the Lehigh Gap Post Office, is about one-half mile. It stood on property originally belonging to Nathaniel Irish, adjoining that of Nicholas Opplinger, where Benjamin Franklin stayed all night, when on his way to Fort Allen, as he tells us. It is now the farm of Chas. Straub. The fort was on slightly elevated ground, at the foot of which a small run of water meanders down to the Aquashicola creek. The importance of its position is easily seen. It commanded the entrance to Lehigh Gap, and was at the junction of the road to Fort Allen at Weissport, on the north, and the road to Fort Norris, on the East. We have been told that it was merely an ordinary blockhouse surrounded by a stockade. We know it to have been built by the settlers, either in the latter part of 1755 or beginning of 1756. We know nothing, however, of the close of its history, but have no reason to doubt that it was abandoned, as a station, during the year 1758, when hostilities had almost come to an end. There is nothing to indicate that it was needed or used again in 1763.

Amongst the settlers who lived in the vicinity of the Fort, during the war, was a Mr. Boyer (his first name we do not know). His place was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the Fort, on land now owned by Josiah Arner, James Ziegenfuss and George Kunkle. With the other farmers he had gathered his family into the blockhouse for protection. One day, however, with his son Frederick, then thirteen years old, and the other children, he went home to attend to the crops. Mr.

Boyer was ploughing and Fred was hoeing, whilst the rest of the children were in the house or playing near by. Without any warning they were surprised by the appearance of Indians. Mr. Boyer, seeing them, called to Fred to run, and himself endeavored to reach the house. Finding he could not do so he ran towards the creek, and was shot through the head as he reached the farther side. Fred, who had escaped to the wheat field, was captured and brought back. The Indians, having scalped the father in his presence, took the horses from the plough, his sisters and himself, and started for Stone Hill in the rear of the house. There they were joined by another party of Indians and marched northward to Canada. On the march the sisters were separated from their brother and never afterwards heard from. Frederick was a prisoner with the French and Indians in Canada for five years, and was then sent to Philadelphia. Of Mrs. Boyer, who remained in the blockhouse, nothing further is known. After reaching Philadelphia, Frederick made his way to Lehigh Gap and took possession of the farm. Shortly after he married a daughter of Conrad Mehrkem, with whom he had four sons and four daughters. He died October 31, 1832, aged 89 years.

I desire here to express the obligation under which I rest to Col. Jno. Craig, of Lehigh Gap, for courtesy shown me and much valuable information given in connection with Fort Lehigh, and other points in his vicinity.

Mr. Craig, who is now 65 years old, was told all about the Fort, its location and garrison, by his father, who received it directly from Mr. Frederick Boyer, who was an actor in the bloody drama just given, and whose return from captivity we have just recorded. He was also given the same information from sundry other old persons.

A tablet should certainly be erected to mark the site of Fort Lehigh, and, I think, should be placed aside of the public road near it.

FORT SOUTH OF LEHIGH GAP.

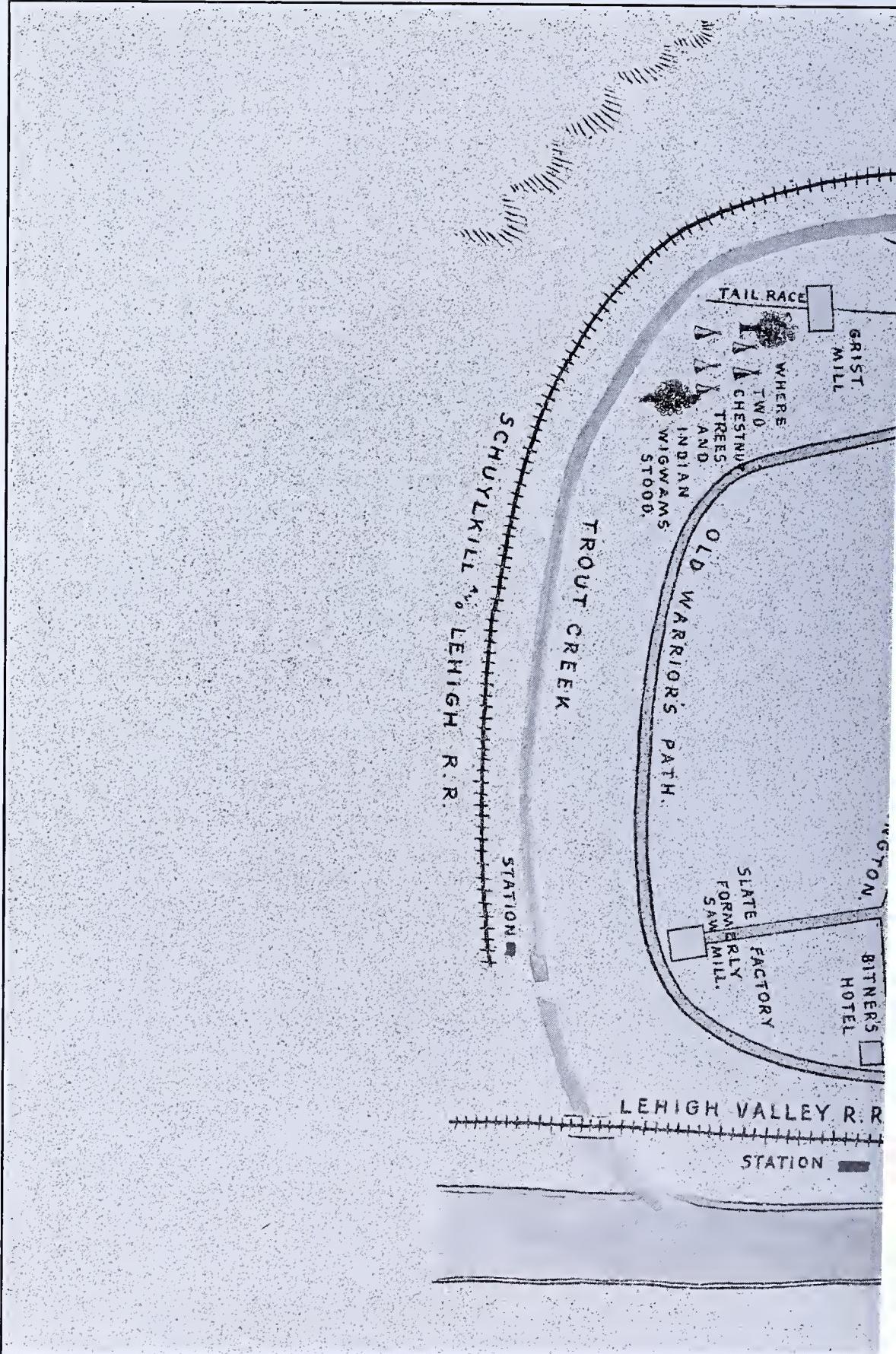
At Trucker's (Kern's) Mill in Slatington.

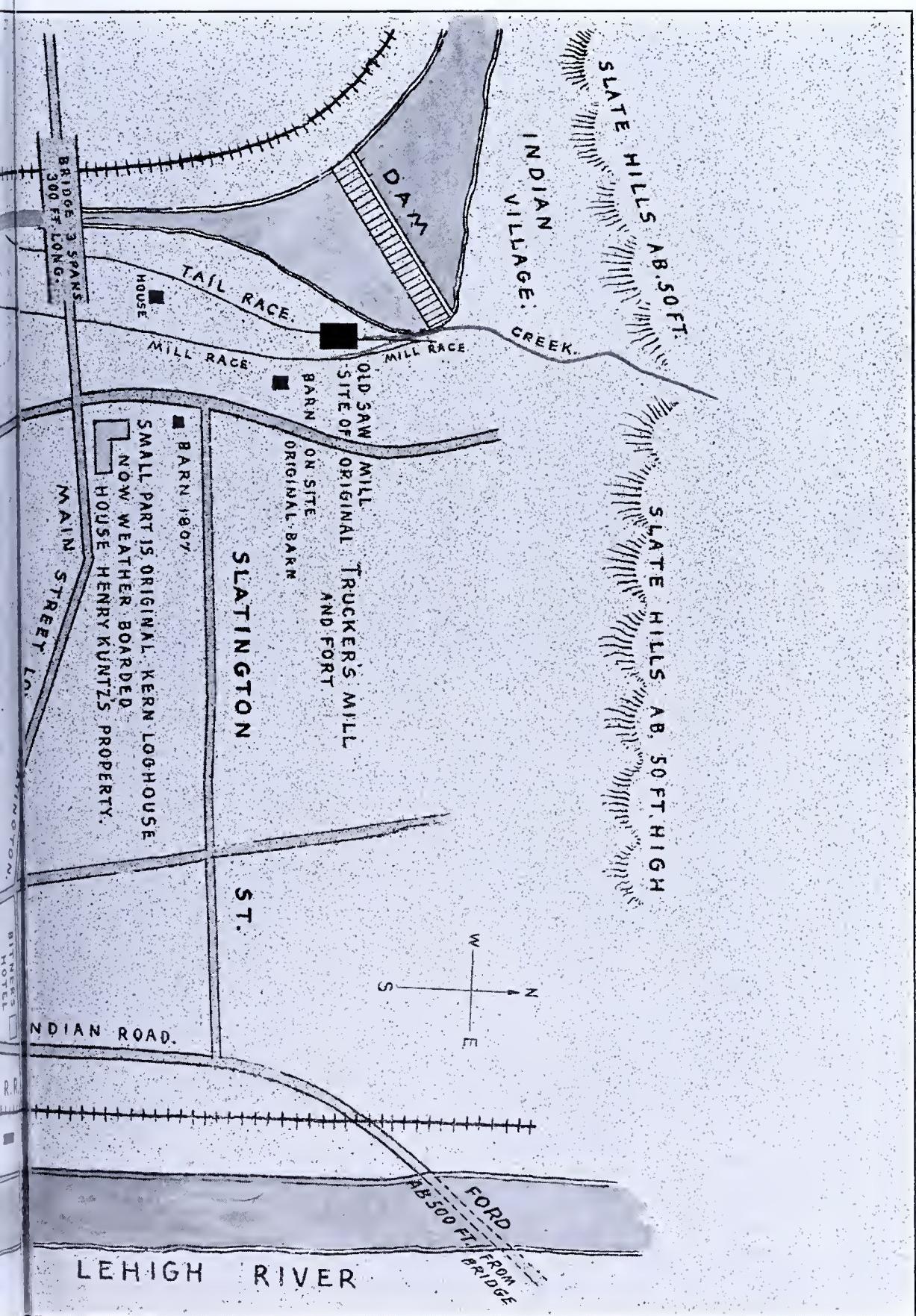
Whilst I have headed this subject as the "Fort" south of Lehigh Gap, yet I do not wish to convey the impression that it was one of the regular forts established by the Government. Such was not the case. It was but a private mill, at which a garrison of soldiers was stationed, and of which we have but the slightest mention, and yet the position was of such importance that, in my judgment, it deserves a rank and standing in history above that of the mere private blockhouse, used as a place of refuge.

The reader will recall that, when Jas. Young visited Fort Lehigh, at the Gap, on June 22, 1756, he said "I found the people here were a Detachment from Capt'n Weatherholt's (Nicholas) Comp'y, he is Stationed on the other side of the Gapp, 3 miles from this, with 12 men, * * * I dispatch'd a messenger to Cap'tn Weatherholt, desiring him to Come here in the morning with the men under his Cam'd, to be muster'd, the People Stationed here and on the other side of the Gapp I think may be of great service, as it is a good road thro' the mountain and very steep and high on each side, so may in a great measure prevent any Indians to pass thro' undiscovered if they keep a good guard, here the River Leahy Passes thro' the mountain in a very Rapid Stream." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 678).

This is the only information we have with regard to this station. We are simply told that it was three miles south of Lehigh Gap. With this slight clue I went to work. Taking it for granted the place would be on the same side of the Lehigh River as was Fort Lehigh, I found this distance would bring us to Walnutport, opposite Slatington. Having prepared my way, with much correspondence, I drove through the entire country from Walnutport up to Lehigh Gap, visited every old resident in the whole region, and many younger ones, but discovered absolutely nothing except that there was an Indian village, or settlement, near the river, half way between the two places. I believed I had done everything possible and felt somewhat discouraged at my apparent failure.

SITE OF KERN'S BLOCK HOUSE [TRUCKER'S FORT].





And yet here was but another instance of the extreme care necessary in research of this character, where strict accuracy is aimed at. I had failed to take the Commanding officer, Capt. Wetterholt, into consideration, and to remember that, as his operations about this time were principally west of the river, so he would be more likely to select a station on that side, more especially so if, in addition, other important reasons were present to so influence him, as in this instance.

In searching carefully the Penn'a Archives, I came across (Vol. ii, p. 618) the following letter from Gov. Morris to Capt. Weatherholt (Nicholas) :

Philada., 8th April, 1756.

As there are Eleven of your men stationed at Trucker's Mill, I think it for the publick safety that they should be employ'd in ranging the woods, when the people of that township are inclinable to Joyn them and assist in such service; I do, therefore, order that the said men stationed at Trucker's Mill, when they are not employ'd in escorting Provisions or Stores, shall employ themselves in scouring and ranging the woods; and I recommend it to the inhabitants to Joyn them from time to time for that purpose, and you are to take care that this, my order, be carry'd into full Execution.

I also notice a letter from Major Parsons to Capt. Orndt, of August 15th, 1756, in which he says, "Capt. Reynolds has powder and lead, and can spare 6 lb of powder & 20 lb of lead to the forces at Trucker's Mill, and if you order anybody for it they may show this letter. (Penn. Arch., ii, 742.)

About the same time I received a letter from Mr. A. J. Andrews of Walnutport, telling me he understood there was a fort at Slatington not far distant from where Mr. A. J. Kern's grist mill now stands, called "Dry Fort," or "Kern's Fort," after Mr. Kern, the original owner of the place.

I, at once, looked up the history of Slatington and was fortunate to find that Trucker was a nickname given to Wm. Kern, as I will mention presently, this showing conclusively that Capt. Wetterholt's station, south of Lehigh Gap, was at Kern's Mill in Slatington.

The date of the Governor's letter was April, 1756, whilst

Jas. Young's visit of inspection was in June, 1756, almost exactly the same time. In his letter the Governor even speaks of eleven men being stationed there, which agrees almost literally with the number (twelve) given by Mr. Young. With the kind assistance of Mr. W. H. Troutman, of Reading, I have prepared the map herewith given.

The old, original saw mill stood on the site of the present saw mill, on Trout Creek, some 175 feet north of the bridge at Main Street. It belonged to the Kern family, and was built prior to 1755. It was subsequently removed to the place now occupied by the Slate (Mantel) Factory.

Nicholas Kern, the first settler, took up this land as early as 1737, on which he subsequently built his home. Upon his death in 1748 the property, by will, was equally divided between his widow, six sons and one daughter, who survived. All the family remained at the place until the youngest children had arrived at maturity, when some of them removed to the lower part of the county, where their descendants still reside. William and John remained at the homestead, taking care of the farm and mills which had been erected on Trout creek. William seems to have been of a jovial disposition, and given somewhat to joking. Mrs. Michael Ramaly, long since dead, told Charles Peters, of Slatington, many years ago, that, because of this fact, he was called "Trockener," in German signifying a joker, or wit. This, in time, became corrupted to "Trucker," so that on the Evans map of 1755, as well as that of Edward Scull of 1770, one of the Kern mills, that in which we are interested, was designated as "Trucker's Mill." William Kern's house, built of logs and possessing the distinction of a double porch, stood where the residences of Benjamin Kern and Henry Kuntz now are. It was torn down about 1858. The old stone barn, built about 1807, is still standing. (Matthews and Hungerford, History of Lehigh Co.; p. 556.)

From information kindly given by Mr. Benjamin Kern, now 59 years old, I have marked on the map the house occupying the site of the original homestead. The small log building attached to it, now weatherboarded, is said to be of the original house. The stone barn, built in 1807, is also given,

but the original barn stood as shown, on the other side of the road, just beyond. All these properties, including the mill, were on or near the only road then existing, which was made and used by the Indians. It crossed the Lehigh at a ford, some 500 feet above the bridge leading to Walnutport, then followed along Trout Creek, as shown, past sundry wigwams and villages to the north. Because of that fact it was called the "Warriors' Path," and the ford denominated the "Warrior's Crossing." In 1761 a road was laid out, following its line, which still exists in Slatington.

These facts are corroborated by Mr. J. W. Andrews, of Berlinsville, Northampton Co., Pa., an intelligent, elderly gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the history of the locality.

We have now learned the location of Trucker's Mill and why it was so called. We have also seen that it was, for some time at least, occupied as a military station. It only remains to say that it was of great importance to the neighborhood. It supplied the settlers with much needed lumber. Even Benjamin Franklin was obliged to obtain his material for Fort Allen from this mill. In his letter of January 25, 1756, he says, "The next day being Sunday, we march'd hither (Fort Allen); where we arrived about 2 in the afternoon, and before 5 had inclosed our Camp with a Strong Breast work, Musket Proof, and with the Boards brought here before by my Order from Drucker's mill, got ourselves under some shelter from the Weather." (Col. Rec., vii, p. 15.)

It was important, then, not merely as a saw mill, but, besides that, it was important from a military point of view, commanding, as it did, the routes of intercourse between Albany Township on the West to Nazareth and Easton on the East, as well as Bethlehem and Allentown on the South, and Forts Lehigh and Allen on the North. It would seem to me that the preservation of matters of importance in the history of the State should cause such a liberal view to be taken with regard to the placing of tablets as would assign one to this position.

THE INDIAN OUTBREAK OF 1763.

Between the years 1759 and 1763 there was somewhat of a lull in the continued frequency of Indian atrocities. Then came the peace with the savages, and immediately followed the short and bloody outbreak called Pontiac's War, which, in 1764, finally closed the history of Indian Massacre in Eastern Pennsylvania. Indeed, even during the years 1763-64 the territory of which I am treating, between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, south of the Blue Mountains, saw little of the effects of this war, and so few incidents are recorded in comparison with the terrible events of previous years, that its treatise as a separate article, would hardly be warranted were it not for the occurrences which took place along the Lehigh River. Because they did occur in the immediate neighborhood about which I have just been writing, and because they treat so prominently of the Wetterholt brothers, I have deemed it best to take up the subject at this point, and so make a more or less consecutive narrative.

Through the kindness of Miss Minnie F. Mickley, of Mickleys, Pa., I have been furnished with a sketch, written by her father, Jos. J. Mickley, Esq., in 1875, entitled a "Brief Account of Murders by the Indians, and the cause thereof, in Northampton County, Penna., October 8th, 1763," from which I have taken the liberty of making many extracts, because of the complete manner in which his subject is treated.

I have said that, with the exception of what is about to follow, Eastern Pennsylvania was comparatively free from Indian massacres during 1763-64. This, in itself, would indicate a special reason for their occurrences removed from that which brought about the general hostilities. Such was actually the case. In "Heckewelder's account of the Indian Nations," p. 332, he says:

"In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern (John Stenton's) eight miles distant from Bethlehem. The landlord not being at home, his wife

took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking, to abuse those Indians, adding, ‘that she would freely give a gallon of rum to any one of them that would kill one of these black devils.’ Other white people from the neighborhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased the fears of those poor Indians, who—for the greatest part understood English,—could not but suspect something bad was intended against their persons. They were, however, not otherwise disturbed; but in the morning, when after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of their most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance in the woods, when, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But, behold! when they delivered the letter to the people of the inn, they were told in answer, that if they set any value on their lives they must make off with themselves immediately. They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, they fell in with some other Delaware Indians, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having his rifle stolen from him. Here two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress, and this they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English.”

As proof of the truth of this narrative Heckewelder adds a note,—“This relation is Authentic. I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two

respectable magistrates of the county. Justice Geiger's letter to Tim. Horsfield proves this fact."

It might be interesting to add that the Rev. John Heckewelder was born in Bedford, England, March 12th, 1743. He came to America, with his parents, when quite young; during forty years was a missionary among the Indians in different parts of this country, exposed to many hardships and perils. He wrote several works on the Indians, which are instructive and interesting on account of his having been familiar with their language, manners and customs. He died at Bethlehem, January 21st, 1823.

About the same time as this unfortunate occurrence, another one of similar character took place, which is given in Loskiel's "History of the Missions of the Indians in America," as follows:

"In August, 1763, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation in Wechquetank—on Poca-poca (Head's) Creek, north of the Blue Mountain, settled by Moravian Indians—(where they had belonged, but left some time previous), came on a visit, and did all in their power to disquiet the minds of the brethren respecting the intentions of the white people. A woman called Zippora, was persuaded to follow them. On their return they stayed at the Buchkabuchka (this is the name the Munseys have for the Lehigh Water Gap—it means "Mountains butting opposite each other") over night, where Captain Wetterholt (Nicholas) lay with a company of soldiers, and went unconcerned to sleep in a hay-loft. But in the night they were surprised by the soldiers. Zippora was thrown down upon the threshing floor and killed; Zachary escaped out of the house, but was pursued, and with his wife and little child put to the sword, although the mother begged for their lives upon her knees."

The presence of Capt. Wetterholt at Lehigh Gap was probably owing to the fact that he was on his way either to or from Fort Allen, at Weissport, where a body of soldiers under his command, was still stationed. His Lieutenant at this time was a man named Jonathan Dodge, who seems to have been a most precious scoundrel. He had been sent from Philadelphia by Richard Hockley to Lt. Col. Timothy Hors-

field, with a letter dated July 14th, 1763, recommending him as "very necessary for the service," and had been assigned by the latter to Capt. Wetterholt's company. It might be well to explain here that Timothy Horsfield, whose name appears frequently, was born April, 1708, in Liverpool, England. He emigrated to America, and settled on Long Island, in 1725; moved to Bethlehem in 1749; was appointed Justice of the Peace for Northampton County in May, 1752; commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, and, as such, had the superintendence and direction of the two military companies commanded by the two Captains Wetterholt, which were ranging along the frontier; they sent their reports to him, and he corresponded with the Government at Philadelphia. Mr. Horsfield was of great service to the Government, as well as to the frontier inhabitants. He resigned both offices in December, 1763, and died at Bethlehem, March 9th, 1773.

Dodge committed many atrocious acts against his fellow-soldiers, also against the inhabitants of Northampton County, but particularly against the Indians.

In a letter to Timothy Horsfield, dated August 4th, 1763, Dodge writes: "Yesterday there were four Indians came to Ensign Kern's (where Worthington now is). * * * I took four rifles and fourteen deer-skins from them, weighed them, and there was thirty-one pounds." After the Indians had left him, he continues: "I took twenty men and pursued them, * * * * then I ordered my men to fire, upon which I fired a volley on them, * * * * could find none dead or alive."

These were friendly, inoffensive Indians, who had come from Shamokin (Sunbury) on their way to Bethlehem.

Jacob Warner, a soldier in Nicholas Wetterholt's company made the following statement September 9th: That he and Dodge were searching for a lost gun, when, about two miles above Fort Allen, they saw three Indians painted black. Dodge fired upon them and killed one; Warner also fired upon them, and thinks he wounded another; but two escaped; the Indians had not fired at them. The Indian was scalped, and, on the 24th, Dodge sent Warner with the scalp to a person

in Philadelphia, who gave him eight dollars for it. These were also friendly Indians.

On the 4th of October, Dodge was charged with disabling Peter Frantz, a soldier; for striking him with a gun, and ordering his men to lay down their arms if the Captain should blame him about the scalp.

In a letter of this date Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt wrote to Timothy Horsfield: "If he (Dodge) is to remain in the company, not one man will remain. I never had so much trouble and uneasiness as I have had these few weeks; and if he continues in the service any longer, I don't propose to stay any longer. I intend to confine him only for this crime."

All this was at a time when, after years of warfare and murder, peace had just been concluded with the Indians, who seemed to be inclined to fully accept its terms. Care and good treatment of them were matters of great moment. The ill-timed and barbarous actions of Dodge, who was a bully and coward, execrated alike by his fellow soldiers and the Indians, had, therefore, much to do with bringing on the sad events which presently followed.

On October 5th, Capt. Wetterholt (Nicholas) placed Lieut. Jonathan Dodge under arrest "for striking and abusing Peter Frantz," and sent him in charge of Captain Jacob Wetterholt, Sergeant Lawrence McGuire, and some soldiers to Timothy Horsfield at Bethlehem. We are not informed as to the result of his trial. His punishment could not have been much more than a reprimand, because he immediately started back for Fort Allen with Capt. Jacob Wetterholt. It would look as if Mr. Horsfield hesitated to give him a severe punishment because of influential friends, or connections.

On the 7th of October, Captain Jacob Wetterholt, with his party, left Bethlehem, on their way to Fort Allen. That same evening they arrived at John Stenton's tavern and lodged for the night. Being, so to say, in time of peace, when no danger of an Indian attack was apprehended, they did not deem it necessary to place sentrys about the building. To be sure, Capt. Wetterholt must have been aware of the treatment recently accorded the Indians at this very same place and might have thought that the presence of Dodge at this time,

in this very building, would be a double incentive for the savages to wreak their vengeance, yet he had no reason to suspect their presence, and from his daring nature was inclined to look lightly on danger, so he neglected an ordinary precaution and violated a common military rule in not stationing guards.

During the night, the Indians, unperceived and unsuspected, approached the house. What happened, at break of day on October 8th, is related as follows in Gordon's History of Pennsylvania:

"The Capt. designing early in the morning to proceed for the fort, ordered a servant out to get his horse ready, who was immediately shot down by the enemy; upon the Captain going to the door he was also mortally wounded, and a sergeant, who attempted to draw the Captain in, was also dangerously hurt. The lieutenant then advanced, when an Indian jumping on the bodies of the two others, presented a pistol to his breast, which, he putting aside, it went off over his shoulder, whereby he got the Indian out of the house and shut the door. The Indians then went around to a window, and, as Stenton was getting out of bed, shot him; but, rushing from the house, he was able to run a mile before he dropped dead. His wife and two children ran to the cellar; they were fired upon three times, but escaped uninjured. Capt. Witherholt, notwithstanding his wound, crawled to a window, whence he killed one of the Indians who were setting fire to the house; the others then ran off, bearing with them their dead companion."

This description was taken from a detailed account sent by Mr. Horsfield with a messenger (John Bacher, who was paid for this service Oct. 12, £2 10s. 4d) to the Governor, at Philadelphia. It was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of October 13th, 1763, printed by Benjamin Franklin, also in the Philadelphische Staats-bote, printed by Heinrich Miller, in the German language, of October 17th, 1763.

The wounded were taken to Bethlehem, where Captain Wetterholt died the next day, at the Crown Inn, and so passed away a brave and energetic officer who deserved a better fate.

The effect upon our redoubtable Lieutenant Dodge was of a rather demoralizing character, if we may judge by his letter to Timothy Horsfield:

"John Stenton's, Oct. the 8, 1763.

Mr. Horsfield, Sir, Pray send me help for all my men are killed But one, and Capt'n Wetterholt is almost Dead, he is shot through the Body, for god sake send me help.

These from me to serve my country and king so long as I live.

Send me help or I am a Dead man.

this from me Ly'n't Dodge

sarg't meguire is shot through the body—

Pray send up the Doctor for god sake."

He evidently was of the class of men who spell God with a little "g" and his own name with a big "D", but in time of danger is anxious enough to call on the former for help, knowing how little reliance he can place on the latter.

Mr. Horsfield, besides forwarding his report to the Governor, at once sent an express to Daniel Hunsicker, Lieutenant in Captain Jacob Wetterholt's company, with the following letter, to inform him of this disaster:

Bethlehem, Oct. 8, 1763.

Sir: This morning at about break of day, a number of Indians attacked the inhabitants of Allen's Town (Allen Township); have killed several, and wounded many more. Your Captain, who was here yesterday, lays at the house of John Stenton, at Allen's Town, wounded. Several of the soldiers have been killed. I send to Simon Heller, and request him to send a safe hand with it, that you may receive it as quick as possible. Now is the time for you and the men to exert yourselves in defence of the frontier, which I doubt not you will do. I expect to hear from you when you have any news of importance. Send one of your worst men; as it will be dangerous in the day time, send him in the night. The enclosed letter to Mr. Grube (Rev. B. D. Grube, a Moravian Missionary at Wechquetank) I desire you send as soon as possible.

I am, &c.,

TIMOTHY HORSFIELD.

To Lieutenant Hunsicker, Lower Smithfield.

This, however, was not the only mischief done by the Indians. They had come to avenge themselves on those who had ill-treated them, but, unfortunately, their savage nature once aroused, and excited by the first taste of blood, they continued their work of death throughout the whole neighborhood, sparing neither friend nor foe, slaying those who had abused them as well as those who had shown them many continued acts of kindness, until obliged to retreat. The missionary Heckewelder in his Account of the Indian Nations, p. 334, endeavors to palliate their crime by saying that the murder of the innocent people was owing to a mistake on the part of the savages. He remarks that "The Indians, after leaving this house (Stenton's) murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house they meant to attack; after which they returned to their homes." It was generally believed that they mistook this house for that of Paulus Balliet, which they intended to attack. Mr. Balliet lived at the place now Ballietsville, and kept a store and tavern, similar to that of John Stenton.

Whatever may have been the explanation, the terrible fact still remains. The following account is given in the Pennsylvania Gazette, being an extract from a letter from Bethlehem, dated October 9:

"Early this morning came Nicholas Marks, of Whitehall Township, and brought the following account, viz:

That yesterday, just after dinner, as he opened his door, he saw an Indian standing about two poles from the house, who endeavored to shoot at him; but, Marks shutting the door immediately, the fellow slipped into a cellar, close to the house. After this said Marks went out of the house, with his wife and an apprentice boy. [This apprentice boy was the late George Graff, of Allentown, then fifteen years of age. He ran to Philip Jacob Schreiber with the news of these murders. He was Captain of a company in the Revolutionary War. In 1786 he resigned as Collector of the Excise, and was Sheriff of Northampton county in the years 1787-88-89. For three years he was a member of the Legislature, then holding its sessions in Philadelphia, from December 3rd, 1793, to December, 1796. He lived many years in Allentown, where he

died in 1835, in the 88th year of his age,] in order to make their escape, and saw another Indian standing behind a tree, who tried also to shoot at them, but his gun missed fire. They then saw the third Indian running through the orchard; upon which they made the best of their way, about two miles off, to Adam Deshler's place, where twenty men in arms were assembled, who went first to the house of John Jacob Mickley, where they found a boy and girl lying dead, and the girl scalped. From thence they went to Hans Schneider's and said Mark's plantations, and found both houses on fire, and a horse tied to the bushes. They also found said Schneider, his wife and three children, dead in the field, the man and woman scalped; and, on going farther, they found two others wounded, one of whom was scalped. After this they returned with the two wounded girls to Adam Deshler's, and saw a woman, Jacob Alleman's wife, with a child, lying dead in the road and scalped. The number of Indians they think was about fifteen, or twenty.

I cannot describe the deplorable condition this poor country is in: most of the inhabitants of Allen's Town and other places are fled from their habitations. Many are in Bethlehem, and other places of the Brethren, and others farther down the Country. I cannot ascertain the number killed, but think it exceeds twenty. The people of Nazareth, and other places belonging to the Brethren have put themselves in the best posture of defence they can; they keep a strong watch every night, and hope, by the blessing of God, if they are attacked, to make a good stand."

"In a letter from the same county, of the 10th instant, the number killed is said to be twenty-three, besides a great many dangerously wounded; that the inhabitants are in the utmost distress and confusion, flying from their places, some of them with hardly sufficient to cover themselves, and that it was to be feared there were many houses, &c., burned, and lives lost that were not then known. And by a gentleman from the same quarter we are informed that it was reported, when he came away, that Yost's mill, about eleven miles from Bethlehem, was destroyed, and all the people that belonged to it, excepting a young man, cut off."

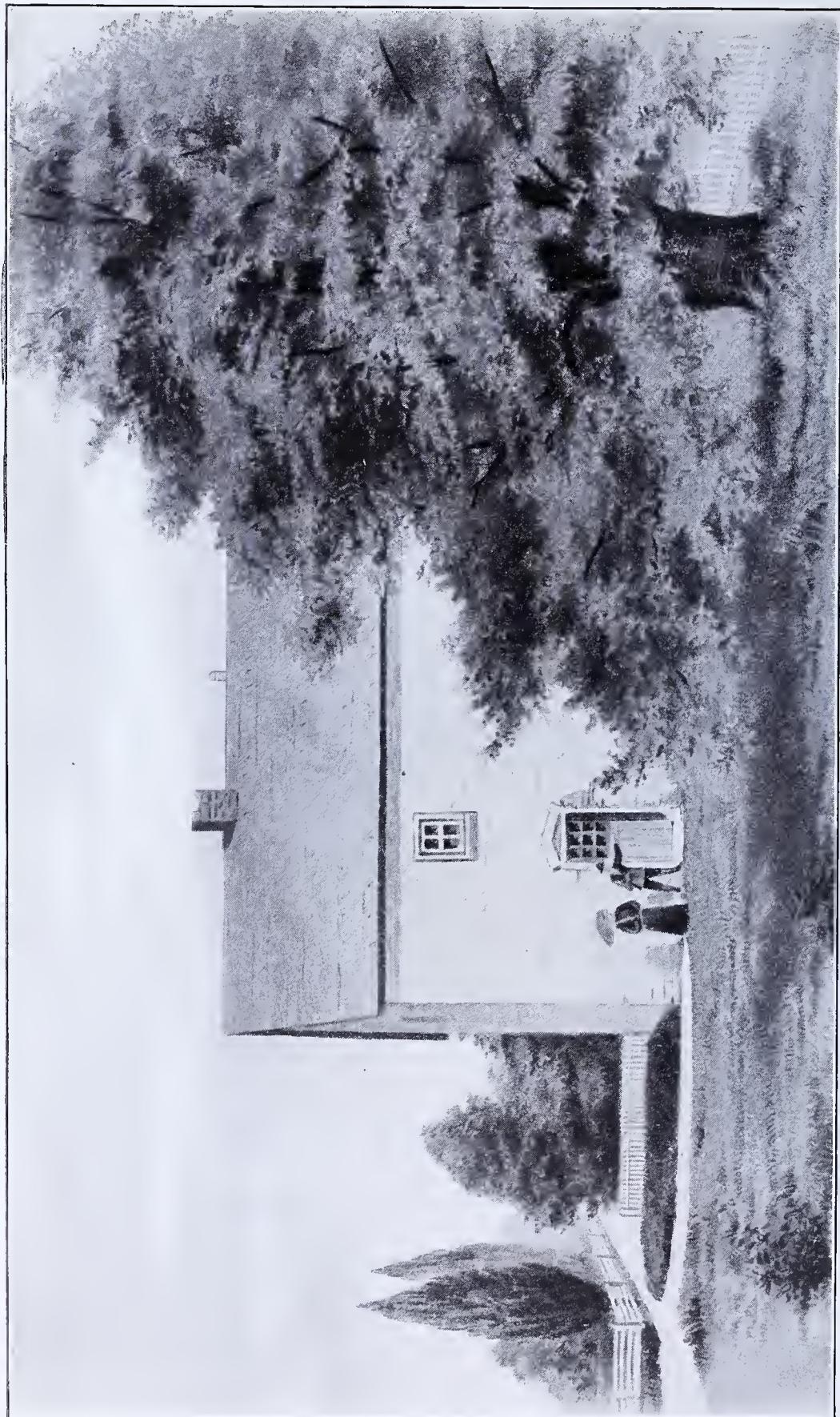
After the deplorable disaster at Stenton's house, the Indians plundered James Allen's house, a short distance off; after which they attacked Andrew Hazlet's house, half a mile from Allen's, where they shot and scalped a man. Hazlet attempted to fire on the Indians, but missed, and he was shot himself, which his wife, some distance off, saw. She ran off with two children, but was pursued and overtaken by the Indians, who caught and tomahawked her and the children in a dreadful manner; yet she and one of the children lived until four days after, and the other child recovered. Hazlet's house was plundered. About a quarter of a mile from there the Indians burned down Kratzer's house, probably after having plundered it. Then a party of Indians proceeded to a place on the Lehigh, a short distance above Siegfried's Bridge, to this day known as the "Indian Fall" or Rapids, where twelve Indians were seen wading across the river by Ulrich Schowalter, who then lived on the place now owned by Peter Troxel. Schowalter was at that time working on the roof of a building, the site of which being considerably elevated above the river Lehigh, he had a good opportunity to see and count the Indians, who, after having crossed the river, landed near Leisenring's Mountain. It is to be observed, that the greater part of this township was, at that time, still covered with dense forests, so that the Indians could go from one place to another almost in a straight line, through the woods, without being seen. It is not known that they were seen by any one but Schowalter, until they reached the farm of John Jacob Mickley (the great grandfather of Mr. Jos. J. Mickley), where they encountered three of his children, two boys and a girl in a field under a chestnut tree, gathering chestnuts. The children's ages were: Peter, eleven; Henry, nine; and Barbary, seven; who, on seeing the Indians, began to run away. The little girl was overtaken not far from the tree by an Indian, who knocked her down with a tomahawk. Henry had reached the fence, and, while in the act of climbing it, an Indian threw a tomahawk at his back, which, it is supposed instantly killed him. Both of these children were scalped. The little girl, in an insensible state, lived until the following morning. Peter, having reached the woods,

hid himself between two large trees which were standing near together, and, surrounded by brushwood, he remained quietly concealed there, not daring to move for fear of being discovered, until he was sure that the Indians had left. He was, however, not long confined there; for, when he heard the screams of the Schneider family, he knew that the Indians were at that place, and that his way was clear. He escaped unhurt, and ran with all his might, by way of Adam Deshler's to his brother, John Jacob Mickley, to whom he communicated the melancholy intelligence. From this time Peter lived a number of years with his brother John Jacob, after which he settled in Bucks county, where he died in the year 1827, at the age of seventy-five. One of his daughters, widow of the late Henry Statzel, informed Mr Mickley, among other matters, of the fact, related by her father, that the Mickley family owned at that time a very large and ferocious dog, which had a particular antipathy to Indians, and it was believed by the family that it was owing to the dog the Indians did not make an attack on their house, and thus the destruction of their lives was prevented. John Jacob Mickley and Ulrich Flickinger, then on their way to Stenton's, being attracted by the screams of the Schneiders, hastened to the place where, a short time before, was peace and quietness, and saw the horribly mangled bodies of the dead and wounded, and the houses of Marks and Schneider in flames. The dead were buried on Schneider's farm.

I take pleasure in reproducing Mr. Mickley's Map, giving the topography of the country and location of places just enumerated.

DESHLER'S FORT.

In the narrative of events just given, mention has been made several times of Adam Deshler's house as a place of refuge and also of rendezvous. He lived on the north bank of the Coplay Creek, in the stone house built by him in the year 1760. The name of the creek, Coplay, is a corruption from Kola-pechka, an Indian, who was the son of the Shawanese Indian



FRONT VIEW OF DESHLER'S FORT 1895.

chief Paxinosa. He lived at the head of the creek, named after him, on friendly terms with the white inhabitants. He was an honest and trustworthy man. Timothy Horsfield employed him on several occasions to carry messages to the Governor at Philadelphia.

This house is still standing in a good state of preservation, and inhabited, although by some Hungarian families who work in the Cement Mills close by. Miss Mickley informs me that it was quite a mansion in its time. It was built much higher than the other houses around it. The oaken beams in one of the rooms are smoothly finished and grooved. Two of the original walnut doors, with Dutch locks, still remain. Mr. Mickley says, "Adjoining this house on the north was a large frame building, sufficiently large for quartering twenty soldiers, and for military stores. This place was, during the Indian troubles, a kind of military post. I remember well having seen that frame building, partly in ruins, about sixty years ago (in 1815)."

Adam Deshler was employed by the Provincial Government to furnish supplies to the soldiers. Until recently the building still remained in the Deshler family, when sold by Mr. D. J. F. Deshler to Daniel Schaad, who has turned it into a tenement house.

The engraving is a rough copy of a pencil sketch of the Deshler Fort made by the Rev. W. C. Reichel, which appears in Dr. Egle's History of Pennsylvania, vol. ii, p. 876. I also include photographs taken June 5, 1894, giving front and side views of the building as it now appears.

I have called this "Deshler's Fort." We have, however, no further history of it than that just given. Whilst it has been asserted that soldiers (Provincial troops) occupied it, yet this is doubtful. Still, owing to the nature of the building, its central location and commanding position, it is not beyond the bounds of reason to presume that, even before 1763, it may have been used at various times as a military station. Still, if it played no further part in the bloody drama of Indian warfare than that just narrated, it is a noteworthy building, and when, in addition, we consider how few changes have taken place in its appearances during all these years, it

is certainly worthy of sufficient care to keep it in a state of preservation, and of a tablet to commemorate its history.

The people of Northampton County thoroughly alarmed by the murders which had just taken place, and fearing a general invasion of the foe, at once formed a company for mutual defence. The following letter to Gov'r Hamilton from Rev. Roth, the minister of Allentown, written October 10th, 1763, gives an account of it:

"We send Greeting:

As I, Joseph Roads, of Northampton Town, Church Minister, of the Eighth of this Instant, Octbr, as I was a preaching, the people came in Such Numbers, that I was obliged to quit my Sarmon, and the Same time Cornel James Bord was in the Town, and I, the aforesaid Minister, spoke with Cornel Bord concerning this afarres of the Indians, and we found the Inhabitance that they had nither Gons, Powder nor Lead, to defend themselves, and that Cornel Bord had Latly spoke with his Honour. He had informed me that he would assist them with Gons and Ammunition, and he requested of me to write to your Honour, because he was just Seting of for Lanester, and the Inhabitance of the Town had not Chóse their officers at the time he set of, So we, the Inhabitance of the said Town hath Unanimus Chose George Wolf, the Bearer hereof to be the Captain, and Abraham Rinker to the Lieutennet; we hose names are under writen, promiss to obey to this mentioned Captain and Lieutennet, and so we hope his Honor will be so good and send us 50 Gons, 100 Pounds of Powder and 400 Pound Lead, and 150 Stans for the Gons. These from your humble Servant, Remaining under the Protection of our Lord Saviour, Jesus Christ.

JOSEPH ROTH, Minister.

The Names of the Company of this said Northampton Town.

George Wolf, Captain.	John Martin Dourr,
Abraham Rinker, Lieutennet.	Peter Roth,
Philip Koogler,	France Keffer,
Peter Miller,	Jacob Morr,
Frederick Schakler,	Martin Frolick,
Leonard Abell,	Georg Laur,

INDIAN ROUTE

SCALE
1 1/10 INCHES TO ONE MILE.

N

W

E

S

WHITE

HALL

PAULUS BALLIT

NICHOLAS TRAXEL

JACOB KOH

PETER STECKEL

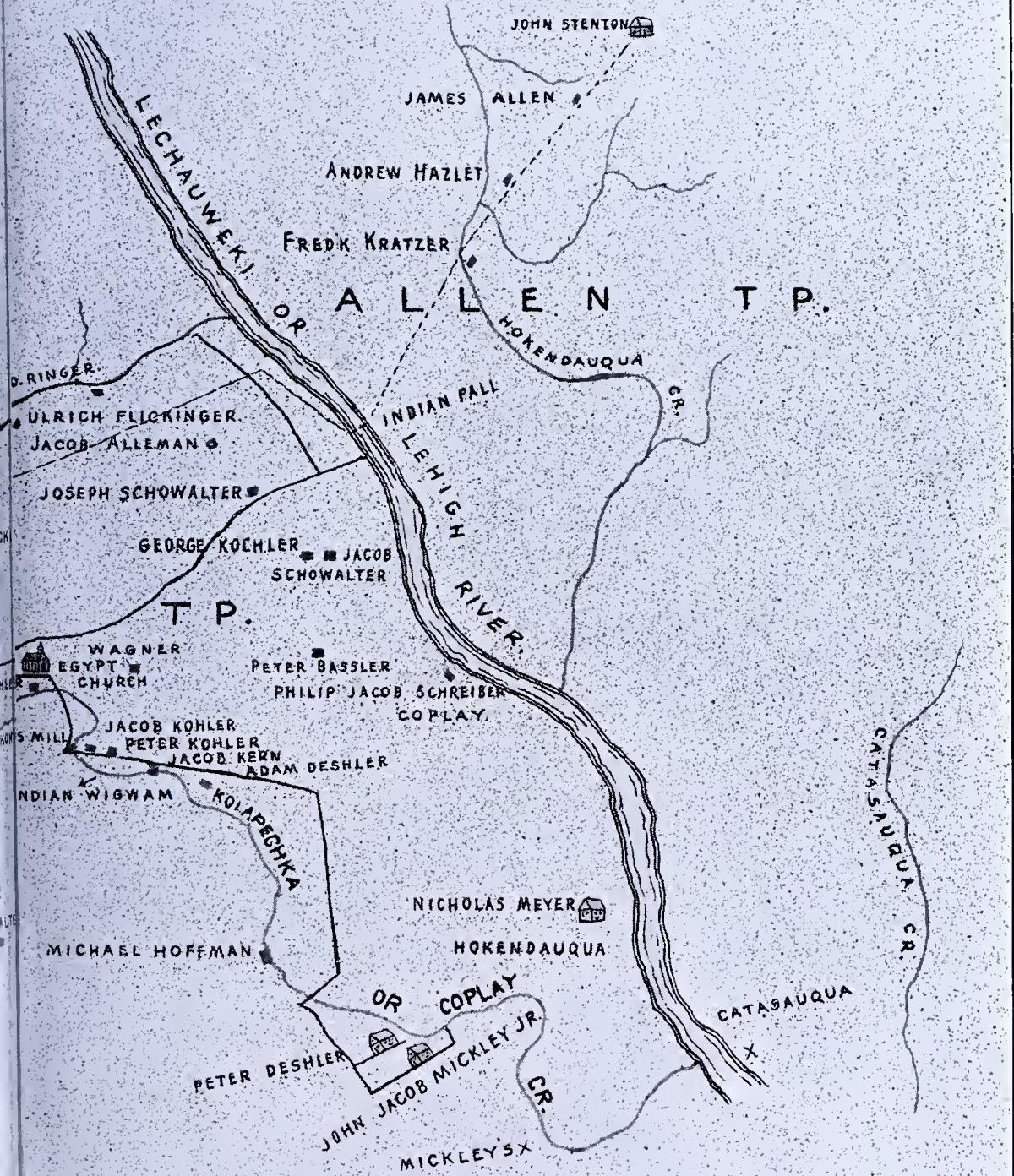
CHRISTIAN SAEGER

SAMUEL SAEGER

JOHN PETER BURKHARD

JOHN SCHAD

KOLAPECHKA,
THE INDIAN



S FOT OR BLOCK HOUSE.



DESHLER FORT OR BLOCKHOUSE, BUILT 1760.

Tobias Dittis,
Lorenz Stauck,
Simon Brenner,
Jacob Wolf,
Simon Lagundacker,
Georg Nicolaus,
David Deschler,

Daniel Nonnemaker,
Peter Shab,
Abraham Sawitz,
John Schreck,
Georg S. Schnepf,
Michael Readcot.

(Penn. Arch., iv., p. 124.)

Upon his arrival at Lancaster Col. James Burd also wrote the Governor, October 17th, saying:

"Sir:

I arrived here on Monday night from Northampton. I need not trouble your Honr with a Relation of the misfortune of that County, as Mr. Horsfield told me he would Send you an Express, and Inform you fully of what had happen'd; I will only mention that in the Town of Northampton (where I was at the time) there was only 4 guns, three of which unfit for use, & the Enemy within 4 miles of the place." (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 125.)

It is needless to say the authorities at Philadelphia were very much alarmed at this sudden incursion of the enemy. The Governor at once laid the matter before the Assembly and requested their aid in providing means of defence. This body promptly passed a bill appropriating twenty-four thousand pounds for the purpose of raising and supporting eight hundred men, with their officers, for the defence of the Province.

The danger, however, had passed as quickly as it came. The stray band of Indians who had come to wreak their own especial vengeance on certain persons, had, to a certain extent, accomplished their purpose and were already on their way back, committing further depredations as they went. The last we hear of them is in a letter of October 25th, written by Rev. John Elder to Gov. Hamilton, from Paxtang. He says:

"Sir:

In a Lett'r I writ to your Hon'r the 17th Ins't, I acquainted you that it was then impossible to Suspend the Wyoming

Expedition. The party is now returned, and I shall not trouble your Hon'r with any account of their proceedings, as Major Clayton informs that he transmitted to you, from Fort Augusta, a particular journal of their transactions from their leaving Hunter's till they returned to Augusta. The mangled Carcasses of these unhappy people presented to our Troops a melancholly Scene, which had been acted not above two days before their Arrival; and by the way the Savages came into the Town, it appears they were the same party that committed the Ravages in Northampton County, and as they set off from Wyoming, up the same Branch of the River towards Wihilusing, & from several other Circumstances, it's evident that till that Branch is cleared of the Enemy, the frontier Settlem'ts will be in no safety." (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 127.)

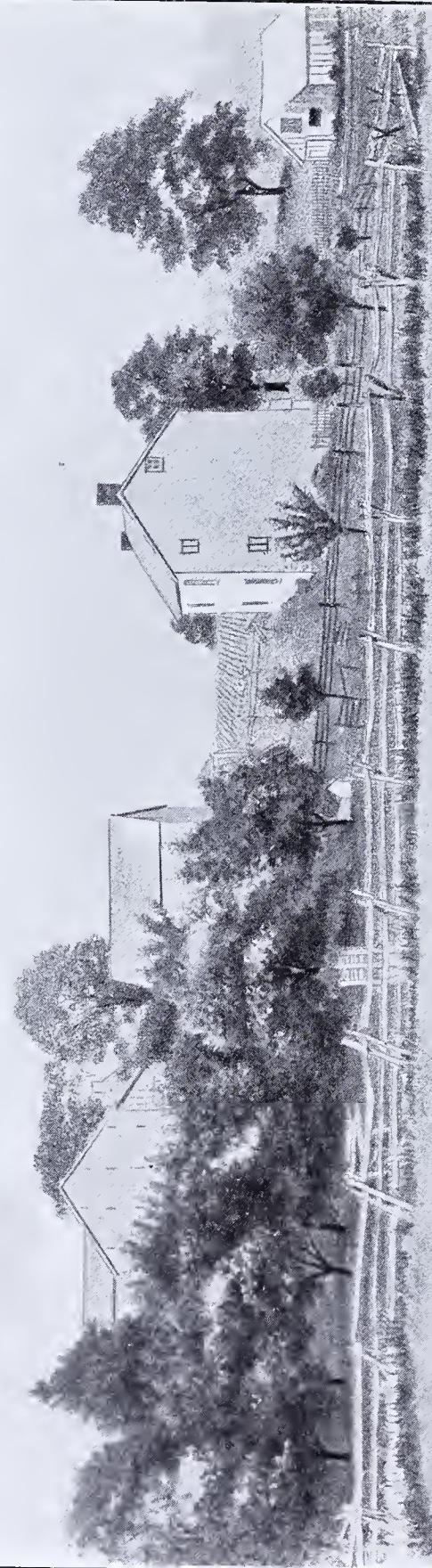
With the departure of this party came peace to Lehigh and Northampton Counties, and an exemption from Indian atrocities, at least, never more to be broken.

It only remains to be seen what became of our quondam friend, Jonathan Dodge. It is natural to suppose that his further stay in the service of his country would have been short and inglorious. On the contrary we find he was immediately promoted to Captain, probably to fill the vacancy caused by the death of poor Capt. Wetterholt. How long he retained his position we do not know. The following extract however, from a letter of October 31st, 1763, written by Jas. Young, from Weiser's Tavern, to Jos. Shippen, Jr., may be of interest to the reader:

"I left Cap'tn Dodge very ill in the small pox at Easton, if he makes a Vacancy I would Recomend Lieu Web who bears a good Character & is liked by the People." (Penn. Arch., iv, p. 129.)

I wonder how many of his fellow soldiers and fellow citizens hoped that Capt'n Dodge might then and there "make a vacancy."

RALSTON AND BROWN STOCKADE—“IRISH SETTLEMENT.”



THE RALSTON FORT, OR BROWN'S FORT OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.

Prominently identified with the Indian Outbreak of 1763 in Northampton County, just narrated, was the Ralston Fort, as it should be more properly denominated, or Brown's Fort, as it is frequently called. By this latter name it is given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, 1875.

In continuation of Mr. Mickley's Map, detailing the neighborhood, especially on the west bank of the Lehigh, and in connection with which it should be consulted, I give here-with a map of the County between the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers, showing principally the details of the "Irish Settlement." I have been fortunate in securing the temporary use of an old map from Rev. D. M. James which enables me to mark the location of many of the old settlers of the Settlement.

It will be seen that the Ralston Fort is practically in the centre of the Settlement.

It was with great difficulty I succeeded in learning the whereabouts of this defence. My first thought, when glancing at its location and name on the Historical Map, was that it was merely an incorrect position for the Brown's Fort near Manada Gap, which has been such an enigma to historians. Nevertheless, I fully realized that it was my duty to ascertain the actual facts of the case and not merely to surmise.

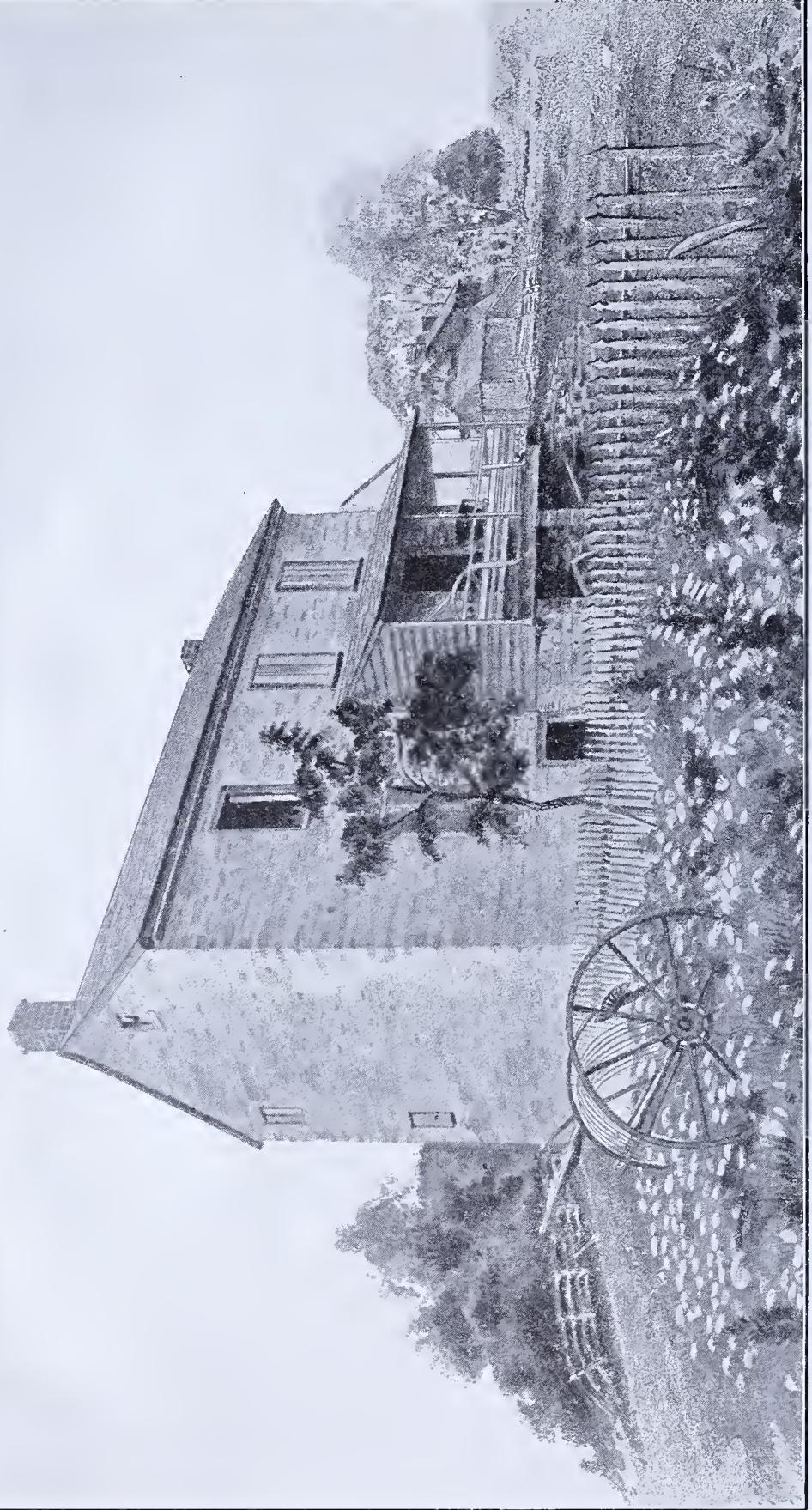
Accordingly, in the first place, I entered into correspondence with very many gentlemen living within a radius of from ten to fifteen miles of the supposed locality, most of whom were men thoroughly acquainted with the history of their vicinity, but without avail. I then determined to make a personal tour of investigation, and accordingly drove through the whole country near its supposed site, but met with no more success. In addition to all my efforts I could find no printed records of any description bearing on the subject. I had fully concluded that this fort was, beyond peradventure a myth, when, at the very last moment, I received a letter from Mr. A. H. Snyder, of Weaversville, who had been faithfully aiding me in the search, stating that he had finally suc-

ceeded in finding some one who could enlighten me, and referring me to Rev. D. M. James, D. D., of Bath, pastor of the Presbyterian Church near his place. Dr. James has most kindly placed his historical knowledge, which is probably not excelled by any one in the Irish Settlement, at my disposal, and enables me to lay most of the following facts relative to the Ralston Fort before the reader.

The first settlers in Northampton county, as now divided, were the Scotch-Irish or Ulster Scots. As early as 1728 John Boyd, who had married Jane Craig, went with Colonel Thomas Craig from Philadelphia and settled at a place on the Cata-sauqua creek, known later as Craig Settlement (see map.) They were followed by others of their countrymen, prominent amongst whom were Hugh Wilson, born in Ireland in 1869,* and one of the Commissioners appointed to select the site of Easton, and Samuel Brown. By 1731 a sufficient community had gathered together to form quite a settlement, which came to be known as the "Irish Settlement." Its members were never derelict in duty towards their country. General Robert Brown and General Thomas Craig, of the Continental Army, were both natives of the Settlement. Capt. Hays commanded a company in the service of the Province during the war with the Indians, and we will presently see how greatly it suffered from them at Fort Allen. He also commanded a company in the Revolutionary War which saw service in the battles of Long Island and Trenton. The homes of these men are shown on the map, as well as that of Governor Geo. Wolf, the Seventh Governor of Pennsylvania, who was born in August, 1777, and educated in the Academy, established by the Presbyterians of his neighborhood in 1791, also indicated on the map. The present town of Weaversville occupies, practically, the site of these early occurrences. Near it stands the Presbyterian Church of which Dr. James is now pastor, which supersedes two others previously erected, the first having been built in 1746. In its grave yard lie the remains of General Robert Brown as well as those of many of the early settlers. One of its pastors, the Rev. John Ros-brough, accompanied his parishioners, who enlisted in Capt. Hays company at the outbreak of the Revolution, as their

*Should be 1689. Ed.

RALSTON AND BROWN STOCKADE, IN THE "IRISH SETTLEMENT."



Chaplain. The morning after the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, where the company was engaged, Mr. Rosbrough was surprised by the British whilst in a farm house near the village of Pennington, and cruelly put to death. He lies buried in the grave yard of old "Trenton First Church."

Unfortunately most of the lands occupied by the Scotch-Irish were owned by James Allen, a son of Wm. Allen, the original proprietor, both of whom were loyalists. When, immediately subsequent to the Revolution, the estates of loyalist landowners throughout the Commonwealth were confiscated, many of the settlers, to avoid litigation, abandoned their farms and removed elsewhere. The Irish Settlement is now very generally occupied by Germans, but a few names of the original settlers remaining extant.

The Ralston Fort was located as indicated on the map. The Brown property adjoins the Ralston farm. Dr. James says the fort was on the land owned by these two men, hence it was called the Ralston Fort by some and Brown's Fort by others. The old map, however, of which mine is partly a copy, seems rather to show that it stood especially on the Ralston property. The farm is now owned by Samuel Achenbach. It was distant about two miles southwest from the present town of Bath, five miles west of north from Bethlehem, four miles east of Catasauqua. It stood between the Lehigh river and the Monocacy creek, two miles west of the latter. It was about one and a half miles east of the Allen Township Presbyterian Church graveyard, near Weaversville, of which recent mention has been made.

To further aid me Dr. James kindly entered into correspondence with Gen. R. S. Brown, a grandson of General Robert Brown, of the Revolution. I cannot do better than quote his reply in his own language. He says:

"On the Shaffer farm (now Achenbach farm) in the Settlement is or was the Block-House you speak of. The first stone house in the Settlement was on the Shaffer farm. I don't know whether it is still standing (it is—D. M. J.). About fifty yards south of the house on the farm which was my sister's, was the breastwork, and when my father bought that farm I was a boy and helped to haul away the stones behind

or at the breast work. There men awaited the enemy, the women and children were in that house, it was guarded by a detachment, and the house was pierced with loop holes to fire through. Such is the information I received from my father, transmitted to him by those who participated. I have no doubt of its correctness. I am glad to impart this information to you. After the lapse of a few years even this would have been gone. It is well to treasure up these facts, for in a generation or two all would have been lost."

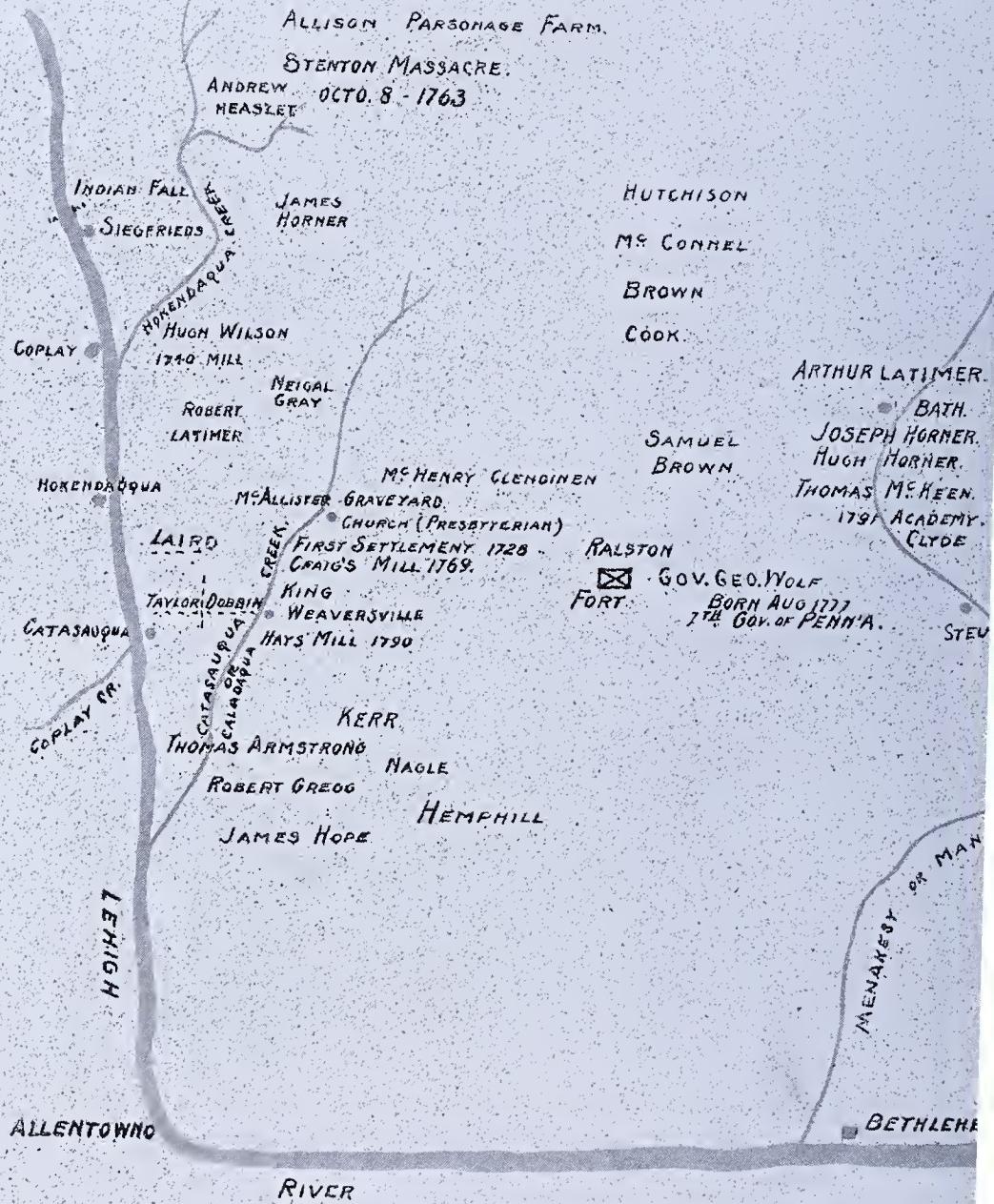
Dr. James adds that the fort seems to have been stone in foundation, 7 or 8 feet high, with logs on top of the walls extending like an overshoot barn all around, so that an Indian could not approach without being seen. Some of its logs are still incorporated in a neighboring building.

It was undoubtedly built by the settlers, but just when is not so certain. Dr. James says it was built in 1763, but with all due deference I cannot help but think he is mistaken. We will remember that the outbreak of hostilities in 1763 was very sudden and unexpected, beginning and ending almost literally in a day's time. Under these circumstances it can hardly be possible that such a substantial defence could have been erected. It is possible, of course, that it may have been built after the danger was over with a view of preparing for future attacks, but this does not seem to be so likely. I think it is more probable that it came into existence during the earlier troubles of the Fall of 1755, when the Settlement lost so many of its people, and when the savage was almost knocking at its doors.

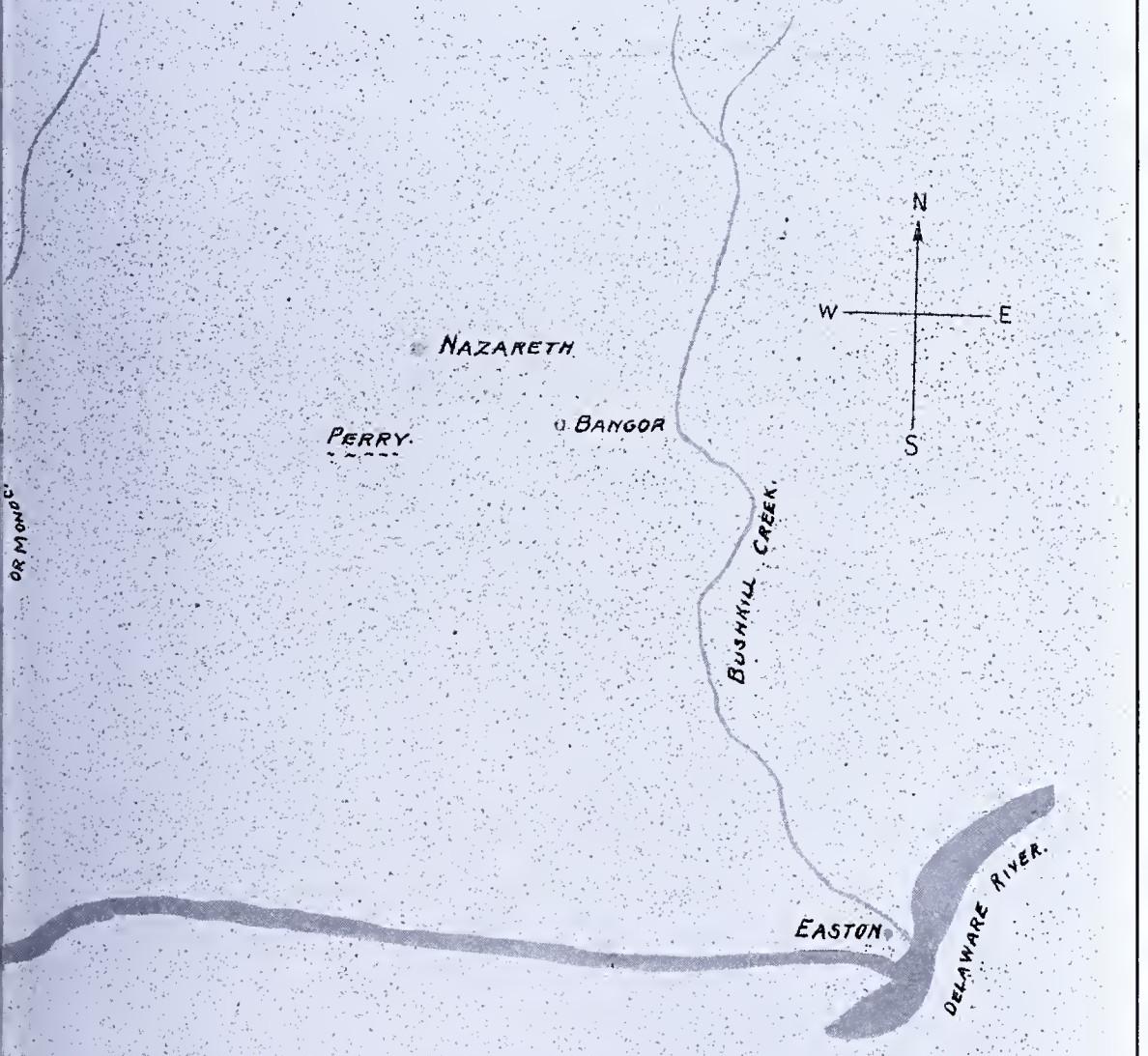
However that may be, it appears to have played an active part in the sad drama of 1763, very much similar to that of Deshler's Fort. At daybreak on Saturday morning, October 8th, of that year, as the savages were stealthily approaching John Stenton's house to massacre its inmates, they met Jane, the wife of James Horner, living near by, who was on her way to a neighbor's for some coals with which to light her morning fire.

Fearing she would betray them or raise an alarm they dispatched her with their tomahawks, and then proceeded with their bloody work as already narrated. We can readily imag-





N
RALSTON'S (OR BROWN'S) FORT
WITH LOCATION OF SETTLERS (MARKED) IN
THE IRISH SETTLEMENT, IN THE OLDEN TIME
ALSO SITUATION OF MODERN TOWNS &c.



RT OR BLOCK HOUSE.

ine the women and children fleeing to their house of refuge, when the alarm was given, and the men occupying their stations in the fort. The location of the fort so centrally in the Settlement and at some little distance from the scene of the Stenton massacre, would seem, in itself, to bear out my conjecture as to the time of its erection.

Mrs. Horner's body lies at rest in the graveyard of the Allen Township Presbyterian church, with that of General Brown. The inscription on her tomb is as follows:

"In memory of Jane, wife of James Horner, who suffered death by the hands of the Savage Indians October Eighth, Seventeen Hundred and Sixty-three, aged fifty years."

It is to be regretted that we have no further record of the Ralston Fort, and yet, upon consideration, we can readily understand why such is the case. With this one exception, the settlement was fortunately spared the inroads of the foe, and happily the history of the fort became one of passive protection rather than of active resistance. It did its duty none the less, and, none the less, deserves to live in the memory of mankind.

I am glad to be able to give two photographic views of the original stone house which stood near the fort, and which was used by the women and children as a place of refuge. One view is south, the other west and north.

In my search for this fort I had almost reached the point of despair when I learned of an old building at Kreidersville called "Fort Hannes" or "The Old Fort." I immediately drove there.

Its position corresponded so exactly with that given of Brown's Fort that, at first, I could not help feeling I had discovered what I was seeking. Upon ascertaining its history, however, I found how mistaken I had been. Even at the risk of causing a smile I feel that the story of "The Old Fort" should be here told, to prevent any future liability to error, which, I saw, was already beginning to creep in, with the lapse of years. Those in the neighborhood, of whom I enquired concerning this building, all knew of it. They were unanimous in saying that it was very old, that it most likely was built prior to the Indian War, and, whilst they knew

nothing of its history, they thought it had probably been used as a fort at that time. It stood on the road to Siegfrieds, one-half mile west of Lerch's bridge across the Hockendauqua, at Kreidersville. They referred me, however, to Mr. Samuel Lerch, at the bridge, for more complete information. I found Mr. Lerch to be an intelligent gentleman, about 70 years old, who was more than usually well read on matters pertaining to the Indian Wars. I immediately made known my errand to him. Yes! he was well acquainted with the story and location of "Fort Hannes," and then a smile came over his face as he added that he was certain it never played any part in the local history of the Indian troubles. He went on to explain that a couple named "Hannes" or "Hanus" lived in it when he was a boy, who did not bear very good characters and who frequently had rather rough gatherings in the house. On this account the boys, of whom he was one, nicknamed it "The Old Fort." The "boys" have grown up and died off, but the name still remains, although the reason for giving it and the time when given, have been forgotten. In fact my extensive inquiry throughout the locality may have originated a belief that "The Old Fort" was indeed an old "Indian Fort." Had it not been for Mr. Lerch, I would have been deceived myself, and, as I have previously said, I deem it worthy to here insert my experience, as a safeguard for the future.

FORT ALLEN.*

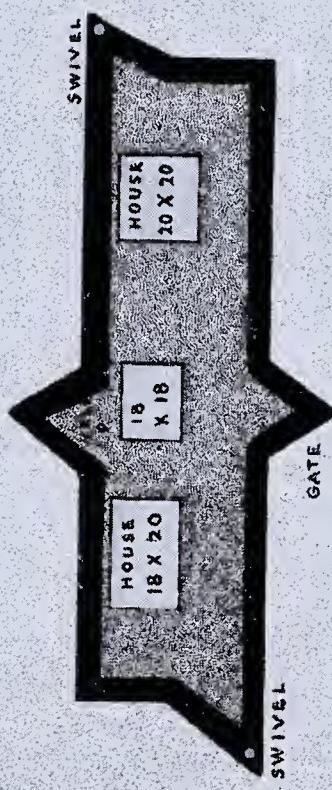
We turn now again, to the regular forts established by the Provincial Government. The next in order, and the most important of all those along the Blue range, was Fort Allen, located where the town of Weissport now stands, on the Lehigh river some ten miles above Lehigh Gap.

The Moravian church, if not great in numbers, has ever been great in its missionary work. Its early history and that of the State of Pennsylvania are closely woven together. Especially is this the case with Northampton and Carbon coun-

*See Appendix 8 for description of Wilson Mill and Block house.



PLAN OF FORT ALLEN.—1756.



ties. The first settlement in the latter county was made by Moravian missionaries in the year 1746. From Loskiel's history we glean the following interesting facts:

The converted Mohican Indians having been driven out of Shekomeko, in New York, near the borders of Connecticut, and from Pachgatgoch in the latter state, found an asylum for a short time at Friedenshutten, near Bethlehem. Deeming it inconvenient to maintain a large Indian congregation so near Bethlehem, the missionaries purchased one hundred and twenty acres, in 1745, on the north side of the Mahoning creek, about half a mile above its junction with the Lehigh river, near the site of the present town of Lehighton. Here a town was laid out, and called Gnadenhutten, meaning "Tents of Grace," or more literally "Mercy Huts." The congregation numbered some five hundred, each Indian family being allotted a portion of the land and each having its own house. A log church was built in the valley, and the houses half surrounded it on one side, extending over the higher ground in the form of a crescent; in the other side stood the house of the missionary, and the burying ground. All went well until the year 1754, when, already, that dissatisfaction and spirit of enmity was brewing amongst the Indians which finally culminated in the outbreak of 1755. Efforts were made by the Shawanees and Delawares, under the direction of their wily chief, Teedyuscung, to alienate the Christian Mohicans at Gnadenhutten, which finally resulted in a part of the Indians deserting the mission and going to the Wyoming Valley. The road to Wyoming and other Indian towns lay through the settlement. This was the famous path over Nescopee mountain, still known as the "Warrior's path." The Indians who remained were joined by the Christian Delawares from Meniogomekah.

During this same year, 1754, the land on the Mahoning being impoverished, the mission was removed to the opposite side of the river, where Weissport now stands. A new chapel was erected in June, and the buildings, which had also been transferred, were put up to form a street, on one side of which lived the Mohicans, and, on the other, the Delawares.

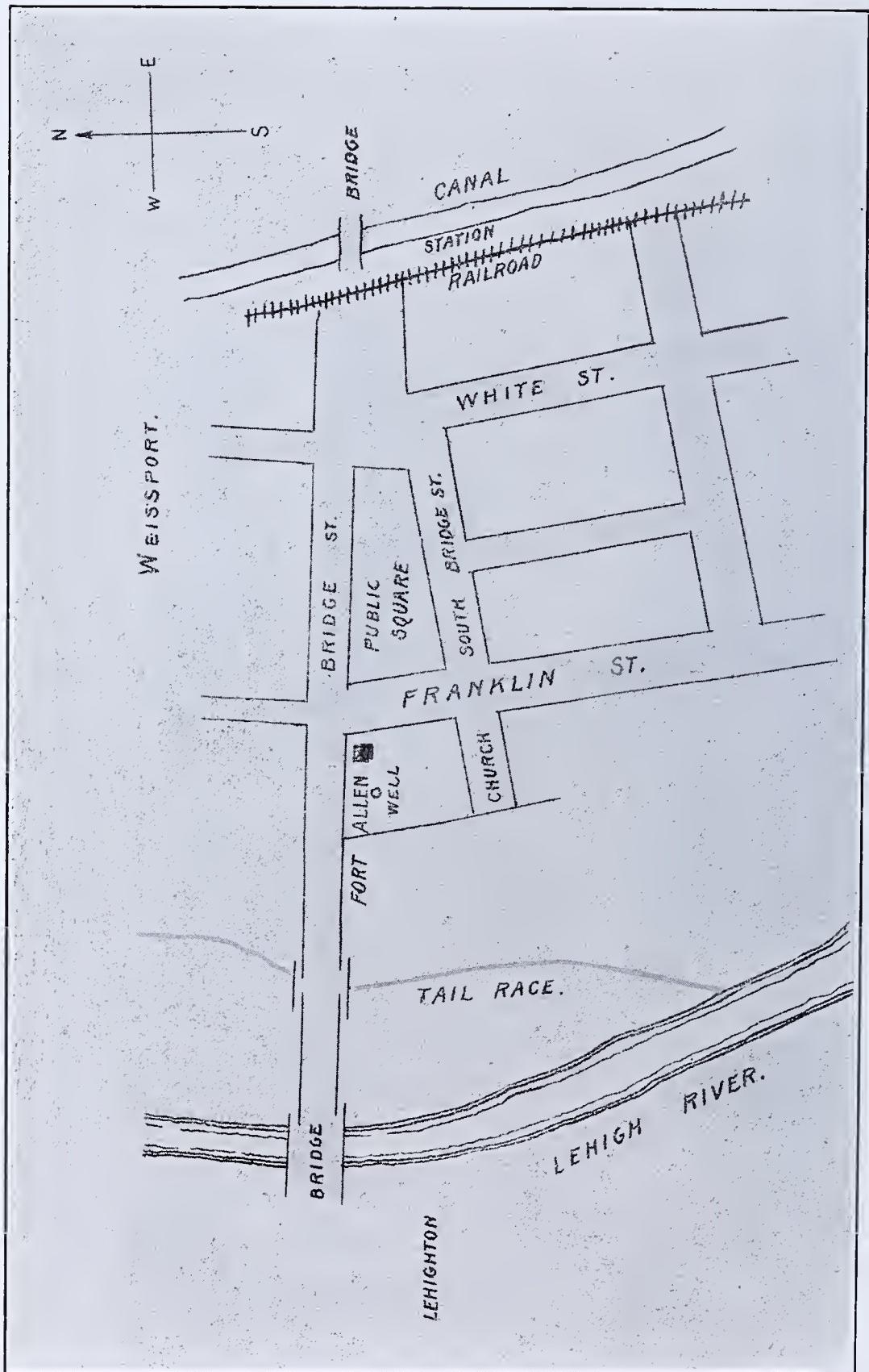
The hostile Indians, who had been enlisted in the French service, were so exasperated at the thought that the others should remain true to their friends, they determined to cut off the settlement. The defeat of Braddock, in 1755, gave them the desired opportunity. Soon the whole frontier was bathed in blood, and the neighbors of the Brethren at Gnaden-hutten forsook their dwellings in terror and fled, but the Brethren made a covenant together to remain undaunted in the place allotted them by Providence.

God, however, had ordained otherwise than they had hoped. Late in the evening of November 24th, the mission house on the Mahoning creek was suddenly attacked by the French Indians, burnt, and eleven of the inhabitants murdered.

The family, being at supper, heard an uncommon barking of dogs, upon which brother Senseman sent out at the back door to see what was the matter. On the report of a gun, several ran together to open the house-door. Here the Indians stood with their pieces pointed towards the door, and, firing immediately upon its being opened, Martin Nitschman was instantly killed. His wife and some others were wounded, but fled with the rest upstairs into the garret, and barricaded the door with bedsteads. Brother Partsch escaped by jumping out of a back window. Brother Worbas, who was ill in bed in a house adjoining, jumped likewise out of a back window and escaped, though the enemies had placed a guard before his door. Meanwhile the savages pursued those who had taken refuge in the garret, and strove hard to burst the door open; but, finding it too well secured, they set fire to the house, which was soon in flames. A boy, called Sturgeous, standing upon the flaming roof, ventured to leap off, and escaped; though at first, upon opening the back door, a ball had grazed his cheek, and one side of his head was much burnt. Sister Partsch, seeing this, took courage and leaped likewise from the burning roof. She came down unhurt, and unobserved from the enemies; and thus the fervent prayer of her husband was fulfilled, who, in jumping out of the back window, cried aloud to God to save his wife. Brother Fabricius then leaped also off the roof, but before he could escape



PRESENT SITE OF FORT ALLEN.



was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. He was the only one whom they seized upon alive, and, having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp, and left him dead upon the ground. The rest were all burnt alive, and brother Senseman, who first went out at the back door, had the inexpressible grief to see his wife consumed by the flames. Sister Partsch could not run far for fear and trembling, but hid herself behind a tree, upon a hill near the house. From thence she saw sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, standing with folded hands, and heard her call out, "Tis all well, dear Saviour—I expected nothing else." The house being consumed, the murderers set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay and cattle were destroyed. Then they divided the spoil, soaked some bread in milk, made a hearty meal, and departed—sister Partsch looking on unperceived.

This melancholy event proved the deliverance of the Indian congregation at New Gnadenhutten; for, upon hearing the report of the guns, seeing the flames, and soon learning the dreadful cause from those who had escaped, the Indian brethren immediately went to the missionary, and offered to attack the enemy without delay. But, being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and New Gnadenhutten was cleared in a few minutes; some who already were in bed having scarce time to dress themselves. Brother Zeisberger, who had just arrived in New Gnadenhutten from Bethlehem, hastened back to give notice of this event to a body of English militia, which had marched within five miles of the spot; but they did not venture to pursue the enemy in the dark.

The fugitive congregation arrived safely at Bethlehem. After the Indians had retired the remains of those killed on the Mahoning were carefully collected from the ashes and ruins, and solemnly interred. A broad marble slab, in the grave yard south of Lehighton, placed there in 1788, and a small white obelisk on a sandstone base, erected at a more recent date, tell in brief the story of Gnadenhutten and preserve the names of those who fell as victims to savage hate.

We have just noticed the timely arrival of brother David

Zeisberger at New Gnadenhutten. He hastened back to Bethlehem and notified Timothy Horsfield of the massacre, who, in turn, at once reported the fact to the Governor, giving him a detailed account of the terrible affair. At 8.00 A. M., November 24th, Col. Anderson, and his company left Bethlehem for Gnadenhutten, accompanied by a number of the settlers. On the 26th, Capt. Wilson and his company, from Bucks county, started for the mountains. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 521).

To this the Governor replies, November 29th, approving of the steps that had been taken, expressing great sorrow for the atrocities which had been perpetrated, and promising pecuniary relief to the Moravian brethren for their heavy losses. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 513).

By the middle of December the whole country was in a state of alarm; the people were fleeing from their homes; the Governor reported to the Council that, in addition to what has been narrated, the Indians had already burnt fifty houses in Northampton county, murdered above one hundred persons, and were still continuing their ravages. (Col. Rec., vi, p. 767).

A thorough and systematic plan of defence was a matter of immediate necessity. Benjamin Franklin and James Hamilton were selected to execute such a plan and, on December 18th, arranged to start for Easton. On December 29th, after their arrival at said place, they appointed William Parsons to be Major of the troops raised in Northampton county.

In the meantime Capt. Hays, with his company from the Irish Settlement, in Northampton county, had been ordered up to New Gnadenhutten. The troops were stationed at the forsaken village to guard the Brethren's mills, which were filled with grain, and to keep the property of the Christian Indians from being destroyed. They were also expected to protect the few settlers who remained.

A temporary stockade was erected, and all would have gone well had the soldiers been better versed in Indian tactics. From lack of this experience disaster followed, and on January 1st, 1756, a number of the men fell victims to an In-

dian stratagem. Whilst amusing themselves skating on the ice of the river, near the stockade, they caught sight of two Indians farther up the frozen stream. Thinking that it would be an easy matter to capture or kill them the soldiers gave chase, and rapidly gained upon the Indians, who proved to be decoys skillfully manoeuvring to draw them into an ambush. After they had gone some distance a party of Indians rushed out behind them, cut off their retreat, and, falling upon them with great fury, as well as with the advantage of surprise and superior numbers quickly dispatched them. Some of the soldiers, remaining in the stockade, filled with horror by this murder of their comrades, deserted, and the few remaining, thinking themselves incapable of defending the place, withdrew. The savages then seized upon such property as they could use and fired the stockade, the Indian houses and the mills.

Every one was filled with alarm and the whole country became a scene of confusion. It is not to be wondered at if in the midst of their excitement and terror, the people made many unreasonable demands of the Government. To such an extent does this seem to have been done that Governor Morris became somewhat discouraged. On January 5, 1756, he writes from Reading to the Council at Philad'a, saying:

"The Commissioners have done everything that was proper in the County of Northampton, but the People are not satisfied, nor, by what I can learn from the Commissioner, would they be unless every Man's House was protected by a Fort and a Company of Soldiers, and themselves paid for staying at home and doing nothing. There are in that County at this Time three hundred Men in Pay of the Government, and yet from Disposition of the Inhabitants, the want of Conduct in the Officers and of Courage and Discipline in the Men, I am fearful that the whole County will fall into the Enemy's Hands.

Yesterday and the Day before I received the melancholy News of the Destruction of the Town of Gnadenhutten, and of the greatest part of the Guard of forty Men placed there in order to erect a Fort. The particulars you will see by the

inclosed Papers, so far as they are yet come to hand, but I am in hourly Expectation of further Intelligence by two Men that I dispatched for that Purpose upon the first News of the Affair, whose long stay makes me apprehend some mischief has befallen them.

Last night an Express brought me an acco't that seven Farm Houses between Gnadenhutten and Nazareth were on the First Instant burnt, about the same time that Gnadenhutten was, and some of the People destroyed, and the accounts are this date confirmed.

Upon this fresh alarm it is proposed that one of the Commissioners return to Bethlehem and Easton, and there give fresh Directions to the Troops and post them in the best Manner for the Protection of the remaining Inhabitants." (Col. Rec., vi, p. 771).

Here then we have the inception of Fort Allen. It seems that, in the middle of December, the erection of a fort at New Gnadenhutten had been determined upon, partly because of the valuable property remaining there after the Moravians had deserted it, and partly because of its commanding and central location. Messr's Franklin and Hamilton, the Commissioners, had ordered Capt. Hays to that point during the latter part of the month, not alone to guard the material which was there, but, in addition to build the fort. We have just read of his unfortunate failure, and have also seen the Governor's suggestion to send one of the Commissioners to the scene of hostilities, to take in hand and give proper direction to efforts for protection then making. Benjamin Franklin was the Commissioner selected for that duty, and, at once, entered upon it. He immediately started for Bethlehem, from which place he writes, January 14th, to the Governor, as follows:

Sir:

"As we drew near this Place we met a Number of Waggons, and many People moving off with their effects and families from the Irish Settlement and Lehi Township, being terrified by the defeat of Hay's Company, and the Burnings and Murders committed in the Township on New Year's Day. We found

this Place fill'd with Refugees, the workmen's Shops and even Cellars being crowded with Women & Children; and we learnt that Lehi Township is almost entirely abandoned by the Inhabitants. Soon after my arrival here, the principal People of the Irish Settlement, as Wilson, elder Craig, &c. came to me and demanded an Addition of 30 men to Craig's Company, or threat'ned they would immediately one and all leave that Country to the Enemy. Hay's Company was reduc'd to 18 Men (and those without Shoes, Stockings, Blankets or Arms) partly by the loss at Gnadenhutten, and partly by Desertion. Trump and Aston had made but slow Progress in building the First Fort, complaining for want of Tools, which it was thought the People in those Parts might have Supply'd them with. Wayne's Company we found posted at Nazareth agreeable to your Honour's Orders. I immediately directed Hays to compleat his Company, and he went down to Bucks County with M'r Beatty, who promised to assist him in Recruiting. His Lieutenant lies here lame with frozen Feet, and unfit for Action; But the Ensign, with the 18 men, is posted among the present Frontier Inhabitants to give some Satisfaction to the Settlement People, as I refus'd to increase Craig's Company. In my turn, I have threatened to disband or remove the Companies already posted for the Security of particular Townships, if the People would not stay on their Places, behave like Men, do something for themselves, and assist the Province Soldiers. The Day after my Arrival here, I sent off 2 Waggons loaded with Bread, and some Axes, for Trump & Aston, to Nazareth, escorted by Lieut. Davis, and the 20 men of McLaughlin's that came with me; I ordered him to remain at Nazareth to guard that place while Capt. Wayne, whose Men were fresh, proceeded with the Convoy. To secure Lyn and Heidelberg Township, whose Inhabitants were just on the Wing, I took Trexler's Company into Pay, (he had been before commission'd by M'r Hamilton), and I Commission'd Wetterholt (Nicholas) who Commanded a Watch of 44 Men before in the Pay of the Province, ordering him to Compleat his Company. I have also allowed thirty men to secure the township of Upper Smithfield

and commission'd Van Etten and Hindshaw as Captain and Lieutenant. And in order to execute more speedily the first Design of erecting a Fort near Gnadenhutten to compleat the Line and get the Rangers in Motion, I have rais'd another Company under Cap't Charles Foulk, to join with Wayne in that Service; and as Hays I hear is not likely soon to recruit his Company, I have ordered Orndt to come up from Rockland in Bucks County to Strengthen this Part of the Province, convoy Provisions, &c. to the company, who are and will be at work over the Mountains, and quiet the Inhabitants who seem terrified out of their Senses." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 549).

In addition to the official report made by Franklin, showing how he was gradually bringing order out of chaos, we have also his private account in his autobiography of what took place at Bethlehem and how, in person, he went to Gnadenhutten and superintended the erection of Fort Allen. In his usual modest way he says:

"While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the Governor prevailed with me to take charge of our northwestern frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops, and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aid-de-camp and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhutten, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts. In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence; the destruction of Gnadenhutten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammu-

nition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force their way into them. The armed brethren too kept watch, and relieved each other on guard methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned my surprise; for knowing they had obtained an act of parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me, "That it was not one of their established principles; but at the time of their obtaining that act it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but few." It seems they were either deceived in themselves, or deceived the parliament; but common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January, 1756, when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my forces to Gnadenhutten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, &c. Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of fire arms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day. There were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and the men could not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are

dextrous in their contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned, and killed ten of them; the one that escaped informed us that his and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain. The next day being fair, we continued our march, and arrived at the desolate Gnadenhutten; there was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon huttied ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people; the next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another of a foot diameter each. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop holes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort (if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade) was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not well work.

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians who had no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country.

Franklin's official report of January 26th, and personal letter to Gov. Morris of January 25th, which give more minute details of the fort, were as follows:

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten, Jan. 25, 1756.

Dear Sir:

We got to Hays the same evening we left you, and reviewed Craig's Company by the way. Much of the next morn-

ing was spent in exchanging the bad arms for good—Wayne's Company having joined us. We reached, however, that night to Uplinger's [at Fort Lehigh, as we have seen], where we got into good Quarters.

Saturday morning we began to March towards Gnadenhütten, and proceeded near two miles; but it seeming to set in for a rainy day, the Men unprovided with great Coats, and many unable to secure effectually their arms from the wet, we thought it most advisable to face about and return to our former Quarters, where the men might dry themselves and lie warm; whereas, had they proceeded they would have come in wet to Gnadenhütten where Shelter and Opportunity of drying themselves that night was uncertain. In fact it rain'd all day and we were all pleased that we had not proceeded. The next Day, being Sunday, we march'd hither, where we arrived about 2 in the afternoon, and before 5 had inclosed our Camp with a Strong Breast work, Musket Proof, and with the Boards brought here before by my Order from Drucker's Mill [Wm. Kern's Mill at Slatington, as we have seen], got ourselves under some shelter from the Weather. Monday was so dark with thick Fog all day, that we could'd neither look out for a Place to build or see where Materials were to be had. Tuesday morning we looked round us, Pitched on a Place, mark'd out our Fort on the Ground, and by 10 o'clock began to cut Timber for Stockades and to dig the Ground. By 3 in the afternoon the Logs were all cut and many of them halled to the Spot, the Ditch dug to Set them in 3 Feet deep, and that Evening many were pointed and set up. The next Day we were hinder'd by Rain most of the Day. Thursday we resum'd our Work and before night were pretty well enclosed, and on Friday morning the Stockade was finished and part of the Platform within erected, which was compleated the next morning, when we dismissed Foulk's and Wetterholt's Companies, and sent Hay's down for a Convoy of Provisions. This Day we hoisted your Flag, made a general Discharge of our Pieces, which had been long loaded, and of our two Swivels, and Nam'd the Place Fort Allen, in Honor of our old Friend [Judge William Allen, father of James Allen who laid out Allentown in 1762, and also Chief Justice of the Prov-

ince]. It is 125 Feet long, 50 wide, the Stocadoes most of them a Foot thick; they are 3 Foot in the Ground and 12 Feet out, pointed at the Top, the Figure nearly as opposite.

This is an Account of our Week's work, which I thought might give you some Satisfaction.

Foulk is gone to build another [Fort Franklin], between this and Schuylkill Fort [Fort Lebanon], which I hope will be finished (as Trexler is to Join him) in a Week or 10 Days: As soon as Hays returns I shall detach another Party to erect another at Surfas' [Fort Norris] which I hope may be finished in the same Time, and then I purpose to end my Campaign, God willing, and do myself the Pleasure of seeing you in return. I can now add no more than that I am, with great Esteem and affection, D'r Friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Esquire.

(Col. Rec., vii, p. 15).

His official report was as follows:

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten,

Jan'y 26, 1756.

Sir:

We left Bethlehem, the 10th Instant, with Foulk's Company, 46 men, the Detachment of McLaughlin's, 20; and 7 Waggons, laden with Stores and Provisions. We got that night to Hay's Quarters, where Wayne's Company joined us from Nazareth.

The next Day we marched cautiously thro' the Gap of the Mountain, a very dangerous Pass, and got to Uplinger's, but twenty-one Miles from Bethlehem, the Roads being bad and the Waggons moving slowly.

[Here comes an account of the week's work, as previously given].

This present Monday we are erecting a third House in the Fort to accommodate the Garrison.

As soon as Cap't Hays returns with the Convoy of Stores and Provisions, which I hope may be tomorrow, I propose to send Orndt and Hays to Join Cap't Trump in erecting the middle Fort there, purposing to remain here between them and

Foulk; ready to assist and supply both as occasion may require, and hope in a week or ten Days, weather favouring, those two Forts may be finished and the Line of Forts compleated and garrisoned, the rangers in Motion, and the internal Guards and Watches disbanded, as well as some other Companies, unless they are permitted and encouraged to go after the Enemy to Susquehannah.

At present the Expense in this County is prodigious. We have on Foot, and in Pay, the Following Companies:

Trump,	50 men.	
Aston,	50	
Wayne,	55	
Foulk,	46	
Trexler,	48	without the Forks.
Wetterholt,	44	
Orndt,	50	
Craig,	30	
Martin,	30	in the Irish Settlement.
Van Etten,	30	
Hays,	45	Minisinks.
Detachment of Mc-		
Laughlin,	20	
Parsons,	24	at Easton.

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This, Sir, is a particular Account of our Transactions and the present State of affairs in this County. I am glad to learn by your Favour of the 21st Just received, that you have Thoughts of coming to Bethlehem, as I may hope for an Opportunity of waiting upon your Honour there after our Works are finished, and communicating everything more fully. I now only add that I am, with dutiful Respect.

Sir, Your Honour's most obedient humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

To Gov'r Morris.

(Col. Rec., vii, p. 16).

A word more with regard to Franklin, and his connection with Fort Allen. In his autobiography he adds to what has already been given:

"I had hardly finished this business and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the Governor, acquainting me that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly, pressing me by their letter to be if possible at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly as a New England Officer, Col. Clapham, experienced in Indian War, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the Command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them, and introduced him to them as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and, giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnaden-Huetten, with only a blanket or two."

Thus he returned to Bethlehem after an absence of but nineteen days. His military experience was limited, it is true, but he showed in it the same good judgment and common sense which made him the great man he afterwards became in civil life.

The very complete description which has been given of Fort Allen, by those who took part in the tragic drama enacting at that time, fixes so definitely the time of its construction, and narrates so minutely its size, shape and appearance, as to make even comment unnecessary. It only remains to connect its past with our present by pointing out the position where it stood as compared with modern locations and buildings. I can do this no better than by means of the map herewith given.

The site of Fort Allen, in Weissport, Carbon County, is now occupied by the "Fort Allen Hotel," which stands on the S. W. corner of Bridge street and Franklin street, about 150

yards east of the bridge across the Lehigh river to Lehighton. The old well is still in existence, although unused, and may be seen in the yard back of the hotel.

Col. Clapham, who relieved Mr. Franklin at Fort Allen, in the supervision of matters in general, was only appointed temporarily to that duty. The entire country from the Susquehanna to the Delaware was under the command of Col. Weiser, and under the care of his First Battalion of the Penn'a Regiment. Col. Clapham was given command of what was called the "Augusta Regiment" with instructions to erect sundry forts along the Susquehanna, more especially Fort Augusta at Shamokin (Sunbury). The last of Col. Clapham's men left April 19th. Fort Allen then seems to have been left in care of Captain Foulk. Major Parsons, in writing to the Governor from Easton on June 15th, 1756, says, "I purpose to let Capt. Foulk's Lieu't and Men remain in Fort Allen till Capt. Reynolds comes to relieve them." (Col. Rec., vii, p. 164).

It was at this time that Commissary James Young, on his tour of inspection, reached Fort Allen. His diary reads as follows:

Fort Allen.—At 8 A. M. June 22d We sett out for Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten (from Fort Franklin); it is ab't 15 miles from Alleminga; the first 7 miles of this Road is very hilly, Barran, and Swampy, no Plantations; the other part of the Road is, for the most part, thro' a Rich Valley, Chiefly Meadow Ground. Several Settlements, but all the houses Burnt and deserted; at Noon we came to the Fort; for the last half hour before we came here, had a very severe Gust of Thunder, Lightning, and Prodigious heavy Rain.

This Fort stands on the River Leahy, in the Pass, thro' Very high hills & in my Opinion, in a very important Place, and may be of great Service, if the officer does his Duty. It is very well Stoccaded with four Good Bastions, on one is a Sweivle Gun; the Woods are Clear all around it for a Considerable way, and is very Defencable; within is three good Barracks and a Guard Room; I found here 15 men without any officer or Commander; they told me that Lieu't Jacob Meis and two men from the Fort was gone this morning (22'd June), with two

Gentlemen from Bethlehem, and four Indians, 15 miles up the Country to bring down some friendly Indians, and that the Serjant with 3 men were gone to Cap'tn Foulks, late Commander here, to receive the Pay that was due to them, and one was gone to Bethlehem with the Serjant's Watch to Mend, which was the Reason I could not muster those Present, nor have any acc't of the Provisions, but saw a large Quantity of Beef very ill Cured. I was inform'd that a Cap'tn with a New Comp'y was Expected there in a Day or two to take Post at this Fort. Being very uncertain when the Lieu'tn would return, or the New Comp'y Come, I resolved to Proceed to Leahy Gapp, where a Detachment of a Comp'y is Posted.—27 Muskets, 50 Cartooch Boxes, 10 lb Powder, 60 lb Lead, and 20 Rounds filled for 25 Men, 19 Axes, 4 broad Do., 26 Hatchets, 43 Tomhauks, 3 Iron Wages, 1 Sweivle Gun." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 678).

It will be noticed that Lieu't Mies had gone up the country to bring down, in safety, a party of friendly Indians. In explanation of this it should be said that, owing to the great pressure brought upon him, Gov'r Morris, on April 14th, 1756, was obliged to issue a proclamation offering bounties for Indian scalps. (Col. Rec., vii, p. 88). As a consequence various parties were formed to hunt up Indian scalps. Amongst them was one numbering about one hundred men, from the Jerseys, which started out in the early part of June. Unfortunately at the same time Gov'r Morris had declared a cessation from hostilities for thirty days, to see if he could not make a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians, and desired to send some friendly Indians, as messengers, to Diahoga, at the mouth of the Cayhuga branch of that river, near the present Owego, Tioga county, New York State, to arrange a time and place for holding a conference looking towards this end. These could not be sent if the scalping party was out. An express was immediately dispatched to Gov. Belcher; also one to Col. John Anderson, to see if it could not be recalled. In the meantime the friendly Indians, intended as messengers to the hostiles, were obliged to remain at Bethlehem. At this time, on June 21st, two Delaware Indians, whose names were Nico-

demus, and Christian, his son, former residents of Gnadenhutten, reached Bethlehem from Diahoga, and informed the authorities that they had left Diahoga with a company of others, friendly to the English, men, women and children, to the number of fifteen. These now lay a day's journey from Fort Allen, awaiting safe escort. It was to bring in these friendly Indians that Lieut. Mies had gone away from the fort.

Further efforts finally effected a meeting between the Governor and Teedyuscung, the Delaware Chief, at Easton, about the middle of July, which resulted in an agreement to bring about a treaty of peace, with the understanding that all English prisoners held by the Indians should first be released, to which the latter seemed to agree quite readily. Having been given presents, the Chief departed to arrange for the carrying out of his part of the program. All his movements, however, were so dilatory as to cause grave suspicion with regard to the sincerity of his purpose. He loitered along the frontiers, went away and came back again, until finally, in the early part of August, we find him at Fort Allen, where the Lieutenant in command kept plying him with rum, until he was in no condition to move away, much to the detriment of the Province, and to the disgrace of said officer. This brings us to another chapter in the history of the fort.

In the latter part of June, as we have already seen, Capt. Foulk's command at Fort Allen was relieved by Capt. Reynolds Company. This latter gentleman seems to have been rather young and inexperienced to manage the rough spirits about him. Amongst these was his Lieutenant, whose name was Miller, a man apparently of no principles, with no desire nor power to preserve discipline, and ever ready to increase his own worldly possessions at the expense of others, rather preferring to do so by foul means than by fair. The first exploit of this person, at Fort Allen, was in connection with Teedyuscung, who was a typical Indian chief, brave, shrewd and dignified under ordinary circumstances, but cursed with the only civilization which the white man seems to have been able to generally implant in the Indian nature, the love of strong

drink. As we know, it was most important that the Delaware chief should speedily get back to his people, which was the only hope existing of a return to peace and a cessation of the barbarous murders constantly occurring. Instead of furthering the efforts of the Government, Lieut. Miller deliberately detained Teedyuscung by keeping him constantly drunk with rum which he sold him, and, in addition, made him angry by cheating him out of various articles in his possession. What effect this had in delaying negotiations at this time, and how many lives were sacrificed thereby, it is impossible to say.

We cannot relate the circumstances more clearly than Major Parsons has done in his letter of August 14th, 1756, from Easton, to Gov. Morris. He says:

Honored Sir,

Yesterday afternoon the Detachment that escorted the Indians from Bethlehem to Fort Allen returned, and with them came Ben and another Indian Man of Teedyuscung's Retinue, who intend to go to Philad'a and stay there.

I ask'd Ben after Teedyuscung, and the Reason of his staying so long at the Fort, and what his Reason was for leaving the King. He told me his Reason for returning was that he saw nothing but want and Hunger before him if he went to Diahogo, whereupon he told the King that he was now going to a People whose Language he was entirely unacquainted with, and therefore he could not be of any Service to him with them; that he would stay with the English till the King returned again, when he would very cheerfully serve him as an Interpreter to the English as he now had done.

This pass'd last Wednesday, when Ben waited upon the King about 12 miles from the Fort, (on his way to Diahogo) where Ben left him with the other Indians. So that it seemed unnecessary for me to go up to the Fort, the Indians being really gone from it.

As to the stay of the Indians at the Fort, Ben gives a most villainous account of the Lieut. there, while the Captain was at Philad'a. He says that Teedyuscung had procured 16 Deer Skins, which he intended to have sent as a present to the Governor to make him a pair of Gloves, as he said; the Lieut. told

the King that one Skin was enough to make a pair of Gloves, and kept teezing him and plying him with Rum till the old Man was off his Guard. Ben told the King he hoped he would not go from his Design of sending the Skins to the Governor, and told the Lieut. that he did not understand Indian affairs, that the King knew very well that the Governor could not use 16 Skins in making a pair of Gloves but that that was the Indian way of speaking. But all was to no purpose, and the Lieut. got the 16 Skins for three pounds, which Money Ben counted himself, but does not know what became of it. Ben says further, that as long as the Indians had money, the Lieut. sold them Rum, so that they were almost always drunk; and he believes that if they had been refused Rum at their first coming to the Fort, the King and his Company would not have stay'd long there, but would have proceeded to Diahogo, and would not have Stay'd and eaten all their Store of Provisions before they left the Fort.

Ben informs further that they had discovered the Tracks of about 20 strange Indians coming from Susquehannah and going towards Minnisinks. That they suppose these Indians are out upon some bad Design as they marched mostly a Breast or aside of one another whereas the Indian manner is, when they have no unfriendly or hostile Intentions, always to march one after the other. Your Honour will yourself hear things more particularly from Ben. He was very free from Liquor and very clear and intelligible when he gave me this acc't. I am

Your Honour's
most obedient
humble servant,
WM. PARSONS.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 745).

Not only did Lieut. Miller engage in the nefarious business just narrated, but he seems to have dishonestly taken the liquor furnished by the Government to sell to the Indians. With such an example before them it is not to be expected that the men under him would behave much better. Neither did they, for in the beginning of August, whilst the Indians were still there one of the non-commissioned officers, Corporal

Weyrick, committed a disgraceful act of rank insubordination, indeed one of actual mutiny.

Captain Nicholas Wetterholt, then at Fort Hamilton, learning of the occurrance, immediately notified Major Parsons, who replied, on Aug. 12th, from Easton, as follows:

Sir:

I received your letter of the 6th Instant, relating to the Mutiny at Fort Allen, excited by Christian Weyrick, a Corporal.

I therefore desire you to go with a Detachment of your own men, and take the said Christian Weyrick and bind him fast & send him to the County Gaol at Easton, for exciting a Mutiny on the 5th Day of August Instant, at Fort Allen, be sure to secure him very well.

Also, I desire you to put the Lieut. under Arrest for not endeavoring to Suppress a Mutiny, excited by Christian Weyrick, the 5th Instant, at Fort Allen. I think it will be best to order the Lieut. to Fort Norris, 'till further Orders. If these Mutinies are not suppress'd in the Beginning, it will be impossible to preserve Order among the Forces. If Capt. Reynolds is not return'd to the Fort, I would have you take Care not to leave the Fort without a Commissioned Officer to command it, in his absence. I hope you will not lose any time in doing what is above directed you.

I am, &c.,

W. P.

P. S.—I am also informed that the Lieut. has been guilty of selling and embezelling the publick Stores, at Fort Allen. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 741).

Capt. Orndt also seems to have written to Major Parsons on the subject, as we see by the reply of the latter, on August 15th:

Sir:

This morning early I received your 3 Letters of the 12th, 13th & 14th Instant. That relating to Lieut. Miller I shall transmit immediately to his Honour the Governor, and in the mean time approve what you have done with regard to the

Lieut. Capt. Reynolds has Powder & Lead, and can spare 6 lb of powder & 20 lb of Lead to the Forces at Trucker's Mill, and if you order any Body for it they may show him this Letter. I ordered Capt. Wetterhold to go to Fort Allen and arrest the man that had been so mutinous, for exciting a Mutiny, and to send him bound to the prison at Easton. I ordered him also to put the Lieut. under arrest for not endeavoring to suppress a Mutiny lately raised at Fort Allen, and to order him, the Lieut. to Fort Norris till further Orders, but I have not heard one Word from Capt. Wetterhold in answer to my Orders, and wonder very much that he is so negligent. I desire you to let him know that I expect he will pay immediate Obedience to his Orders as above. I am very much concerned to hear the Indians keep lurking about Swaratauro, and that they can't be drove away from that place.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 742). I am, &c.

Captain Wetterholz was never neglectful of his duty, as we can see from what Major Parsons says of him in the following letter to the Governor, written August 15th, the same day as that to Capt. Orndt, which I take the liberty of quoting in full because of other matters of interest contained in it:

Honoured Sir;

In my Letter to your Honour of the 8th I mentioned my Design of going to Fort Allen to learn the Occasion of King Teedyuscung's Stay there but was prevented by other publick affairs from going as I intended, but I believe by my letter of yesterday your Honour will see the Reason of his stay at the Fort.

On the 10th I received a Letter from Mr. Horsfield, informing me that four of the Indians that came with Teedyuscung, and who had returned with him to the Fort, came back to Bethlehem: He likewise informed me that two of them desired to be escorted to Philad'a which he had prevailed with the Brethren to do. The other two with a Woman and Child wanted to go to Fort Allen, and desired me to send a Detachment to escort them there; which I did that Ev'ning and re-

peated my Orders to the Commanding Officer to build a Shade for the Indians and not to let them have more than a Gill of Rum a Man Per Day. And I believe these orders were the Reason of the King's resolving to go; and Ben is of the same Opinion. I only wait for Capt. Wetterhold, from whom I expect to hear (or to see him) this Day, and then shall pay them a visit at the Fort, unless I can be satisfied otherways. The occasion of my expecting Capt. Wetterhold soon, is that on the 10th I heard there had been some Disorders committed at Fort Allen, and that he had been there and assisted in setting them right again, but received no written Information from any Body. I thought it necessary to send immediately to Capt. Wetterhold for an account of what he had seen amiss at Fort Allen. And early on the morning of the 12th I received the inclosed German letter from him [already given the reader], the substance of it I have put into English which also comes inclosed. That same morning I wrote a Letter to Wetterhold, a copy whereof comes also inclosed. And I expect every minute to hear what he has done in the Affair, I can't think it right to leave the Town till I do hear from (or see) him. I have been inform'd by a private Hand that saw him with his Detachment going to Fort Allen, as he said, to execute the Orders he had received from me. This morning Capt. Orndt's letter came to Hand and am afraid that Lieut. Miller is faulty. It gives me great Pain that I am obliged to give your Honour all this Trouble at this time; but without your Authority and Direction we are like to run into great confusion. I am, however, determined that nothing shall be wanting on my part to preserve good Order in the several Companies. And I persuade myself that your Honour will not think I have been idle.

I am very doubtful that Capt. Reynolds is rather too young for that Station where the Indians are, and will be continually passing and repassing, and may require the Care and Conduct of a more experienced Officer. His Lieut. I take to be that little impertinent Body which your Honour saw at the Tavern on Quittopohela Spring, where Reynolds was with his Re-

cruits, when your Honour returned from the Camp at Harris's Ferry. I am

Honoured Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
WM. PARSONS.

August 16, 1756.

This Evening between 7 & 8. Capt. Wetterhold brought Christian Weyrick Prisoner to this Town, and delivered him to the keeper of Goal.

Yesterday he met with Capt. Orndt's Ensign returning to Fort Norris, who told him that Lieut. Miller would not submit to his arrest, Wetterhold told him he should go back with him to the Lieut. and he did, not doubting but he could bring him to submit. When they came to the Lieut., Wetterhold asked him why he was not obedient to his Captain's Orders; The Lieut. told him that he had as good a Commission as his Capt. and he would not submit to him and he questioned if Wetterhold had Power to arrest him. Wetterhold told him if he did not immediately submit to his own Capt. he would soon convince him that he had himself Authority to put him into arrest whereupon the Lieut. desired one day to settle his affairs before he went. I am fully of opinion if it were not for Wetterhold there would not be one Officer found in those Parts that dared execute orders of this kind, and he appears to me to be a resolute discreet Man. By Lieut. Allen's Letter to me of Yesterday, which comes with this, Your Honour will observe that Capt. Reynolds is gone again from the Fort with his Ensign, who, as far as I can learn, is the best officer of the 3 at Fort Allen. And that Teedyuscung is returned again to the Fort. Tomorrow morning I will go and enquire into the reason of his unaccountable Behaviour and endeavour to send him away.

I am
Honoured Sir,
Your most Obedient,
humble Servant,
WM. PARSONS.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 747-749.)

Whilst much has been said with regard to a mutiny at Fort Allen and the measures taken to suppress it, the reader has, as yet, been left in the dark as to the nature of the occurrence. Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt's report to Major Parsons, which follows, supplies this deficiency very fully. It is as follows:

Sir:

In the night of the 5th of August, Christian Weyrick, a Corporal, began to quarrel with the Indians, and threatened to drive them out of the Fort. The Lieut, persuaded him to forbear, but he siezed the Lieut. & threw him on the Ground, and afterwards went to the Indian Squaws and behaved very undecently with them the whole night, and some of his Comrades; One John White upbraiding him with it, he began to curse and attempted to tear him to pieces, when Phillip Bortner stept out of the Guard Room and ask'd him if he was not ashamed to behave so, but he took him and threw him on the Bench, who calling out for help, Dewalt Bossing sprung between them, but he was not able to manage him; Then came Michael Laury, he struck him several Blows upon the Head, and thereupon they were parted; then he took a Gun and drove about the Fort like a Beast and not like a man, and struck down two of them, afterward he laid hold of his Cutlass and went into the Captain's House and pointed it out at the window; Then he took a Gun and snapped it twice, but it would not go off; Then he took another Gun, and that miss'd Fire also; then he laid hold of a third Gun, which Capt. Foulk took from him; Then he seized another Gun and went out of the House, and said one of the 4 Reading town Soldiers, or John White, should die, and shott at him; then he called to his Comrades and told them they should not leave him, they would storm the Fort, and no man should live that Day; then he ran into the Captain's House and threw the Benches about from Top to Bottom, but there was no Body in the House but the Lieut., the Clerk and the Serjeant, they warned him, but it all helped nothing; Then the Serjeant Bossing went to the Guard and told them to take him into arrest, but they would not; Then he went and broke Stones from the Chymny Back and threw them in at the window, and cursed furiously, and

said he would kill one of the 4 Reading town Soldiers, or would stab or shoot Serjeant White; He behaved so violently that they were obliged to leave the Fort; He broke several Guns to pieces, and afterwards Michael Beltz, the Lieut., Christian Weyrick and Killian Lang, fetch'd water and put Rum in it, and washed their private parts therein. The 6th of Aug't the Ensign returned to the Fort and put things in better order. This is the Information from me, John Nicholas Widerhold, Captain.

N. B. I have already acquainted Coll'o Weiser with the affair.

Copy or Translation of Capt. Wetterhold's German Letter.

N. B. The Capt. Dates his Letter the Day he was at the Fort Allen but he must have wrote it since that time, for it was the 10th I wrote him, reced his answer the 12'th, so that his Letter to me should bear Date the 11'th Instant.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 754.)

W. P.

So ends this disgraceful affair, the only one of its character we have been obliged to record. What befell this prisoner after Capt. Wetterholz had taken him to Easton we do not know, but he doubtless received his just punishment.

One result of the whole affair was the detachment of Capt. Reynolds, and his command, from Fort Allen, who was ordered to Fort Norris to replace Capt. Jacob Orndt who, in turn, occupied Fort Allen.

The report of these two officers to Major Parsons shows when the change was accomplished:

Fort Allin, Octo. 9th, ye 1756.

Honer'd Sir;

Yeasderday I Arrifid here with my Whole Compa'y att the fort, and Captin Reynolds hath Suply'd with his men my Place, and these Day arrifid one fraindly Indins here with one wite Presoner, his name is Henry Hess, the Indin informs me that there is teen Indins more a Comen, which are about a Coply mils of from here and that the King with more Indins layes att Waywamok, and is afraid to Come in fore they was Several Tims informid that the Inglish would kill Them if

they would come in now, therefore the King hath Sent them to See wether it is True or not, that Indin Desired me to Seand one qu'rt of Rum and Sum bred by him to them teen Indins which are now a little ways off, and I have Supply'd him with and I have Seand my Seargind with one Soldir with him to escord him, I have orderid emmadly a Shealdr to be made a Distance off from the Fort that they may lodge there, the Indin was very glead that he was Recev'd kindly there, Obinin was to go to Bethleham, but I Told him it was beast to go Streat to Easton to your Worship, then he Told me he would Consider of it, and I hope your Worship will excuse me and Captin Raynolds, that wee Can not Seand our Returns with these opertunyte, fore wee have not quite Setelet, fore I Thought to Sent emitly these Reports first fore I and Captin Raynolds, wee are in good health att Present, and wee are Eesy to Setel our besinis here att the fort.

Sir, wee Remain your Frainds and
Wery humble Servint,

JACOB ORNDT,
GEORGE REYNOLDS.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 5.)

Major Parsons at once sent an express to Secretary Richard Peters, informing him of the facts reported to him, thus:

Sir:

By Capt. Orndt's inclosed Letter you will perceive that a number of the Indians are actually come in and that the Rest are on the Road, and I understand that besides the white Prisoner brought in they have 10 more with them, who no doubt will all want some kind of cloathing especially Shirts & Shoes. When they come to Easton I shall take Care to provide House Room & Provisions for them, but shall want His Honour's Orders concerning them. I imagine they are now all coming in, and it will be very necessary for me to know how long they are to stay here, and how I am to conduct myself in this important Affair.

You will please to acquaint His Honour that Lieut's Allen and Miller have made their Submissions agreeable to His Honours Commands of the 22d last past. And Capt. Orndt is

just moved with his Company to Fort Allen, & Capt. Reynolds is gone to Fort Norris &c. to supply his Place. By your Favour of the 5th Instant, you inform me that the Governor is gone to Harris's Ferry, I therefore thought it would be best to direct this Letter to you in his Absence. As I expect some of the Indians will be here to-Day or to-Morrow, I have sent my Lad express that no time may be lost.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient
humble Servant,
WM. PARSONS.

P. S.—Cap. Orndt's Letter came to Hand ab't 2 o'clock before Day this Morning. I am very glad he is got to Fort Allen. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 7.)

It will be seen from these letters that not only was a change of officers made at Fort Allen, but that, still more important, the efforts of Gov. Morris to bring about a Conference with the Indians, looking towards a Treaty of Peace, were at length bringing forth fruit. Teedyuscung, the Chief, with various of his followers, were already on their way to Easton, bringing with them sundry white prisoners as agreed. Apprehending, however, vengeance on the part of the whites, they had stopped short at Wyoming and sent a messenger in advance to Fort Allen, notifying the officers of their presence. We have just seen how this fact was announced to the Provincial Secretary, who in turn laid it before the Council. Governor Morris had but recently been superseded by Gov'r Denny who was then absent. The following letter was accordingly dispatched to him, on October 11th, from Philad'a :

Hon'd Sir:

The Council received by Express this afternoon the inclosed letters from Major Parsons & Capt. Orndt & advising that one Tediuskunk, a Delaware Chief, who, with other Indians, in consequence of a late Treaty made with them at Easton by Gov'r Morris, were Coming in with a Number of English Prisoners, had on hearing a Report that we intended to cout them off, stopt at Wyoming & sent a Party forward to know

the Truth of that Report. The Council conceiving it of the utmost Consequence that the Indians should be undeceived & their Fears removed without Loss of time, have taken the Liberty to direct Major Parsons to send an Express to them immediately, to invite them down to Easton, there to remain till your Hon'r shall be pleased to give further Orders about them, and have directed the inclosed Copy of their Letter to Major Parsons to be transmitted to you, that you may supply by your further Orders what they have omitted." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 8.)

In due course the Indians reached Easton, when a new alarm arose, this time on the part of the whites, who were informed that there were some 40 Indians at and about Fort Allen, also about 100 Minisink Indians at Trout Creek, all averse to a peace with the English, and who had laid a plot to attack Easton whilst the Governor was there, and kill both him and Teedyuscung, the latter for entering into even a Conference with their Enemy. This was on Nov'r 5th. Reinforcements were immediately obtained from Fort Franklin and the Town Guard increased. In the meantime, however, Col. Weiser had a private talk with those of the Six Nation Indians in Easton and informed them of the rumor which was afloat. They told him that two of their number who had been sent to Fort Allen would be back that evening when they could speak better with him. They assured him, however, that the report was false, and were indignant that they should be suspected of treachery. Upon the arrival of the two from Fort Allen they confirmed the falsity of the rumor, and all desired Col. Weiser to remind the Governor that when they, the Indians, were on their way to Easton they had heard similar plots on the part of the English to exterminate them, but still, placing confidence in the word of the white people, they had come and now that such wicked rumors were out about them they desired the Governor to place equal confidence in their fidelity. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 32.)

Shortly after the arrival of the Governor at Easton the Conference with the Indians began, on Nov'r 8th, and was concluded on Nov'r 17th. At its conclusion the Indians had all

expressed themselves favorable to peace. The next day Col. Weiser started with them back to Fort Allen. With much trouble he got them away from Easton and with still more difficulty he finally reached Fort Allen. Their old enemy—rum—was too much for the poor savages. They insisted upon having some, and finally it became necessary to supply them. Capt. Orndt took a cask to their camp. Col. Weiser warned them not to come near the Fort, and their orgies began. In the midst of their drunkenness one of them attempted to crawl over the stockades but when the Colonel warned him that the sentry would fire on him he ran off as fast as he could shouting back, "Damn you all, I value you not!" (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 67.)

At last the Indians were started off and disappeared for the time being, but, notwithstanding the Conference, and all their assurances, peace did not yet come. However, in justice to Teedyuscung it must be said that he apparently made efforts to induce the other Indians to join with him in declaring peace, but it was many months more before his efforts were crowned with any semblance of success.

We have seen that the Indians brought back with them sundry white prisoners. One of these, whose name has been mentioned was Henry Hess. Another was Leonard Weeser, who made the following deposition during the Conference:

The Examination of Leonard Weeser, aged twenty years, taken before the Governor, 9th Nov'r, 1756.

This Examinant says that on the 31st Dec'r last he was at his father's House, beyond the Mountains, in Smithfield Township, Northampton County, w'th his Father, his Bro'r William & Hans Adam Hess; That Thirty Indians from Wyomink surrounded them as they were at Work, killed his Father & Hans Adam Hess and took this Examinant & his Brother William, aged 17, Prisoners. The next day the same Indians went to Peter Hess's, Father of the s'd Hans Adam Hess; they killed two young men, one Nicholas Burman, ye others Name he knew not, & took Peter Hess & his elder son, Henry Hess, and went off ye next morning at the great Swamp, distant about 30 miles from Weeser's Plantation, they killed Peter Hess, sticking him with their knives, as this Examinant was told by

ye Indians, for he was not present. Before they went off they burned the Houses & a Barrack of Wheat, kill'd y'e Cattle & Horses & Sheep, & destroyed all they could. Thro' ye Swamp they went directly to Wyomink, where they stayed only two days & then went up the river to Diahogo, where they stayed till the Planting Time, & from thence they went to little Passeeeca, an Indian Town, up the Cayuga Branch, & there they stayed till they brought him down. Among the Indians who made this attack & took him Prisoner were Teedyuscung alias Gideon alias Honest John, & three of his Sons, Amos & Jacob, ye other's name he knew not. Jacobus & his Son, Samuel Evans & Thomas Evans were present; Daniel was present, one Yacomb, a Delaware, who used to live in his Father's Neighborhood. They said that all the country was theirs & they were never paid for it, and this they frequently gave as a reason for their conduct. The King's Son Amos took him, this Examinant, & immediately gave him over to his Father. He says that they cou'd not carry all the Goods, y't were given them when last here, & the King sent to his wife to send him some Indians to assist him to carry the Goods, & she ordered him to go with some Indians to the old man & coming where the Goods lay, ab't 18 miles on the other side of Fort Allen, he stayed while Sam Evans went to the Fort to tell Teedyuscung that said Indians were with ye Goods & this Examinant w'th them, & this being told ye white people, Mr. Parsons sent two soldiers to ye place where the Goods were & brought him down with them, and he has stayed in Northampton County ever since. This Examinant saw at Diahogo a Boy of Henry Christmans, who lived near Fort Norris, & one Daniel Williams Wife & five children, Ben Feed's wife & three children; a woman, ye wife of a Smith, who lived with Frederick Head, & three Children; a woman taken at Cushictunk, a Boy of Hunt's who lived in Jersey, near Canlin's Kiln & a negro man; a Boy taken about 4 miles from Head's, called Nicholas Kainsein, all of which were Prisoners with the Indians at Diahogo & Passeeeca, and were taken by the Delaware Indians; that Teedyuscung did not go against the English after this Examinant was taken, Tho' His sons did; That the King called all the Indians together, & they made up ye number of Eighty

Five, viz: from Diahogo and Passeeeca, & another Indian Town; That Provisions were very scarce; That they went frequently out in Parties ag't ye English; That he never saw any French or other Indians among them as he Knows of.

his

LEONARD X WEESER.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 45.)

mark

We have been so accustomed to read of savage murders and atrocities, that we have become, by this time, more or less filled with a feeling of repugnance towards them, and yet this history would neither be fair nor complete did we neglect to say that the white men were not always so honorable or merciful towards the Indian, on their side. It was at the Conference just held, and also in private explanation to Conrad Weiser, they claimed that the war now in progress was owing to the fact that the white settlers had defrauded them of their lands and cheated them in other ways, notably, as they said, in the case of the "Walking Purchase," the scene of which was in that immediate vicinity. Even at the time when the Government was endeavoring to bring about peace, and were especially desirous of not molesting friendly Indians, they were unwisely illtreated. The following instance, reported by Timothy Horsfield to Gov. Denny November 29th, 1756, is on record:

"I beg leave to mention to your Honour, that few Days Since as one of our Indians was in the Woods a Small distance from Bethlehem, with his Gun, hoping to meet with a Deer, on his return home he met with two men, who (as he Informs) he Saluted by takeing off his Hat; he had not gone far before he heard a gun fired, and the Bullet whistled near him, which terefied him very much, and running thro' the thick Bushes his gun lock Catched fast, and went off, he dropt it, his Hat, Blanket, &c., and came home much frighted. The Indians came to me complaining of this Treatment, Saying they fled from amongst the Murthering Indians, and come here to Bethlehem, and Addresst his Honour the Late Governor, and put themselves under His protection, which the Governor Answered to their Satisfaction, Desireing them to Sit

Still amongst the Brethren, which they said they had done, and given offence to none. I told them I would do all in my Power to prevent such Treatment for the future, and that I would write to the Governor and Inform him of it, and that they might be Assured the Governor would use proper measures to prevent any mischief happening. I thought at first to write a few Advertisements to warn wicked People for the future how they Behave to the Indians, for if one or more of them should be kill'd in such a manner, I fear it would be of very bad consequence; but I have since considered it is by no means proper for me to advertise, for as the Late Governor's proclamation is Expired, the first Proclamation of War against the Indians I conceive is still in force. I thought it my Duty to Inform your Honor of this Affair, and Doubt not you will take the matter into your wise Consideration." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 76.)

Following the late Conference at Easton, efforts to accomplish a peace with the Indians were kept up unremittingly. Much reliance was placed on Teedyuscung to aid in this matter, and, whilst he was, as an Indian, but human and by no means perfect, yet, to his credit, it must be said that he did his part faithfully. Unfortunately he was the Chief of the Delawares, a tribe looked upon with more or less disdain by the Six Nations, so that, whilst he may have been fairly able to control his own people, yet he found it very difficult to persuade the other tribes. Finally he met with some success, so much so, in fact, that he felt able to bring them to a Conference with the Governor, and in the meantime sent a detachment of Delawares in advance to Fort Allen. About them Capt. Orndt writes to Major Parsons:

Fort Allen, March 31st, 1757.

Honoured Sir:

The Bearer hereof, an Indian, named Samuel Evans, desires to have an order from your Worship to get a New Stock made for his gun in Bethlehem, and that the same might be charged to the Province. Since my last letter w'ch I have wrote to you, arirved here King Teedyuscung's two Sons, Captain Harrison (his brother), and several other Indians, in number 50,

men and squaws, and children; they behave very civil here, they have made Cabbins about 60 perches from the Fort, where they live, and intend to tarry here till the King comes.

I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

(Col. Rec., vii, p. 474.)

JACOB ORNDT.

And again on April 5th, he writes:

"This is to acquaint your Worship that the day before yesterday, arrived here Four Indians from the Susquehanna, above Diahogo, and have brought one White Prisoner, whose name is Nicholas Ramston; he was taken at the same time that Christian Pember was killed. The same Indians informed me that King Teeduscung can hardly come down here till the latter End of this Month, for the Mohock Indians were not quite ready to March. Those four Indians will come with the bearer hereof, one of my Soldiers, whom I shall send to escort them to Easton, and I have also order'd the white Prisoner with them. I desire your Worship wou'd be pleased to send an order to Mr. Warner, who is order'd to entertain the Indians, that he shall not give them too much Rum, as he has done to those who were at Easton last week, for some of them were so drunk that they Stay'd all Night in the Woods, and the remainder went with my Men to Bethlehem, and by so doing there might easily happen any Misbehaviour." (Col. Rec., vii, p. 474.)

This captive, just restored, was a German by birth, taken prisoner some fifteen months ago by Teedyuscung's party and given by them to a Minisink Indian, whose brother brought him to Fort Allen. He had but little to say except that, at first, he had been treated pretty roughly, but afterwards kindly. He thought that when the Chief came he would bring other white prisoners with him.

Teedyuscung was busy in persuading, not the Mohawks, as stated, who were already at Fort Allen, but the Seneca Indians to come to the Conference, and it was not until July that, after accomplishing his object, he reached Fort Allen. Capt. Orndt immediately wrote to Colonel Weiser:

To the honorable Colonel Weiser:

Sir,

These are to inform you that Detiuscung is arrived here Yesterday Ev'ing, and there be at present about 200 Indians with him, with young and old. Detiuscung is intended to stay here about five or six days, and in this time He expects one hundred of the Seneka Indians here, and then he is intended to go to Easton, in hopes to meet with his Honour the Governor.

I am inform'd that Lieut. M * * * is run away with another man's wife and hope you will inform his Honour the Governor how necessary it is that I might have another Lieutenant. If you would be pleas'd to recommend Ensign Conrad in his stead, who, I think, will be a man very fit for a Lieutenant. I send with these the Muster and Pay Roll of my Company. I hope you will excuse me, as I have not sent my Journal, for I had not time to draw a Copy of it.

I am, Sir, &c.,

JACOB ORNDT.

Fort Allen, July 5, 1757.

With Submission, I think Ensign Conrad worthy of a Lieutenants Commission.

CONRAD WEISER.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 207.)

Ensign Conrad was duly given his Commission as Lieutenant.

As the provisions were giving out, Captain Orndt found it to be impossible to keep all these Indians at Fort Allen, therefore on July 7th he marched with 150 of them to Easton, leaving but 50 behind, where he arrived safely with all except one, named William Dattame, who, contrary to his orders, started for Bethlehem, and was shot by a foolish white boy, 15 years old, who followed him. He was wounded in the right thigh, but, fortunately, the wound was not mortal.

On July 14th Colonel Weiser arrived at Easton, and, later, detachments from various forts, forming a Guard of 110 men.

On July 20th and 21st Governor Denny and the entire Council reached the same place, and shortly after the Conference

began which lasted until August 7th. There were over 300 Indians present, Chiefs and representatives of the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans, Senecas, &c. On the last day a treaty of peace was finally concluded with them, and all left under most harmonious circumstances.

After all the Conferences held with the Indians and the various treaties made with them it becomes a matter of surprise to find that hostilities still continued. And yet a little thought will make the reason very clear. We must not forget that the savages were divided into many tribes, each with their chiefs. At no time were all of these various divisions represented at the Conferences, and, even if those who entered into the treaty should keep it, yet there were others who had not agreed to bury the hatchet, and did not. Then, too, savage nature delighted in blood and murder, and individually could not always be controlled by their own chiefs. Peace was an exceedingly difficult end to reach, requiring much time, patience and wisdom to accomplish. Teedyuscung still faithfully assisted the Governor, and had his agents at work at different points. Capt. Orndt notifies Mr. Horsfield, from Fort Allen, on March 7th, 1758, of the arrival of five Indians from Diahogo and from Fort Augusta, with a particular message to the Chief. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 359.) These were sent to Philad'a where Teedyuscung joined them from Bethlehem. On March 25th twenty more Indians came to Fort Allen from Diahogo, with several strings of white wampum, in token of peace, and a message that, as soon as they returned, a great number of Indians of the Muncy and Mohican tribes would come to make a treaty. In this same letter Capt. Orndt says, "I have almost finished the Trench about the Fort, and intend setting up Saplings to hinder the enemy from breaking over the Trench." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 367.)

Teedyuscung even entered into somewhat of an alliance with the English and furnished spies for them to watch the movements of the French. Having been requested to send an Indian to the Allegheny River and see what was going on there, he sent a Message, August 9th, 1758, to the Governor saying he had not done so because it was too dangerous, and adding:

"That a number of French Mohocks and a French Captain came down as far as Diahogo to go to War against the English, but the Indians there persuaded a Number of them to return back, but a French Captain & ten of them would not be restrained but proceeded, and I believe they are going against the Minisink. I think proper to give this Information that ye People on your Frontiers may be put on their guard.

I consider the English our Brethren, and We have but one Ear, one Mouth, one Eye, you may be sure I shall apprise them of every motion of the Enemy."

Two Indians came to Wioming from Allegheny and informed Teedyuscung that they had already struck the French and destroyed six of their Forts. That Fort Duquesne was very strong, but if their Brethren, the English, came to attack it they would help them.

That the Intelligence of this French party of ten men was given to the Captain at Fort Allen, who sent Messengers immediately to alarm the People of the Minisink.

That Lawrence Bush was come from the upper parts of the Susquehannah River to Wioming and went to Shamokin (Sunbury) as they (the messengers) sat out for Fort Allen." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 509.)

At last in October, 1758, a grand Conference was held at Easton at which were present Gov. Denny, of Pennsylvania, Gov. Bernard, of the Jerseys, and Chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagoes, Senecas, Cayugas, Conoys, Nanticokes and other tribes, and a final peace was effected which was lasting, although even after that desultory forays were made at various points, and sundry murders committed. I say lasting, because I do not consider the outbreak of 1763 of short duration and confined to a limited district, as worthy to be considered a part of the so-called Pontiac War. It is doubtful whether, with all the efforts made, diplomacy could have brought about this state of affairs, even at this late hour, had it not been for the success of the English arms and the gradual withdrawal of the French, a fact their savage allies who had their own interests especially at heart, were not slow to notice.

I have dwelt somewhat at length on the several Conferences

held at Easton, and the many efforts made by the Government to terminate the war, because of the important connection of Fort Allen with them. In doing so I have necessarily passed over some facts which may be worthy of notice now.

Major Parsons reports to Sec'y Rich'd Peters that on October 21st, 1756, there were in that place 49 lb powder, 103 lb lead and 50 flints. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 81.)

In April, 1757, it is proposed to reduce the forts between the Susquehanna and Delaware to three only,—Fort Henry, Allen and Hamilton—each to have a garrison of 100 men. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 119.)

On February 5th, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports at Fort Allen, Capt. Orndt and Lieut. Conrad, with 53 men, 63 Province arms, 3 private arms, 190 lbs powder, 200 lbs lead, 4 months provisions, and Jacob Levan as their Commissary. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340.) On February 9th, 1758, Commissary James Young reports on duty there, one and a half Companies, with 78 men. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 341.)

Major James Burd, in his tour of inspection, visited Fort Allen. He has this to say of it:

Monday, Feby 27th, 1758.

Arrived at Fort Allen at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 2 P. M. (from Fort Everett), a prodigious Hilly place and poor land, 15 miles from Mr. Everett's, ordered a review of this Garrison tomorrow at 8 A. M.

28, Tuesday.

At 8 A. M. reviewed this Garrison; doing duty, Capt. Orndt, Lieu'ts Hays & Laughery, Ensigne Quixell & 75 men, this is a very good Garrison, Stores, 2 months' Provisions, 225 pounds powder, 300 lb lead, 500 flints, 2 Sweevle Guns, 26 Province Arms bad, no Drum, kettles, nor Blankets, 1 spade, 1 shovell, 1 Grubing how & 14 bad axes.

This is a very poor Stockade, surrounded with Hills, situated on a barren plain, through which the River Leehy runs, distance ab't 70 yards from the Fort, there is scarce room here for 40 men.

Ordered Cap't Orndt to Regulate his Ranging by his Intelligence from time to time, as he informed me that 5 Indians from Bethlehem has promised faithfully to Cap't Orndt to come here & reconnoitre the woods constantly round & to furnish him with Intelligence, likewise to put up a Targett 6 Inches thick to learn the Soldiers to Shoot.

Sett off from hence at 10 A. M. for Lieu't Ingle's post.
* * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 355.)

It would seem from this report that Fort Allen had fallen somewhat out of repair. It did not remain so long, however, as we will recall that, in the following March, Capt. Orndt had it thoroughly repaired and renewed.

On June 30, 1758, Gen'l Forbes left Philadelphia on his western Campaign. In the meantime Capt. Orndt had been promoted to Major and given charge of the district about Fort Allen. He was directed to notify the people of the frontiers to assemble in large parties during their harvesting and provide each party with sentrys for protection. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 448.) He was also directed to see that the friendly Indians wore a broad yellow band around their head or arms to distinguish them from the enemy, and requested the Governor to send a supply of the same to Forts Augusta and Allen for distribution. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 487.)

Unlike the history of the other forts, which we have traced, that of Fort Allen is singularly free from a long list of at least recorded murders. It has been thought by some writers that this was owing to its strength. From said opinion I am obliged to differ, as, in the first place, whilst important it was not of unusual strength, and, in the second place, its strength or weakness would have mattered little to the savages who never attempted to assault any garrison fort, but skulked around it to perpetrate their cruelties, unperceived, in its rear. I account for this immunity to the fact, which we have seen, that the Indians were constantly stopping at it on their way to and from the many Conferences and lesser talks, which were held at Easton, Bethlehem and Philadelphia, and they were too cunning to commit themselves by any untoward act in its vicinity. Be that as it may, however, it

is a source of great rejoicing to know that the fact, at least, existed.

On April 21st, 1756, John Mee and Joseph Leacock, residing within 1½ miles of Fort Allen, requested of the Governor a detachment of men from said fort to protect them whilst they put up their fences and burnt the leaves around their fields. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 638.)

During 1757 a couple petitions were sent the Governor requesting protection and recommending certain dispositions of troops.

On March, 1758, the following petition was sent to Gov. Denny by the inhabitants on both sides of the Blue Mountains, on the West Branch, in Towamensing and Lehigh Townships:

"Wee, the Poor Inhabitants of the Said Townships, Come to Lay this Humble Petition before your Honour, to Lat you know that we are informed that Fort Allen Shall be taken away from the Place where the Fort Stationed at present, and Shall be Build another this Side the Mountains, which would be verry Hartt for us them that Leaves Behind and this Side the Mountain on the Frontiers, if the Said Fort Allen Should be moved from the Place; and if it Should be So, Wee Pray your Honour might be plised to Order that said Fort might be Build of the Other Side the Mountain, on the Place Called the Good Spring or well, which is a very Convinent Place; But if the Fort Should be Build this Side the Mountains, all the Inhabitants this and the Other Side near the Mountains will be obliged to move off from their Plantations, and the Enemies will get the Mountains in to Do more mischief, and will be more Danger for the Inhabitants; Wee Pray your Hon'r will be plised to take all this in Consideration, and your Wisdom will order the Best for us, and We Shall Ever pray.

Your Honour

We are your most humble
and obedient Servants

[numerously signed, principally in German].

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 359.)

Captain Jacob Orndt having been promoted, was succeeded at Fort Allen by Captain John Bull, who, on June 14th, 1758,

notifies Sam'l Dupui of a party of 25 hostile Indians on their way to the Minisinks. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 423.)

How much longer Fort Allen was regularly garrisoned I have been unable to find from the records. Matthews and Hungerford, in their History of Carbon County, p. 579, say until 1761, and after that time was occasionally occupied by soldiers. We know that such at least was the case in 1763, during that outbreak, when Captains Nicholas and Jacob Wetterholt were there. As late as June 1st, 1780, Lt. Col. Kern had 112 men stationed at and near Fort Allen.

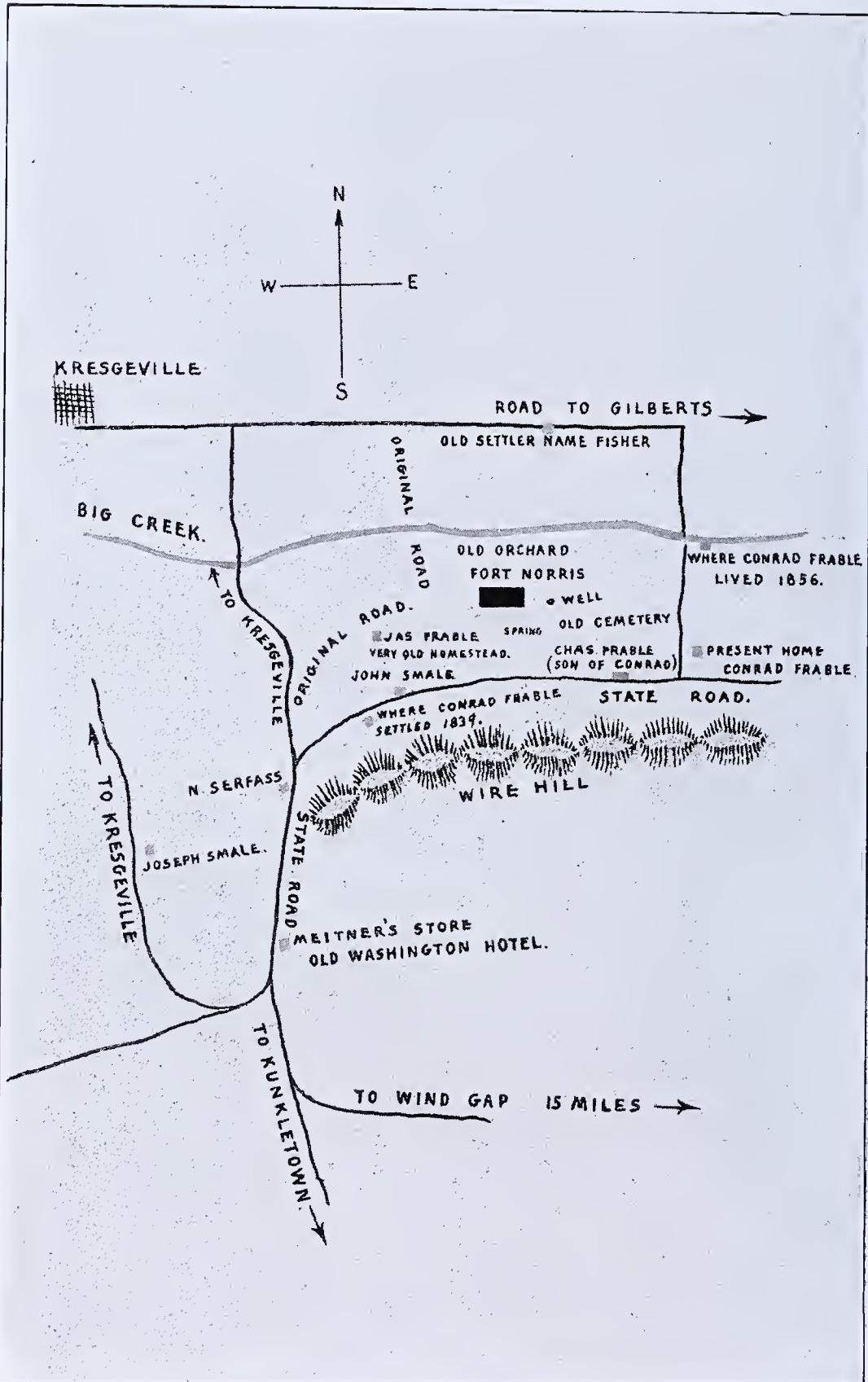
This latter event was owing to the capture, on April 25th, 1780, of the Gilbert family, living on the Mahoning Creek, some 5 or 6 miles from Fort Allen, by a party of eleven Indians. The Indians who made this incursion were of different tribes, who, on the approach of Gen'l Sullivan's Army to Wyoming, had abandoned their country and fled within the British Lines in Canada. From thence they made frequent inroads on the frontier settlements. The account of the captivity of this family, which extended over a period of two years and five months, is most interesting and romantic. It does not, however, belong to this work and must, therefore, be omitted. It is sufficient to say that, after many trials and hardships, they were all happily reunited.

After what has been said of Fort Allen it seems almost unnecessary to add that a monument should certainly be erected to mark its site. I would suggest, as a suitable place the public square opposite the Fort Allen Hotel.

FORT NORRIS.

The next defensive station erected by the Government was some 15 miles east of Fort Allen, between that and Fort Hamilton, at Stroudsburg.

To bring the occasion again to our memory it becomes necessary to refer once more to Benjamin Franklin's letter of January 25th, 1756, to Governor Morris. We will recall that it was written from Fort Allen, about the time of its completion. In it he says, "As soon as Hays returns I shall detach



PRESENT SITE OF FORT NORRIS.

another party to erect another fort at Surfias', which I hope may be finished in the same time" (as Fort Franklin, in a week or ten days). (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 16.)

Again in his letter of the next day he repeats, officially, "As soon as Capt. Hays returns with the Convoy of Stores and Provisions, which I hope may be tomorrow, I purpose to send Orndt and Haeds [doubtless meant for Hays] to Join Capt. Trump [who was busy erecting forts at Stroudsburg], in erecting the middle Fort there, purposing to remain here between them and Foulk [at Fort Franklin], ready to assist and supply both as occasion may require, and hope in a week or ten Days, weather favouring, those two Forts may be finished and the Line of Forts compleated and garrisoned, the Rangers in Motion, and the internal Guards and Watchers disbanded. * * * (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 16.)

This fort, which was completed during the early part of February, 1756, was called "Fort Norris," after Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Assembly, he who directed that there should be cast on the State House bell of 1752 the words "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." When finished it was placed under the command of Captain Jacob Orndt, who occupied it with his company of 50 men. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 325—date incorrectly given as 1758.)

Commissary James Young, on his tour of inspection, reached the place on June 23rd, 1756. His report about it reads as follows:

"Fort Norris—At 11 A. M. Came to Fort Norris, found here a Serjeant Commanding 21 men, he told me the Ensign with 12 men was gone out this morning to Range the Woods towards Fort Allen, the Cap'tn was at Philad'a since the 16th for the peoples pay, and the other Serjeant was absent at Easton, on Furlough Since the 20th. This Fort Stands in a Valley ab't midway between the North mountain, and the Tuscorory, 6 miles from Each on the high Road towards the Minisink, it is a Square ab't 80 f't Each way with 4 half Bastions all very Compleatly Staccaded, and finished and very Defenceable, the Woods are Clear 400 y'ds Round it, on the Bastions are two Swevel Guns mount'd, within is a good Bar-

rack, a Guard Room, Store Room, and kitchin also a Good Well.—Provincial Stores, 13 g'd Muskets, 3 burst Do, 16 very bad Do, 32 Cartooch Boxes, 100 lb Powder, 300 lb Lead, 112 Blankets, 39 Axes, 3 Broad Do, 80 Tamhacks, 6 Shovels, 2 Grub Hoes, 5 Spades, 5 Drawing Knives, 9 Chisels, 3 Adses, 3 Hand Saws, 2 Augurs, 2 Splitting Knives.

At 1 P. M. the Ensign with 12 men returned from Ranging, they had seen nothing of any Indians. I mustered the whole 34 in Number Stout able men, the En'sn has no Certificates of inlistments, the arms Loaded and clean, the Cartooch Boxes filled with 12 Rounds p'r man. Provisions at Fort Norris, a Large Quantity of Beef Very ill Cured Standing in Tubs, a Quantity of Biscuit and flower, & ab't 50 Gallons Rum.

23 June, Fort Norris.—At 2 P. M. Cap'tn Weatherholt came here to us, he had been on his way to Phil'a, but the Messinger I sent last night (from Fort Lehigh) overtook him 8 miles from his Station, he brought me his muster Roll of his whole Comp'y, and Certificates of Inlistments, and proposed to go with me to Sam'l Depues, where his Lieu't and 26 men are Stationed, to see them Muster'd, I accepted of his Company. At 3 P. M. we sett out from Fort Norris on our way to Fort Hamilton." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 678.)

The reader will doubtless be struck with the excellent condition in which Mr. Young found Fort Norris, and we need hardly be told that it was not a matter of chance, but was owing to the fact that Captain Orndt was a most excellent and capable officer. That he was held in very high esteem by the Government is evidenced by his assignment to the command of Fort Allen, a most important point, shortly after and, still later, by his promotion to Major.

It will be remembered when the mutiny occurred at Fort Allen that, in August, 1756, Lieut. Miller, on account of his conduct, was disciplined by being sent to Fort Norris, where he would be in the hands of a real soldier. It was even deemed advisable to remove Capt. Reynolds, himself, from Fort Allen, because of his lack of experience, so that, on October 8th, 1756, Capt. Orndt took command of Fort Allen, whilst, at the same time, Capt. Reynolds and his company were transferred to Fort Norris.

In the beginning of April, 1757, Major Parsons notified the garrison that a party of Indians were on their way to commit depredations in that part of the country. As the occurrences, however, took place near Fort Hamilton, they will be related under that head.

In May, 1757, Fort Norris underwent another change of commanders, mention of which Major Parsons makes in his letter of May 26th, to Gov. Denny, as follows:

"Commissary Young came to Town last Sunday about noon. and on Tuesday about two, Afternoon, set out from hence for Fort Norris, Fort Allen, &c., escorted by Capt's Busse and Reynolds; Lieut. Engell (from Fort Franklin), who is going to take the command of Fort Norris, and Ensign Biddle with about 50 men, all in good Spirits." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 163.)

During the Conference with the Indians in July, 1757, at Easton, Fort Norris furnished its quota of men to act as guards. Colonel Weiser says, July 15th, to Gov. Denny. "Those from Fort Norris and Hamilton I have sent for to Day in all the Rain, by two of Capt'n Orndt's men." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 218.)

On Tuesday, February 28th, 1758, Major James Burd, after inspecting Fort Allen, "Sett off from hence at 10 A. M. for Lieut. Ingle's post, arrived at Lieu't Ingle's at 4 P. M., ordered a Review Immediately, & found here Lieu't Ingle and 30 good men in a very good Stockade, which he is just finishing, 15 miles from Fort Allen. Stores, 10 lb powder, 10 lb lead, 12 Province Arms bad, no blankets, 4 spades, 3 shovels, 2 Grubbing haws & 4 axes, arrived at Lieu't Snyder's Station at 7 P. M." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 357.)

As in the case of Fort Allen, so Fort Norris seems to have been in need of some repairs, which Lieut. Engle appears to have been completing at the time of Major Burd's visit.

In 1756, Maj. Parsons reports the following supplies sent to Fort Norris:

Octob'r 17th 20 lb powder, 23 lb lead.

Octob'r 26th 25 lb powder, 11 lb lead.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 81.)

I have not seen any definite location given of Fort Norris, except in the excellent History of Pennsylvania, by Dr. Egle,

which places it near Greensweig's, in Eldred Township of Monroe County. This is an error. I drove personally through the entire neighborhood, where my judgment led me to look for it, and have been able to fix its site beyond any doubt. For my success I am much indebted to the valuable aid of T. H. Serfass, Esq., of Gilberts, Superintendent of Schools in Monroe County. I herewith give a sketch of its position.

The ground on which Fort Norris stood belonged to Mr. Conrad Frable, is now the property of Mr. Charles Frable, his son, but was formerly a part of the original Serfass property, that of John Serfass (as the name is now spelt), the great grandfather of Mr. T. H. Serfass. We are told that this fort stood on "the high Road towards the Minisinks," that is on the road to what is now Stroudsburg. That is strictly true. Whilst the present State road is about 200 yards south of the fort, yet the original road, as it then existed and is shown by the dotted lines on the map, passed immediately by it. For this and other valuable information herewith given the reader I am indebted to Mr. Conrad Frable, through Mr. T. H. Serfass. Mr. Frable is a gentleman nearly 87 years old. He was born about two miles from the Serfass' place, and was well acquainted with the original John Serfass. He began practical life, about 1827, on the property now owned by John Smale, on the State road one-quarter mile east of Nathan Serfass.

Mr. Frable says when a boy, nine or ten years of age, he used to accompany his father while fishing in the Big creek, and then learned to know the locality of the fort. The present State road then had no existence, but ran as indicated by the dotted lines. Where it forked to the north, just before passing Fort Norris, was the old homestead of James Frable. Further on, near the creek, an old orchard, and at the terminus of the fork lived an old settler named Fisher. From the orchard south to the forks of the old road the land is low and level, in fact marshy, being even in this day sometimes under water; from the forks eastward along the old road the ground rises gradually towards the present State road, which is near the foot of the Wire hill.

Mr. Frable says the fort was dug out, cellar like, with pretty high banks on the east and west sides, not quite so high on the south, and level on the north side which he thinks was the place of entrance. The land had been cleared on all sides for quite a distance from the fort, to within a few rods of the present State road. Now the field has grown up with small pines. Mr. Frable gave the length of one side as fully 70 feet, but Mr. Serfass found it to be from crest to crest fully 75 feet by actual measurement, that is by pacing off the distance. The outline of these embankments, marking the line of stockades, is still visible.

A small graveyard stands about one hundred yards from the fort, probably used by the old settlers and garrison. A spring is found at the site of the fort, and about 200 yards to the East stood a well which Mr. Frable and his sons filled up. This Mr. Frable remembers hearing called the "Indian Well," which would indicate that it was the well mentioned by Mr. Young as being in the fort. This has been a source of some perplexity as the well just named could hardly have been in the fort. And yet there seems but little reason for puzzling over the matter. There may have been another well "in the fort," or the well mentioned by Commissary Young may have been outside of the fort. It is a trivial matter, where the other information is so undoubtedly authentic.

The location of Fort Norris is distant from the nearest point of the present State road about 200 yards, from the house of Charles Frable about 230 yards, from the nearest point on Big creek, formerly Hoeth's creek or Poco Poco creek about 400 yards, from Meitner's Store $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, from house of Nathan Serfass $\frac{5}{8}$ of a mile, and in an air line from Kresgeville $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles. It is about 3 miles or more from Gilberts.

Further authority relative to Fort Norris hardly seems necessary, but, if needed, I might say that the testimony of Mr. Frable is corroborated by that of Mr. Jos. Smale, residing in the vicinity as well as various old residents in the neighborhood.

There was no lack of stirring events about Fort Norris. As most of them, however, took place between it and the locality

where Stroudsburg now stands, and rather nearer the latter place, I have deemed it advisable to defer their mention until in connection with the history of the forts on the Delaware.

Near here was the home of the Minisink Indians, and hostilities began at an early day. Rumors of outbreaks were already ripe in November, 1755. On the 30th of that month Major Parsons wrote to Sec'y Richard Peters:

"Since writing my last, of the 27th Instant, everything remains pretty quiet. There has been a report of some Damage being done on the other side the Mountains, beyond Broadbeads, but it wants Confirmation. Last Fryday the Jersey People took an Indian Man and brought him to our Gaol (at Easton) and last night about 7 o'clock they brought 15 Indians more, 3 of them were Men and the rest Women and Children. As it was thought unsafe to keep the Indians long in this place, which might draw a particular Resentment on us from the other Indians when they should hear we had them here in Goal, They were this Morning all sent over into the Jerseys, under Convoy of those who brought them to us, with advice to convey them safely to some prison in the lower and more Populous Counties of their own Province. Whether we have done right or no must be left to our Superiors, but the People of the Town were exceedingly dissatisfied at the Indians being brought here, and I do assure you that I find a good deal of Difficulty to keep our People in spirits to which end I am obliged upon every occasion to humour them and to keep them in Temper, and they have been much insulted and put upon by some of the Jersey People from Greenwich, who Came in great numbers to feast upon us under the pretence of Friendship being too much encouraged therein by a few of our own People, but I have hitherto kept them patient under these Menaces." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 534).

The storm, which had been lowering over the devoted people north of the mountains, suddenly burst on the 10th of December, and, as the greatest sufferers dwelt comparatively near Fort Norris, it is most appropriate to relate the sad occurrance at this time.

On December 12th, 1755, Timothy Horsfield wrote the Gov-

ernor from Bethlehem, inclosing "a faithful Translation of two Original German letters to the Reverend Mr. Spangenberg, which are just now come to hand, & which will inform your Honour of the particulars which I have to lay before you; your Honour will thereby see what Circumstances we are in in these parts. I would also just mention to your Honour that the bearer brings along with him some pieces of arms which fail in the using, and which makes the people afraid to take them in hand. I pray your Honour will take it into your further Consideration & give us all the assistance that lays in your power." (Col. Rec., vi, p. 756).

The following was one of the above letters to Bishop Spanenberg:

Nazareth, 11th December, 1755.

"Mr. Bizman who just now came from the Blue Mountains, & is the bearer of this Letter will tell you that there is a number of 200 Indians about Broadhead's Plantation, they have destroyed most all the Plantations thereabouts, and killed several families at Hoeth's. You will be so kind and acquaint Mr. Horsfield directly of it, that he may send a Messinger to Philadelphia & let all our Neighbors know what we have to expect, and that they may come to our Assitance."

(Col. Rec., vi, p. 756).

"NATHANIEL."

And this was the other:

"An hour ago came Mr. Glotz and told us that the 10th Instant in the night Hoeth's Family were killed by the Indians, except his Son & the Smith, who made their Escape, and the houses burnt down. Just now came old Mr. Hartman, with his Family, who also escaped and they say that all the neighborhood of the above mentioned Hoeth's, viz't: Broadhead's, Culvers', McMichael's, & all Houses and Families thereabouts were attacked by the Indians at Daylight and burnt down by them.

Mr. Culvers' and Hartmans' Family are come to us with our Waggons & lodge partly here in Nazareth, partly in the Tavern. Our Waggons, which were to fetch some Corn, were met by Culvers 3 Miles this Side his House, and when they heard this shocking News they resolved to return & to carry

these poor People to Nazareth. They say also that the number of Indians is about Two Hundred. We want to hear your good advice what to do in this present Situation & Circumstances, and desire if possible your assistance."

"GRAFF."

Nazareth, 11th Decemb'r, 1755. (Col. Rec., vi, p. 757).

Hardly had Mr. Horsfield sent his first letter to the Governor when he dispatched this second one:

"May it please your Honour:

Sir: I have dispatched an Express this Morning to your Honour in Philadelphia to inform you of the Circumstances we are in. But since hearing that you was in New York, I thought it my Duty to dispatch another Messenger with this, thinking it might yet find your Honour there.

In the night an Express arrived from Nazareth, acquaint'g me that there is certainly People now in Nazareth who fled for their Lives, and informs us that one Hoeth and his Family are cut off, only two escaping, & the Houses, &c. of Hoeth, Broadhead, and others, are actually laid in Ashes, & People from all Quarters flying for their Lives, & the common report is that the Indians are 200 Strong.

Your Honour can easily Guess at the Trouble and Consternation we must be in on this Occasion in these parts. As to Bethlehem, we have taken all the Precaution in our Power for our Defence; we have taken all our little Infants from Nazareth to Bethlehem for the greater Security, and these, with the rest of our Children, are near 300 in number. Altho' our gracious King & Parliament have been pleased to exempt those among us of tender Conscience from bearing Arms, yet there are many amongst us who make no scruple of Defending themselves against such cruel Savages. But Alas! what can we do, having very few Arms & little or no Ammunition, & we are now as it were become the Frontier, and as we are circumstanced, our Family being so large it is impossible for us to retire to any other place for Security.

I doubt not your Honour's goodness will lead you to consider the Distress we are in, & speedily to afford us what relief shall be thought Necessary against these merciless Savages.

I am, with all due respect, your Honour's most obedient,
h'ble Servt,

TIM'Y HORSFIELD

Bethlehem, 12'th Decem'br, 1755.

P. S.—Hoeth's, Broadhead's, &ca are situate a few miles
over the Blue Mountains about 25 or 30 Miles from hence."

(Col. Rec., vi, p. 757).

Those present at or near the scene of disaster fled to Easton; where their affidavits were taken. One person, however, seems to have crossed over to Philipsburg, in New Jersey, if we may judge from the following:

"Colonel:

Joseph Stout received one Express this morning by a young man from that place, where John Carmeckle & Broadhead lives back of Samuel Dupues, where they were attacked Yesterday about 11 O'Clock, where the Barn & Barracks was on fire, & heard the Guns a firing (for Broadhead had Barracaded his House), & there was several People killed, & I fled to Jno. Anderson for help; & as near as I could think there was an hundred Enemy that appeared to me, and was in White People's cloathing—only a few Match Coats.

Sworn before me this 12th Day of December, 1755.

HENRY COLE.

Col. Stout: I desire you would come up directly with your Regiment till you and I see if we can Save our Country. Your Compliance will oblige your real friend,

JOHN ANDERSON.

Philips Burgh.

(Col. Rec., vi, p. 758).

The following two depositions were taken before Wm. Parsons at Easton:

"The 12th Day of December, 1755, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, Michael Hute, aged about 21 Years, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose & declare that last Wednesday about 6 of the Clock, Afternoon, a Company of Indians about 5 in Number attacked the House of Frederick Heath,

about 12 miles Eastward from Gnadenhutten on Pocho Pocho Creek. That the family being at Supper the Indians shot into the House & wounded a Woman; at the next shot they killed Frederick Hoeth himself, & shot several times more, whereupon all ran out of the House that could. The Indians immediately set fire to the House, Mill and Stables. Hoeth's wife ran into the Bakehouse, which was also set on Fire. The poor Woman ran out thro' the Flames, and being very much burnt she ran into the water and there dyed. The Indians cut her belly open, and used her otherwise inhumanly. They killed and Scalped a Daughter, and he thinks that three other Children who were of the Family were burnt. Three of Hoeth's Daughters are missing with another Woman, who are supposed to be carried off. In the Action one Indian was killed & another wounded; and further this Deponent saith not."

JOHN MICHAEL HUTE.

Sworn at Easton, the day and Year said, Before me,
(Col. Rec., vi, p. 758). WM. PARSONS.

This would seem to have been one of the two survivors of that terrible affair, possibly the son, as the name Hute may be merely another way of spelling Hoeth.

The next deposition has more direct reference to the events about Broadhead's, where the Indians went from Hoeth's:

"The 12th Day of December, 1755, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the County of Northampton, John McMichael, Henry Dysert, James Tidd & Job Bakehorn, Jr., who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and declare, that Yesterday about 3 of the Clock, afternoon, two Indian Men came from towards Broadhead's House, who fired at these Deponents and several others, who returned the fire and made the Indians turn off. And the said Deponents, James Tidd and Job Bakehorn, further said, that as they were going round the Stack Yard of the said McMichael, where they all were, they saw, as they verily believe, at least 4 Indians on their knees, about twenty perches from the Stack Yard, who fired at the Deponents. And these Deponents further say that they were engaged in manner aforesaid with the

Indians at least three Quarters of an hour. And these Deponents, John McMichael and Henry Dysert further say, that they saw the Barn of the said Broadhead's on fire about nine of the Clock in the morning, which continued Burning till they left the House, being about 4, afternoon, and that they heard shooting and crying at Broadhead's House almost the whole Day, and that when they left McMichael's House the Dwelling House of said Broadhead was yet unburnt, being, as they supposed, defended by the People within it. And the Deponents, James Tidd & Job Bakehorn, further say, that they did not come to McMichael's House till about 3 in the afternoon, when they could see the Barn and Barracks of the said Broadhead's on fire. And these Deponents further say that they did not see anyone killed on either side, but James Garlanthouse, one of their company, was shot through the Hand & Arm; and further these Deponents say not."

The mark of

JNO. M. McMICHAEL.

The mark of

HENRY H. DYSERT.

The mark of

JAMES X. TIDD.

JOB BACORN.

Sworn at Easton the Day and Year aforesaid Before me
WILL'M PARSONS.

(Col. Rec., vi, p. 759).

The Hoeth family, which was almost exterminated, lived on the Poco Poco creek, later known, because of this murder, as Hoeth's creek, and now as Big creek, a tributary of the Lehigh river above Weissport. The tragedy occurred in the near vicinity of where Fort Norris was afterwards built. Rather unfortunately, the attack on Broadhead's house was so interwoven with the Hoeth narrative that I have felt constrained to give them both together, although, in fact, the places were somewhat separated from each other, the former being near the mouth of the Broad head creek, still bearing the name of that family. The house was not far distant from where Stroudsburg now stands, and otherwise, its story should have been related in the history of Fort Hamilton. After

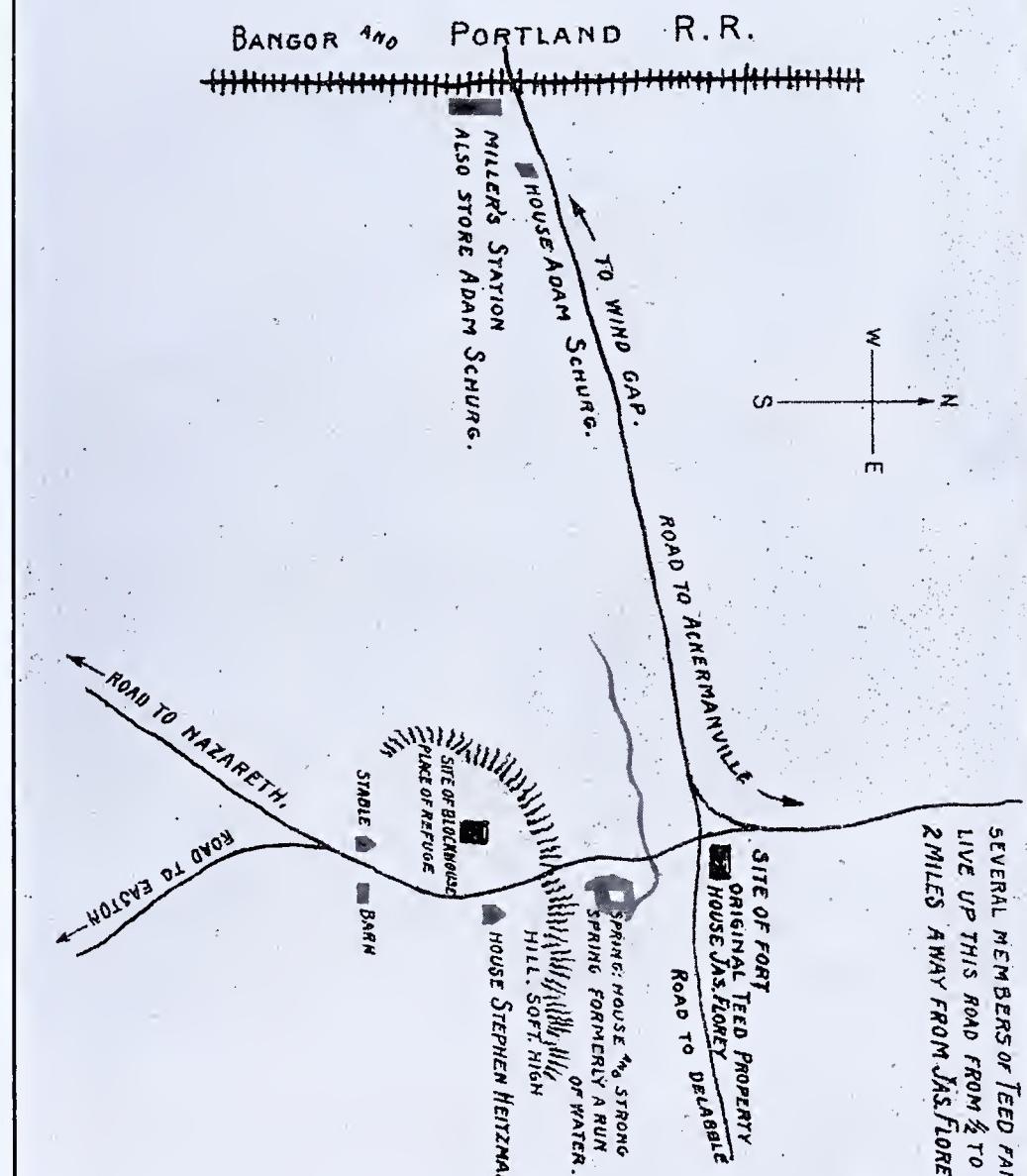
completing their barbarous destruction of Mr. Hoeth's family and property, the Indians proceeded to Brodhead's, where, however, they were not so successful. Meeting with a determined resistance, they were finally obliged to retire. All the members of this household were noted for their bravery. Amongst the sons who aided in this defense was, doubtless, the one who was afterwards distinguished in the Revolution, and in subsequent Indian Wars, as General Brodhead. He had command of Fort Pitt about the year 1780, and previous to that had charge of a garrison on the West Branch. He was particularly noted for his intrepidity and success in heading small parties of frontier men against the Indians.

FORT NEAR WIND GAP.

As I left the site of Fort Norris to drive the fifteen miles intervening between it and Wind Gap, the sky was overcast and threatening, the utter darkness of a cloudy night closed in on me, and found me in a sparsely settled part of the country trying to make my way, with jaded horses, over a dangerous road in a terrible condition, and where it was utterly impossible to discern objects at a distance of three feet from the carriage. And yet, in the midst of all my discomfort, I could not help thinking how favorably even my present lot compared with that of our fathers in the "good old times" for whose return so many of us sigh even yet.

Fortunately I secured shelter before the storm burst, and the next day was able to proceed. Passing through that peculiar pass in the mountain, called the Wind Gap, and through the picturesque, but long drawn out, town of the same name, for about one mile, I finally reached its other end, called Woodley, where I stopped, for information, at the "Woodley House." This tavern stand, known as Stotz's, and prior to that, for a long time, as Heller's, occupies the place where a public house had been erected as early as 1752, deriving its resources from the travel which passed its doors along the

SEVERAL MEMBERS OF TEED FAMILY
LIVE UP THIS ROAD FROM $\frac{1}{2}$ TO
2 MILES AWAY FROM JAS. FIOREY.



FORT OR BLOCK HOUSE NEAR WIND GAP.

new Minisink road through the Wind Gap. Fortunately its landlord, Mr. Seeple, had been brought up as a boy near the old Teed Blockhouse and was able to tell me its location, which was three miles south of his hotel, at Miller's Station on the Bangor and Portland railroad. I immediately proceeded to the spot and made all necessary inquiries. As a preliminary to its discussion I beg to give a map of the locality:

This military station is variously called "Teet's House," "Deedt's Block House," "Tead's Block House," &c., at Wind Gap. The reader, by this time, is probably not surprised at the variety of phonetical spelling he has come across in our old records, and need not be told, what is evident, that this is the same name variously spelled. At our present time it is my privilege to have been acquainted with members of a family whose name is similar. They spell it "Teed," which is probably correct. In the neighborhood of what was the original Teed property, still live many descendants of that pioneer, three of them having farms on the Ackermanville road from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles distant, and another, Mrs. Amandus Ehler, about 55 years old, who is the eldest, residing about one mile beyond Stephen Heitzman's house on the road to Nazareth. I am indebted to the latter especially for information. In the course of many years, however, the name has become slightly changed to "Teel."

The original building was not a fort erected by the Government, but merely a blockhouse, the private residence of Mr. Teed, which was occupied because it was then the only building standing near the position which it was desired to possess. This position was certainly an important one, commanding as it did the roads to and from the Wind Gap, the Forts at and near the present Stroudsburg, Easton and Nazareth. From the Wind Gap, proper, it was distant four miles in a direction south slightly east, and from Woodley, the lower end of Wind Gap, some three miles. Its distance from Nazareth was six miles, and from Easton about twelve miles.

The Fort, or Blockhouse, stood near the present Miller's Station on the Bangor and Portland R. R., about 350 yards east of the station building, in which is also the store of Mr. Adam Schurg. The situation of the Blockhouse itself was

unfortunate in one respect; it stood on the low ground, which, about 75 ft. distant to the south, rises to an elevation of some 50 ft. Near the base of the elevation is now a spring house, distant about 125 ft. from the site of the fort. In olden times this was, apparently, ground of a more or less marshy character.

Exactly when the soldiers first occupied it we are not told. This district was under command of Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt, who, in the exercise of his good judgment, or possibly in accordance with orders, very likely placed a small garrison in it at an early date in the year 1756. In the report for April 20, 1756 (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 325—incorrectly dated 1758), we are told that Ensign Sterling, with 11 men, was stationed "at Wind Gap, Teet's House."

Commissary James Young, whilst inspecting the various forts in 1756, enters this item in his journal:

"25 June—At 5 A. M. sett out from Depues for the Wind Gapp, where part of Capt. Weatherholts Comp'y is Stationed, stopt at Bossarts Plantation to feed our horses, was inform'd that this morning 2 miles from the house in the Woods they had found the Body of Peter Hiss, who had been murdered and Scalped ab't the month of Feb'y. At 11 A. M. Came to the Wind Gap, where I found Cap'n Weatherholt's Ensign, who is Station'd here with 7 men at a Farm house, 4 only were present, one was gone to Bethlehem, with a Letter from the Jerseys on Indian affairs, one was at a Farm house on Duty, and one absent on Furlough from the 15th to the 22^d, but not yet returned, I told the Officer he ought to Esteem him a Deserter as he did, found here 6 Provincial Muskets, all good, and 6 Rounds of Powder and Lead for Each, I told Cap'n Weatherholt to send a supply as soon as Possible.

At 3 P. M. Sett out from the Wind Gapp for Easton * * *
* * at 6 Came to Easton." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 680).

Will the reader pardon me if I call his attention to the fact that, in speaking of this station, it is called Teed's Blockhouse "at Wind Gap." We know that this was not actually the fact but that, as has been said, it stood four miles away from the real Gap. I desire to mention it as an added proof of what I have already written relative to the location of Fort Henry

"at Tolihao Gap." It was the only way in which those of that time could understandingly refer to certain positions.

With this digression we return to our subject, and reach it at a time to introduce a part of the narrative which, for a while was a source of perplexity to me. Reference to the map shows the residence of Stephen Heitzman at the top of the elevation, near the spring house, distant from Jas. Florey's house, and the site of Teed's Blockhouse, about 75 yards south somewhat easterly, and from Miller's Station, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile S. E. This farm is now the property of Mr. Heitzman, but was formerly the Ruth farm. A short distance across the road from it will be noticed the site of an old blockhouse, used as a place of refuge. Concerning this building I was able to get information even more readily than of the fort. Mrs. Ehler, previously named, was familiar with it, having been told of it by her father (a Teel), and other old residents. She was informed of its use as a blockhouse during the Indian War. Several interesting letters were received from Rev. Eli Keller, of Zionsville, Lehigh County, Pa., on this same subject. Its position on the hill gave it an excellent view of the country, and, at first, I concluded it must be the fort for which I was searching. And yet the fact of its being on the hill is proof conclusive that such could not be the case, as we will see, later, that Teed's Blockhouse stood on low, swampy ground. Then again the original Teed property, was on the other side of the spring, and it is doubtful whether he ever owned any part of the land on the elevation above the spring. Rev. Keller's letters, which are most authentic and come from an unquestionable source, as will be seen in a moment, corroborate this, and give other valuable statements. The Fort near Wind Gap, or Teed's Blockhouse, was certainly the home of Mr. Teed, probably the only building in the vicinity, and, of course, on the original Teed property. All members of the family now living, with whom I spoke, told me this was where the house of Mr. Jas. Florey now stands and I have no hesitation in marking this as the site of our fort.

And yet the universal statement of those who should know, is that a blockhouse stood on top of the hill, and I do not doubt the fact myself. I hardly think, either, that the explanation

of the matter is difficult, but will leave it to the reader to judge.

We know that this fort, so called, was merely a farm house, and, in 1756, its garrison was, at the most, but a handful of men. From this time until 1758 no further mention is made of it, the natural inference of which would be that it had been abandoned as a station. Indeed there is but little doubt of this, for we will soon see a petition from the inhabitants, in 1758, praying that the soldiers may be sent there, which was done. For a while all went well, when suddenly the blow fell from an arm which was always uplifted and ready to strike. The sufferer was Joseph Keller (great grandfather of Rev. Eli Keller, my authority) who was settled in that neighborhood, having come to the country in 1737. On September 15th, 1757, his family was attacked by a band of Indians, his wife and two sons carried captives to Canada, and the oldest son, a lad of 14, killed and scalped in the attack.

Necessarily the neighbors were much alarmed, and felt that protection of some sort, for the future, was a thing requiring immediate attention. In the absence of troops at Teed's house they decided to erect a blockhouse, as a place of refuge. Then it was that the building came into existence on the hill, and in it gathered all the people every night during the winter of 1757-58.

Rev. Keller here says, "The title of the land on which this fort stood was not at that time conveyed to any one. A Patent was given to Casper Doll April 26, 1785, by the 'Supreme Executive Council of Penn'a' (Thos. Mifflin, Pres't) for 153a.—90p. for the consideration of £8 16s. 6d. I examined the document and by the boundaries given there can be no doubt as to the farm. In 1795 John Young and Lewis Stacher, Executors of Casper Doll, sold that tract and other of 80a.—120p. adjoining to John and Henry Ruth for £975. The part on which the fort stood was taken by Henry Ruth, subsequently owned by his son, Jacob Ruth, and now by the latter's son-in-law, Stephen Heitzman. These documents I found in the hands of Jno. F. Haney, also a son-in-law of Jacob Ruth, and Executor of his last will, who lives in the neighborhood.

The above Henry Ruth tore down the fort and built himself

a log dwelling house of the timber (when is not known). That house was 26x36 ft. in size, two stories high, and stood till 1861, when a new house was erected on the same spot (Stephen Heitzman's residence—Author). Mr. Jno. F. Haney, being a carpenter, had the building to do, and gave me interesting facts with reference to the timber, &c. It was all of the finest white oak. The logs were hewn very smoothly and of equal width. The courses were of equal height, some fully two feet. Their thickness was eight inches. The corners were not notched, but dovetailed in such a way as to fit exactly and rest on each other throughout. The ends of the logs were sawed off. Two corners of Henry Ruth's house were as the fort had been, and the others (the logs being shortened) were lapped squarely and fastened by wooden pegs. The timber had no signs of being worm-eaten, not even in a little bark left at a few corners. Mr. Haney noticed a number of two inch auger holes bored through which might have been intended as port holes.

The locality of the fort is not to be doubted. There are persons there who saw the foundations ploughed up and the stones removed. It was on the high ground above the spring (see sketch—Author).

A Mr. John Teel lived at that spring sixty years ago, a relative of Mr. Ruth, but he never owned the land where the fort was. Mr. Teel had but a lot on low ground, west of the spring, but Mr. Ruth owned the farm (and spring) and had the high ground where the fort was located. Miller's Station on the B. & P. R. R. is the place. We called that (when he was there 40 years ago) "Springtown," and where the Station is "Dreisbach's." That there should have been soldiers at that Blockhouse I never heard, nor can I believe it. The house was built in order that the people of that neighborhood might gather in it every night, but attend to their work during the day. Why should they have needed soldiers when they could take care of themselves, under existing arrangements? Soldiers having been quartered there would have been handed down traditionally, and (as I think) I would have heard something of it. The raid made on our family (as we

always believed) was made by but a few Indians, as Mother Keller (who duly returned from her captivity) also testified. There was then no open foe, and no need for regular soldiers. Of the size and appearance of the Blockhouse I know nothing.

What I know I learned traditionally, and also from certain statements contained in the family Bible of the said Joseph Keller, still in my possession. As a lad I often saw and heard my grandfather, Philip Keller, and a brother of his, some years older, speak of those times."

Rev. Keller is a gentleman well advanced in years himself, and his information can hardly be doubted. I feel that what he has said confirms what I have been endeavoring to prove.

Mr. Keller's great grandmother was eventually released from her captivity, and, naturally, related many interesting incidents connected with the same. "Whilst held as a prisoner at Montreal in Canada by certain French officers, she heard of the Indians there, who had come from 'beyond the Blue M'ts,' as they called it, that there were excellent marksmen at the fort,—that one evening, whilst the Indians were watching the fort, one was almost shot by one of them, at a great distance."

Mr. Keller also relates the following:

1—"That the girls one evening had been unruly, and, to tease them, the boys put them outside. As was natural, they became alarmed, and, promising behavior, were allowed to enter again. This story was brought back from Montreal by Mother Keller, who had learned it of Indians who had been on the watch at the time."

2—"Father Keller one evening had left his home for the Blockhouse, but, remembering something he wished to do, turned back. Coming near his house he discovered several Indians in it. He hastened away to secure help, but, when they came, the Indians were gone, and so was the greater part of his tobacco he had on his garret. He expressed great sorrow ever after for not attacking them single handed. 'A few of them at least would have remained on the spot,' he expressed himself."

3—"One evening the men were at target shooting, having the

mark against a tree. One of them (I think his name was Andre) shot into the root of the tree, which met with unpleasant remarks, inasmuch as they were excellent marksmen in general. In defence of the man others said, 'He wòuld shoot them in the feet, and we would get them sure, not being able to run.'"

So ends our narrative of the Blockhouse on the hill which indeed is more interesting than that of the Fort.

In 1758, probably the early part, hearing that troops were to be removed south of the mountain, from above, the following petition was sent to the Governor:

"To his Honour William Denny, Esq., Governor of Pennsylvania:

The humble Petition of Divers of the Inhabitants of Mount Bethel, Plainfield and Forks of Delaware, and Places Adjacent, Humbly Sheweth:

That Whereas your Distress'd Petitioners, many of us having suffered much by a most barbarous and Savage Enemy, and we hearing that the Company which has been stationed above us is going to be Removed over the Blew Mountain, which has put us to the utmost Confusion, we being Sensible by Experience that the Company has been of Little or no Benefitt unto us while over the Mountain, and Altho' we would by no means be understood to Dictate unto Your Honour, we hope that it will not be counted presumption humbly to Inform your Honour, That a Station for a Number of Men, somewhere near the Wind Gapp, under the Blew Mountain on the East side thereof, might have the best Tendency to Secure the Inhabitants of these parts. Therefore, We, your honour's Destressed Petitioners humbly Implore you to take it into Consideration as your honour's Goodness thinks proper, for the safety of your humble petitioners who are in Duty bound to pray."

[Numerous Signatures.]

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 321, also 358.)

Unfortunately there is no date attached to this petition, and we cannot say definitely when it was sent, but it was, most likely, the latter part of 1757 or beginning of 1758. Whether

owing to this, or not, we find, from Adjutant Kern's Report of February 5th, 1758, that there was then stationed at "The Wind Gapp, Tead's Blockhouse," Lieu't Hyndshaw, of Garraway's Company, with 27 men, 20 Province Arms, 11 private Arms, 60 lbs powder, 120 lb lead, 4 months provisions, 10 cartridges, that Mr. De Pew was the Commissary, and that it was 20 miles distant from P. Dolls Blockhouse. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340).

Major James Burd, on his visit of inspection in 1758, says:

March 1st. Wednesday.

Marched from hence (Lieut. Snyders at P. Dolls Blockhouse) to Lieut. Hyndshaw's Station at 10 A. M., arrived at Nazareth at 1 P. M., here dined, 8 miles, Sett off again at 2 P. M. arrived at Tead's at 3 P. M., 6 miles. Here I found Ensigne Kennedy with 16 men, who informed me that Lieut. Hyndshaw & Ensigne Hughes would be here one hour hence, at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 5 P. M. Mess'r's Hyndshaw & Hughes arrived with 14 men.

Ordered a Revew and found here 30 good men, stores, 50 pounds of powder & 100 pound of lead, no flints, one Wall piece, 1 shovell, 13 axes good for nothing, & 28 Tomahawks, 56 Blanketts, 46 Guns & 46 Cartouch boxes, little Provision here and no Convenience to lay up a Store; this is a very bad Quarters, the House is built in a Swamp, bad water.

2^d, Thursday.

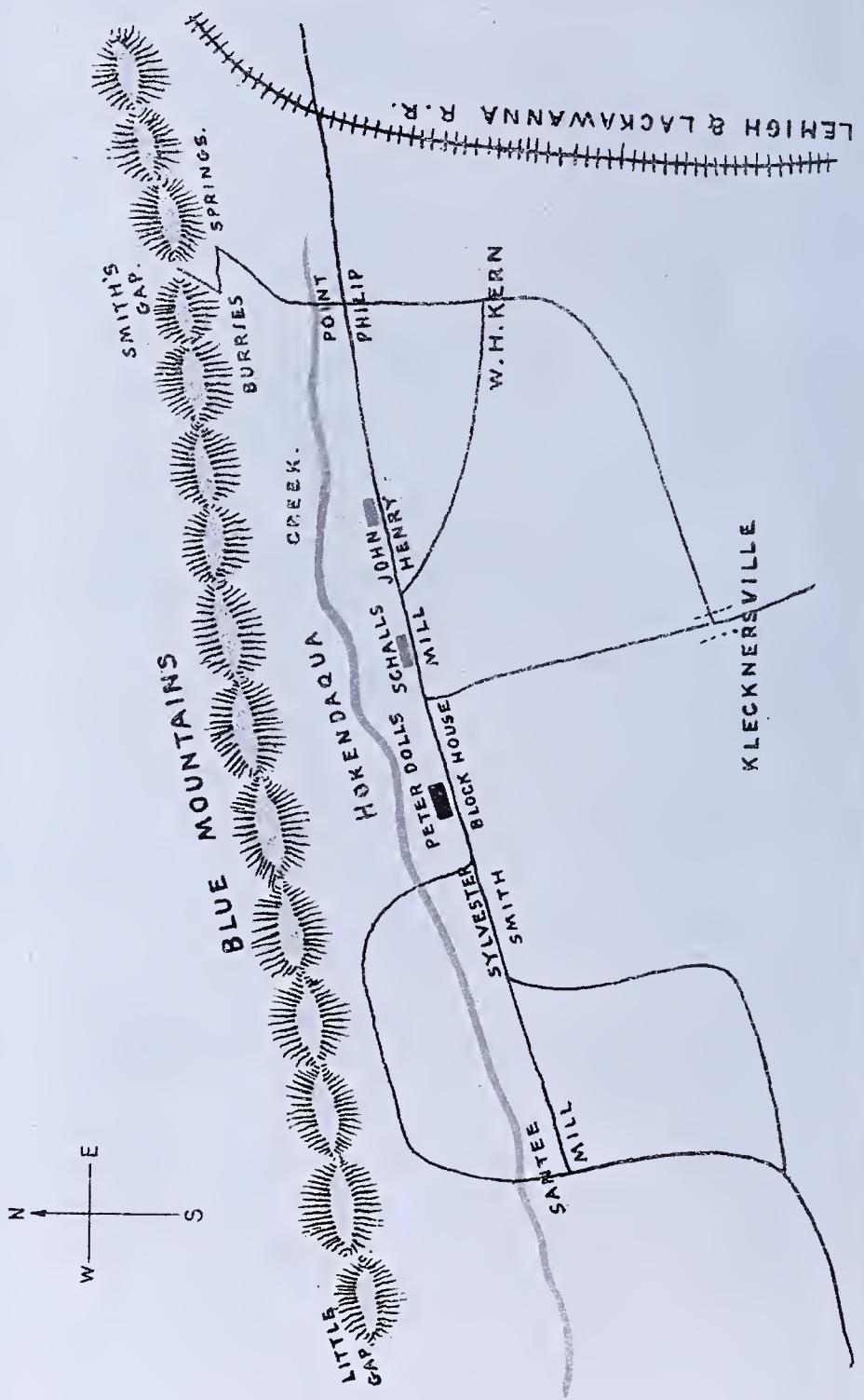
Marched from hence at 9 A. M. for Mr. Samuel Depews. * *

4th, Saturday.

Sett off this morning for Easton (from Depews), extream cold, arrived at Tead's, 21 miles, at 1 P. M. here dined, at 2 P. M. sett off from hence, arrived at Easton at 7 P. M., 12 miles. * * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 356).

We hear nothing more of Tead's Blockhouse near Wind Gapp.

With the return of comparative peace in 1758 the station was undoubtedly abandoned, like many others. Whilst it was but a farm house, presumably surrounded by the usual stockade, yet it was still a fort, and deserves to have its name per-



SITE OF DOLL'S BLOCK HOUSE.

petuated in history. I would recommend a tablet for it, at the side of the public road near by.

PETER DOLL'S BLOCKHOUSE.

On his tour of inspection to Tead's Blockhouse Major Burd makes mention of a station at Peter Doll's Blockhouse. As will be seen more in detail presently, this defense was close to the southern base of the Blue range, between Little Gap and Smith's Gap. Heretofore no attempt seems ever to have been made to fix its location, and it was only with much difficulty that I succeeded in my effort, and even then I met with success only at the last minute. For it I am indebted to the kindly aid of Mr. James H. Scholl, of Klecknersville, whose family are old residents of the vicinity and whose father, Mr. James Scholl, still lives and has been the owner of Scholl's Mill, but a short distance from the site of Doll's Blockhouse, for over half a century.

Moore township, of Northampton county, in which the defense just mentioned stood, was equally unfortunate with other parts of the frontier, even if history has failed so far, to make equally prominent its sufferings. The traditions of the neighborhood tell of many massacres by the savages, but unfortunately the lapse of so many years has robbed them of all details and made them of little value for historical mention. The only record I have found is that given by Dr. Egle (*History of Penn'a*, vol. ii, p. 995), where he states that, in January, 1756, the Indians entered the township and committed a series of depredations and murders, firing the houses and barns of Christian Miller, Henry Diehl, Henry Shopp, Nicholas Heil, Nicholas Sholl and Peter Doll, killing one of Heil's children and John Bauman. The body of the latter was found two weeks after the maraud and interred in the Moravian burying ground at Nazareth.

This, however, was but one of the many like occurrences which kept the settlers in a constant state of alarm for more than a year and half, during which time they endeavored to

defend themselves as best they could, or fled from their homes. Then came, in the summer of 1757, the treaty of peace with the Indians at Easton, and the people looked forward to a cessation of hostilities and immunity from further danger. We have seen how little real basis there was for this anticipation, and know how the enemy continued, almost without intermission, their deadly work. We can realize the discouragement of the inhabitants and feel no surprise at the following petition from those living just south of the mountains, including especially, the settlers of our present Moore township. This letter may be said to have given birth to the station now under consideration:

To the Honourable the Governor and General Assembly, &c.:

The Petition of the back Inhabitants, viz't, of the Township of Lehigh situate between Allentown and the Blue Mountains, in the county of Northampton, most humbly Sheweth:

That the said Township for a few years past has been, to your knowledge, ruined and destroyed by the murdering Indians.

That since the late Peace the said inhabitants returned to their several and respective Places of abode, and some of them have rebuilt their Houses and Outhouses, which were burnt.

That since the new murders were committed some of the said inhabitants deserted their Plantations, and fled in the more improved Parts of this Province, where they remain.

That unless your Petitioners get Assistance from you, your Petitioners will be reduced to Poverty.

That the District in which your petitioners dwell contains 20 miles in Length and eight miles in Breadth, which is two extensive for your Petitioners to defend without you assist with some Forces.

That your Petitioners apprehend it to be necessary for their Defence that a Road be cut along the Blue Mountains, through the Township afores'd, and that several Guard Houses be built along this said Road, which may be accomplished with very little Cost.

That there are many inhabitants in the said Township who have neither Arms nor Ammunition, and who are too poor to provide themselves therewith.

That several Indians keep lurking about the Blue Mountains who pretend to be Friends, and as several People have lately been captivated thereabouts, we presume it must be by them.

May it therefore Please your Honours to take our deplorable condition in Consideration, and grant us Men and Ammunition that we may thereby be enabled to defend ourselves, our Properties, and the Lives of our Wives and Children, Or grant such other Relief in the Premises as to you shall seem meet, and your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, will ever pray.

Forks of Delaware, Oct'r 5th, 1757.

Peter Barber,	Christian Miller,
Jacob Buchman,	Christian Laffer,
Jacob Aliman, Sen'r,	Henry Beck,
Jacob Aliman, Jr.,	Nich's Schneider,
Adam Freisbach,	Peter Schopfell,
Jacob Bricker,	William Beck,
Michael Keppel,	Henry Diehl,
Peter Doll,	John Bethold,
John Kannady,	John Remberry,
William Boyd,	John Dorn,
Jacob Musselman,	Fred Eissen,
Jacob Letherach,	James Hutchinson,
Henry Frederick,	James Rankin,
Schobety,	Paul Flick,
William Best,	Peter Walcker,
Jacob Haag,	Nich's Fall,
Geo. Haag,	Adam Kramler,
William Detter,	Henry Lutter,
Nich's Schneider,	Nicolas Roth,
Geo. Acker	Nich's Heil,
Jacob Fry,	Simon Trumm,
Martin Siegel,	Henry Liend,
Christian Andreas,	John Detter,
Bath'w Rivel,	Adam Marsh,
George Altmar,	Peter Eissemann,
Jacob Altmar,	Peter Anton,
Bernard Kuntz,	George Meyer,

Bernard Reiss,	John Scheier,
Samuel Pern,	John Gress,
Jean Pier,	Christopher Feuchtner,
George Wannemacher,	Conrad Geisley,
Valentine Waldman,	Jacob Kropff,
John Fried,	Jacob Roth,
Jost Triesbach,	Jacob Death or Rodt,
Fred Altimus,	Henry Flach,
Philip Tromin,	Henry Creutz,
John Schlegal,	Michael Rieb,
Henry Schubpp,	Simon Triesbach,
Fred Nagel,	William Kannady.

These are to certify that we have empowered Frederick Eissen to give this, our Petition, to the Honour'bl the Governor and the Assembly.

The foregoing and within writing was translated from the German Paper writing hereto annexed, by me.

PETER MILLER.

(Penn. Arch., vol. iii, p. 284.)

This very proper and deserving petition seems to have met with prompt recognition and action. To a certain extent at least better communications were opened up along the base of the mountains, and several stations were selected to be garrisoned by Provincial troops and used for defensive purposes. In this instance they were generally private residences or buildings already in existence. Amongst them was the dwelling of Peter Doll, whose name has already been noticed by the reader on the petition just given and amongst the sufferers in the raid of January, 1756. He was most likely the Johannes Peter Doll who was qualified in the Province on August 30th, 1737, having arrived on the ship "Samuel," Hugh Percy, Master, from Rotterdam. On the original list his name is given, as we have it, simply Peter Doll. His age was then 24. We are unable to mention the exact date on which the troops occupied this station, but Adjutant Kern, in his report of February 5th, 1758, gives Lieut. Snyder, of Capt. Davis' Company, as on duty at P. Doll's Blockhouse, with 25 men, 16 province arms, 9 private arms, 40 lbs of powder, 50 lbs of

lead, 4 months provisions, 10 cartridges, and names Jacob Levan as the commissary of the station. The distance from Mr. Dupui's house on the Delaware river, as well as from Teed's Blockhouse near Wind Gap, is given as 20 miles, and from the fort at Lehigh Gap as 8 miles. (Penn. Arch., vol. iii, p. 339-340.) The building was probably, as its name indicates, a log house, but an exact knowledge of its character and appearance has passed out of the memory of the descendants of those who took part in the stirring events which we are relating. We do know, however, that, unlike most other places of defense, it was not surrounded by a stockade, but had connected with it two barracks for the accommodation of the garrison.

The map herewith given will show its exact location.

Peter Doll's Blockhouse stood on the road running along the base of the mountain, or near it, and along the Hockendauqua Creek. The spot marked "Burries' Spring," about half way up the mountain on the road through the old Smith's Gap, shows the source and headwater of the Hockendauqua and was noted as a prominent Indian resort, many relics of its former habitues, in the form of arrow heads, etc., being still found there. The site of Doll's Blockhouse was some $\frac{3}{8}$ mile west from the mill now occupied by James Scholl, Sr., who, as already stated, has been its owner for over half a century. The mill stands at the intersection of the road to Klecknersville, from which it is distant $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Continuing on the road along the creek, we come to the house of Sylvester Smith, in close proximity to the Blockhouse, and, some three miles further on, to Santee Mills, nearly in a line south from Little Gap. The place marked as now occupied by John Henry is supposed to be the first farm taken up and occupied by white men in the vicinity. The son of the owner, by name Beck, from New Jersey, was massacred on the tract after a long and desperate struggle. Mr. Scholl's present property was a part of this original tract. The whole locality, which seems to have been naturally adapted to the comfort of the aborigines, contains many remains of their hunting implements. Santee Mills, and indeed all the neighborhood, was the scene of numerous murders and depredations.

It is to be regretted that so little of the history of Peter Doll's Blockhouse has been preserved. There only remains the mention made of it by Major James Burd in his tour of inspection during the Spring of 1758, after which it drops out of our sight. It was doubtless more or less occupied until the final cessation of hostilities in that same year. Major Burd says, under date of Tuesday, February 28th, 1758, "Arrived at Lieut. Ingle's at 4 P. M. (Fort Norris); ordered a Review Immediately * * *, arrived at Lieut. Snyder's Station at 7 P. M. (Peter Doll's Blockhouse), 8 miles, ordered a review tomorrow morning, here I stay all night.

March 1st, Wednesday.

Reviewed this morning & found here Lieut. Snyder & 23 men undissiplined, 15 lb powder, 30 lb lead, no blankets, 8 Province Arms bad.

Lieut. Humphreys relieved Lieut. Snyder this morning, ordered Lieut. Snyder to his post over Susquehanna.

I am informed by the officers here, Lieut's Ingle & Snyder, that _____ Wilson, Esq'r, a Magistrate in this County, has acquainted the Farmers that they should not assist the Troops unless the officers immediately pay & that said Wilson has likewise informed ye soldiers they should not take their Regimentals, as it only puts money in their officers pockets. I have found a Serg't confined here on acc't of mutiny, and have ordered a Regimentall Court Martiall this morning; at this Station there is two barricks, no stockade.

Marched from hence to Lieut. Hyndshaw's Station at 10 A. M., arrived at Nazareth at 1 P. M., here dined, 8 miles. Sett off again at 2 P. M. arrived at Tead's at 3 P. M., 6 miles." * * (Penn. Arch., vol. iii, p. 356.)

NAZARETH STOCKADE.

The history of the places used for defence against the Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania would not be complete without reference to the stockade at the Moravian Settlement of Nazareth, and their Stockaded Mill at Friedensthal near by.

OLD WHITEFIELD HOUSE AT NAZARETH.



The history of the Moravians, or more properly "Unitatis Fratrum," is so closely interwoven with that of Northampton county, and the influence which they have brought to bear upon its welfare, so great, that it would be most desirable if it could here be given in full. But this is impossible, and indeed the connection of the Brethren with the epoch of the Indian War was, in itself, so extensive, as to prevent more than a passing account of their plans for defense against the enemy and for protection of the multitude of refugees who flocked to their settlements.

Casual mention has heretofore been made of their defenses at Bethlehem, but, whilst this was a most important town, yet it was so far distant from the actual scene of hostilities as to probably remove it from the scope of this report.

With Nazareth, however, this was different, and a chance occurrence at any time might have brought the savages to its door. I have therefore taken the liberty of making numerous extracts from the valuable papers of the late Rev. •William C. Reichel entitled "Disjecta Membra"—Transactions Moravian Historical Society, part x, vol. 1, and "Friendensthal and its Stockaded Mill"—Transactions Moravian Historical Society, Series 2, Part 1.

At Nazareth the "Whitefield House" is the central point of interest, and one directly applicable to this article, as it was this building which became the Nazareth Stockade.

On May 3d, 1740, George Whitefield, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism, agreed with Mr. William Allen, of Philadelphia, for 5,000 Acres of land in the Forks of the Delaware, the name given to all the country between the Lehigh and Delaware rivers, and including the whole county of Northampton. The price paid was £2,200 sterling. On this was to be erected a school for negroes, and a Methodist settlement to be founded. This tract was called "Nazareth." The Delawares, who had a village on the same land at this time, called it "Welagamika," signifying "rich soil."

Amongst the fellow passengers of Whitefield from Georgia to Philadelphia, in April, 1740, was Peter Boehler and the remnant of the Moravian colonists of the former Province.

With him arrangements were made to erect the building. Taking with him the Brethren, Boehler at once started for Nazareth and went to work, but by the first week in September the walls of the school were built no higher than the door sill, and £300 had already been expended. Various things prevented progress in the work, until the spring of 1741, when Whitefield became pecuniarily embarrassed, and during the same summer consented to sell the entire tract to Bishop Spangenberg of the Moravian Church. The deed of sale was executed July 17, 1741.

On Dec'r 2d, 1741, Count Zinzendorf landed at New York. In the summer of 1742 he instituted proceedings for the removal of the Indians on the property, but was not successful until the middle of December when the Brethren found themselves, at last, the sole possessors of their two log-houses with garden adjacent, and the stone walls of the ill-fated and unfinished school.

Meanwhile Zinzendorf abroad, in the summer of 1743, was busy fitting out a second colony of Brethren and Sisters, one portion of which he designed to locate at Nazareth. When intelligence of this fact reached Bethlehem in the second week of September, masons were sent up immediately thereafter, on the 18th, to resume work on the "stone house" (so called), and hasten it to completion. Two years, therefore, had fully elapsed since the trowel had last rung on the limestones of this now venerable pile. By the close of the year the work was done, and, on the 2d of January, 1744, it was occupied by thirty-three couples, members of the colony that had been imported on the "Little Strength," Capt. Garrison, in November previous. The building contained eleven dwelling rooms, three large rooms or halls, and two cellars.

In 1745, the first of the group of buildings at the improvement called by later generations "Old Nazareth," was built. Thither the adult inmates of the "Stone house" were gradually removed, and the building assigned for the children of the settlement, and for a "boarding school for girls."

On January 7th, 1749, fifty-six infants, varying in age from fifteen months to five years, with their attendants and instructors (widows and single sisters) removed from Bethlehem into

the "Stone house," which henceforth was called the "Nursery."

The Indian War broke in rudely upon the quiet of this "home of little ones," and when the savages came down into the settlements in the autumn of 1755, it was thought prudent to remove the nurslings and the pupils of the Boarding School to Bethlehem.

It then became a place of refuge for settlers from the frontier. In December, 1755, sentry boxes were erected near the principal buildings of Old Nazareth. They were made of green logs having the chinks filled with clay, and so considered as practically fire proof. In each of these four men watched at night. Whilst Capt. Isaac Wayne's Company were on duty at Nazareth these sentries were detailed from his command. In February, 1756, a stockade was erected around the cattle yard, and on May 26th, 1756, was begun a trench for the palisades to be erected as a stockade around the Whitefield House and two log houses adjacent. This stockade was 236 by 170 feet and 10 feet high, being flanked by sentry boxes in which sentries were constantly on duty, not less than eight men constituting a watch. To celebrate the completion of their work, the Brethren met, on June 4th, in a Love Feast. The timber for this stockade was cut in April, prior to its erection.

After the Indian War it was occupied by various families as a domicile, but has now been rescued from the decay incidental to neglect and become the headquarters of the Moravian Historical Society. It is a large antique edifice, built of limestone, with a hip roof, and has in front between the stories a brick band with crank-shaped ends, similar to those in many old houses in Philadelphia. This band marks the limits of Whitefield's labors.

It stands in "Old Nazareth," which shows plainly the ravages of Time. In 1771 "New Nazareth" was laid out around Nazareth Hall and grew apace until it became the principal place in the "Barony," now the Borough of Nazareth. The Whitefield, or Ephrata House is S. E. from Nazareth Hall, and on what is now the southeast corner of Centre street. Of this Rev. Reichel says, "There was a time within our memory,

when it stood back from the dusty street, and when its approach from the highway was by a stile, which being crossed, led you under the shade of embowering trees, to the carpet of green that spread out invitingly on the sunny side of its gray limestone walls."

The Moravian Church was a Church of Missionaries. Its first care, when planted in its new home, was for the souls of its Indian neighbors, many of whom were converted and became inmates of their settlements. During the terrible atrocities incident to the Indian War the settlers became incensed against all "red skins" to a degree difficult, at this day, to fully realize. With their families butchered before their eyes, and their property laying waste, all Indians were to them enemies, whether actually friendly or not, and were of no value except for the bounty their scalps might bring from the Government. Not a few innocent Indians were actually slaughtered, and suspicious eyes were especially cast on the Moravian Indians who were accused of treachery and of taking part in the forays against the white settlers. Even the Moravians themselves were said to be in league with the French. Much has been said on the subject and many arguments made "pro" and "con." I do not propose to take any of them up, but merely to quote Bishop Jos. Spangenberg's letter of July 31st, 1758, to Secretary Richard Peters, which I believe places the matter fairly before the reader:

Mr. Richard Peters:

Sir,

I humbly thank You for giving me an Account of Mr. Smith's Information, viz't, That he, being a Prisoner in the French Countries, saw there the Moravian Indians go and come most every week, &c.

Give me leave to observe, first, that a Moravian Indian is a Sideroxylon. Moravia is no Religion, but a certain country. But I suppose he means either some Indians who once have lived at Gnadenhutten, or he means Indians who were coming from Bethlehem.

If he calls them who once lived at Gnadenhutten, Moravian Indians, he may have seen such amongst the French. For

several Indians who once lived at Gnadenhutten went up to live at the Susquehannah, before we had any Wars, and have been involved in them, some with, some against their Will.

If he means Indians who came from Bethlehem, I suppose he was not mistaken either. For when Governor Morris issued a Proclamation, setting forth a Cessation of Arms on this Side Susquehannah, numbers of Indians came to Bethlehem, stayed there some Time, went off again, and returned at Pleasure. The Brethren acquainted the Governor with it, not only by Letters, but also by Two Deputies, earnestly requesting and intreating, that the said Indians might be ordered to be somewhere else. For Bethlehem was become a Frontier Place, and in continual Danger of being set on Fire and cut off cruelly by their very Guests. But the Government had weighty Reasons for leaving the Indians at Bethlehem, and when once they were removed to Easton for bringing them back again to Bethlehem.

But if Mr. Smith means by Moravian Indians those Indian Families, who, when the war broke out, and our People were cruelly murdered on the Mahony, fled to Bethlehem, and gave themselves under English Protection, which also was granted them, and who afterwards had their Houses at Gnadenhutten burnt, their Provisions destroyed and their Horses carried away, he is certainly mistaken. For these very same Indians were, as well as all other Men in Bethlehem, continually employed in the Time of War, in keeping Watch, &c., and kept about Bethlehem for fear of being hurted by others, or of frightening them. And when Peace was a making they were our Watchmen in the Harvest Time, or they set themselves to work, which is so notorious that, on Occasion, one could bring One Hundred Evidences to prove it. After Peace was made, they have ventured out a hunting again, but did not go further than just behind the blue Mountains, except one or another of them were sent as Messengers from the Government. But with Respect to any Imputation that may ly on our Characters, as if we were on any Account carrying on a political, or any other Correspondence with the French, I do declare that there is no such Thing; and if either Mr. Smith, or any body else, is of Opinion that any one of us had a Hand

in a Correspondence with the French, or that any one of us even had known of the Indians going to them, or coming from them, further than what we immediately have communicated to the Government of this Province, He is certainly mistaken.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Ser't,

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 500.)

JOS. SPANGENBERG.

As the Moravians had extended their operations from Bethlehem to Nazareth, so they advanced from this place to Gnadenhutten, on the Lehigh River above the Blue mountains. We read of the flourishing condition of this Mission and then of its utter destruction in November, 1755. This was quickly followed, on December 10th, by the murder of the Hoeth family, on the Poco Poco creek, near Fort Norris, and the next day by the attack on Brodhead's, near Stroudsburg. Then came the flight of the luckless inhabitants across the mountains, in all conditions of wretchedness. Then it was that the old Whitefield House, opened its doors and received the poor refugees, until, on January 29th, 1756, it held 253, many of them children. It was a dark winter in the history of "Old Nazareth."

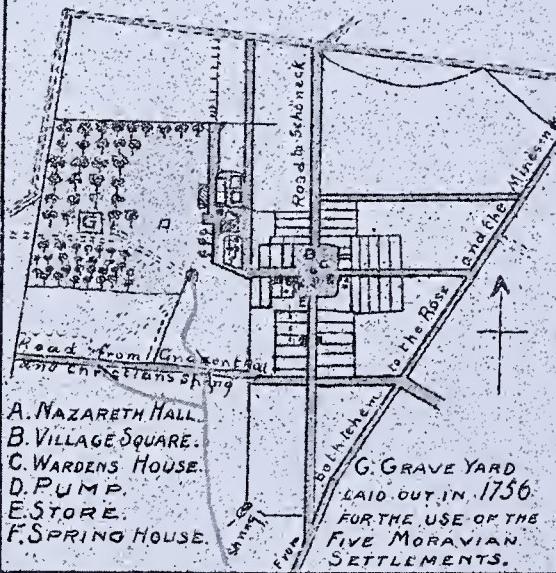
The gravity of the position, at the outbreak of hostilities was so great that the Government felt constrained to give assistance to the Moravians in their defence of Nazareth. The first regular officer stationed there, of whom I can find record, was Capt. Wayne, of Chester county. The following orders were sent him by Governor Morris, on January 3d, 1756, who was then at Reading and had just received the news of the destruction of Gnadenhutten and murder of Capt. Hays soldiers:

Cap. Wayne:

You are upon your return from Depeu's to Halt with your Company at Nazareth, and there to remain until further orders, taking care all the while you are there to keep your company in good order, and to post them in such a manner as most Effectually to guard and secure that place against any attack; and if you should be past Nazareth when you receive

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TOWN OF NAZARETH
LAID OUT BETWEEN OLD NAZARETH AND
NAZARETH HALL IN JANY. 1771.

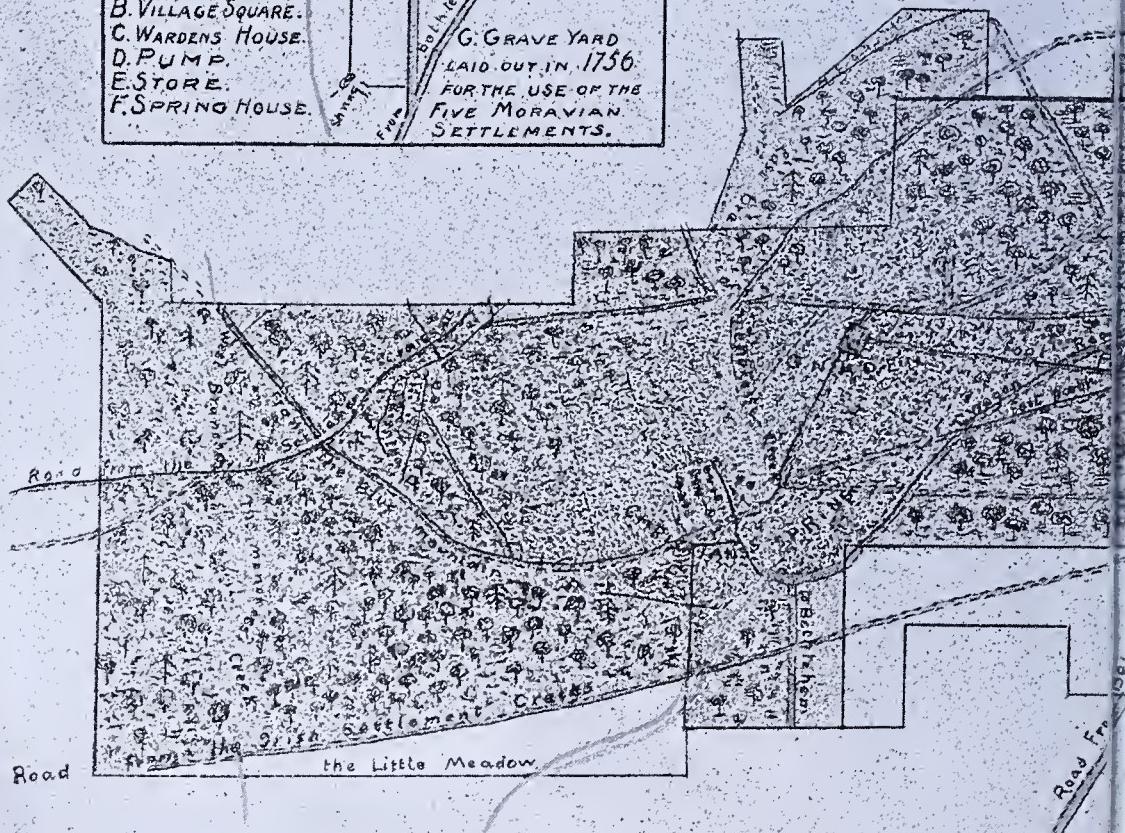


BARONY
IN NORTHAMPTON
COMPRISING ISLANDS

0 50 100 150

SCALE OF RODS.

FROM SURVEYS BY C.G. REUTER
DRAWN BY SPENCER BONSALL



these orders, you are then to return thither, and remain there, posting your men as above you are directed.

You are, as soon as you can, to augment your company with the number of twenty men, each man to find himself with a gun and a Blanket, for the use of which a reasonable allowance will be made by the Government. And, in making this Augmentation you are to take care to keep an exact account of the time when each man enters himself with you, so that you may be enabled to make a proper return to me upon oath.

You are to inform the men of your company and such of the other companys as you shall Joyn or have occasion to send to, that They shall receive a reward from the Government of forty Pieces of Eight for every Indian they shall kill & scalp in any action they may have with them, which I hereby promise to pay upon producing the Scalps.

As there may be occasion for the immediate use of your Company in another part of the Country, you are to Hold yourself in readiness to march upon an Hour's warning. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 542.)

His stay at Nazareth was but short. Benjamin Franklin very shortly after took charge of the direction of affairs. On January 14th, he reported to the Governor from Bethlehem that he found Wayne posted at Nazareth, as ordered; that he had sent a convoy of provisions and supplies to Trump and Ashton, who were erecting the forts on the Delaware, which was to be escorted as far as Nazareth by Lieut. Davis and the twenty men of McLaughlin's company who had come with him, Franklin; they then were to remain at Nazareth to guard that place while Capt. Wayne, whose men were fresh proceeded with the convoy. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 549.) Upon his return Capt. Wayne accompanied Franklin to Gnadenhutten to assist in the erection of Fort Allen.

That other troops were, off and on, constantly at Nazareth, as long as there was any need for them, seems most probable. The nature of the stockade, however, was so different from that of the other forts, and the organization of the Brethren themselves so complete, that it can hardly be called a regular military station, as some others. Nevertheless, its importance

and the noble work which it accomplished, cannot be gainsaid. I believe a tablet, commemorating some of the facts just set forth, would add materially to the interest now attached to this venerable building at Nazareth.

THE STOCKADED MILL AT FRIEDENSTHAL.

One mile Northeast from the old stone Whitefield, or Ephrata House, at Nazareth, stood the mill which the Brethren had erected on the banks of the Bushkill creek, and which they named "Friedensthal," or the "Vale of Peace." This was also stockaded and played its part in the terrible drama of the times. It was in what is now Palmer township of Northampton county.

The matter of converting their grain into flour had become a serious matter to the Brethren at Nazareth already in 1749. It is true a mill had been erected at Christian's Spring in 1747, about one mile to the south of west from Nazareth, on the Monocasy creek, of which the lower story was a grist and the upper story a saw mill, but this was of very limited capacity. Nearly all the grain therefore had to be transported annually to Bethlehem at great loss of time and money.

It was resolved, therefore, to erect a second mill, and, on October 28th, 1749, John Nitschmann and Henry Antes, both from Bethlehem and men of experience, came to Nazareth to select a desirable site. Failing to find what they wanted on the Monocasy creek, within the precincts of the Barony, they turned their footsteps eastward and, coming to the banks of the charming stream, which the Van Bogarts from Esopus named "Bushkill," and which the Scotch-Irish called "Lefevre's creek," after Johannes Lefevre, whose meadows, distant a short mile to the south were irrigated by its waters, they selected the spot which was afterwards named "Friedensthal." This tract comprising 324 acres, was also the property of William Allen, of Philadelphia. Negotiations with him for its purchase were finally concluded on January 3d, 1750, the consideration being £324, lawful money of the Province.

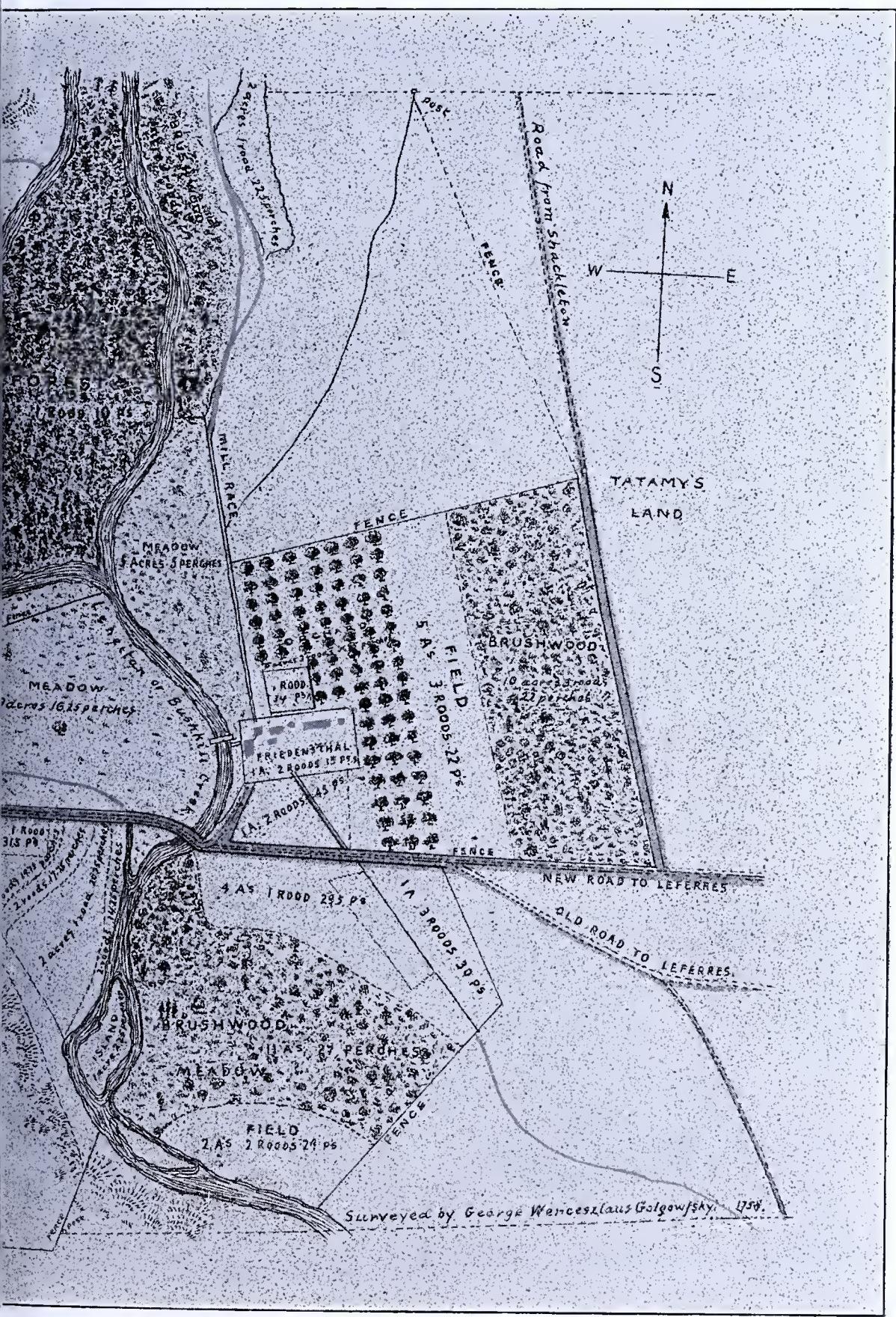
FRIEDENSTHAL,

A SETTLEMENT OF THE
MORAVIAN ECONOMY.

NEAR THE BARONY OF NAZARETH, NORTHAMPTON CO. PENN.

1758





Immediately the Brethren commenced to clear the land, and the mill building, under the supervision of Mr. Antes, was started. In the second week of August, 1750, this was completed and in running order. It was located on the left bank of the creek, about one hundred yards north of the spot on which its successor stands, and was a substantial limestone structure with a frontage of 34 feet towards the south and a depth of 48 feet, and had four rooms. It was furnished with an overshot water-wheel and one run of stones, which were cut by Peter May in his quarry on the Neshaminy and were delivered at the "Kill" at a cost of £9 10s. currency. The mill irons were wrought at the iron works of Messrs. Wm. Logan & Co., Durham.

On August 21st, 1750, the new mill was inaugurated in its career of usefulness. The dwelling, or farmhouse, meanwhile, was still in the hands of the carpenters, being, in fact, not ready for occupancy until the spring of 1751. It stood directly east of the mill, was built of logs, 32 by 20 feet, was two stories high, and had four apartments. A flaring frame barn and three annexes, one for the horses, one for the cows, and one for the sheep, with a total frontage of 88 feet towards the south and a depth of 30 feet, eventually flanked the dwelling on the east.

For a few brief years this was indeed a "Vale of Peace." Then came Braddock's defeat, and the merciless tomahawk of the Indian. We are already familiar with the terrible events of the months in the latter part of 1755, and how the poor settlers were obliged to flee for their lives, abandoning home, property and all, for mere safety. We also know how the stream of refugees flowed into and past Nazareth, and, like a river overflowing its banks, inundated that Barony. On January 29th, 1756, there were 253 at Nazareth, 52 at Gnadenthal, 48 at Christian's Spring, 21 at the "Rose" and 75 at Friedensthal. Of this number 226 were children.

In the annals of Friedensthal Economy, the first arrival of fugitives is chronicled on the 13th of December, 1755, and special mention made of a poor Palatine who had barely escaped from the hands of the murdering savages near Hoeth's. It was late in the night when word was brought to him that

Hoeth's had been cut off. There was not a moment to be lost, so, taking his helpless wife upon his shoulders, as she lay in bed (she had but lately given birth to an infant) he fled for his life. On the 21st a fugitive brought the report to the farm that the following night had been fixed upon by the Indians for a simultaneous attack upon the five plantations on the Barony. Brother Nathaniel Seidel, of Bethlehem, who, so to say, was in command at the "upper places" since the breaking out of hostilities, with his headquarters at Christian's Spring, thereupon took precautionary steps to avert a surprise, and, there being two companies of riflemen at Nazareth, he posted Lieut. Brown of Captain Sol. Jenning's Company of Ulster-Scots, with 18 men, at Friedensthal. There was, however, no need of their presence, or possibly, because of their presence, the enemy desisted from attack.

On the 15th of January a company of refugees at Bethlehem set out for the mountains to look after their farms and cattle. Among them was Christian Boemper, a son of Abraham Boemper, of Bethlehem, silversmith, and son-in-law of Frederick Hoeth. With him was Adam Hold, his servant, a Redemp-tioner. The party, and some soldiers who escorted them, fell into the hands of the Indians, near Schupp's Mill, Hold alone escaping, with a severe flesh wound in the arm, which eventually cost him the loss of that limb. The killed, according to Capt. Trump, were Christian Boemper, Felty Hold, Michael Hold, Laurence Kunckle, and four privates of his company, then stationed at Fort Hamilton (Stroudsburg). Andrew Kremser, in a letter, dated Friedensthal, January 22d, alludes to this sad affair, and gives the following additional information: "Yesterday there came to us three men from the mountain, whose parents are here with us. They report that the bodies of the eight were found, and buried by the soldiers. Christian Boemper's body was stripped quite naked—of Cul-ver they knew nothing. Our dogs made a great noise every night 'till 12 O'clock, and run towards the island, which is very bushy; and not without ground, I am inclined to suspect." John Adam Hold, here mentioned, was a native of Hanau on the French border, where he was born September, 1737. He was taken to Bethlehem, where, on January 29th, Dr. John

M. Otto amputated the arm. He recovered and, in January, 1767, removed to Christian's Spring. Despite the loss of his arm, he was an expert axeman. He was a short, thick-set man, and was always accompanied by two dogs when he went to Nazareth. He died in 1802.

A person, named Mulhausen, a Palatine, while breaking flax on the farm of Philip Bossert, in Lower Smithfield, was shot through the body by an unseen Indian, receiving a wound which, it was feared, would prove mortal. One of Bossert's sons running out of the house on the report of the gun, was shot by the enemy in several places, and soon died. Hereupon old Philip appeared on the scene of action, and exchanged shots with one of the attacking party, striking him in the small of the back, a reception that sent the savage off "howling." He himself, however, received a flesh wound in the arm. At this juncture some of Bossert's neighbors came to the rescue, and the five remaining Indians made off. Mulhausen was taken to Friedensthal Mill for treatment, at the hands of Dr. Otto, but the poor man was beyond help, and on the 3d he breathed his last.

Although many of the Brethren had conscientious scruples against taking up arms in ordinary warfare, they certainly had none in doing so to defend themselves. On the 9th of March the Commander-in-Chief at the "upper places" called a Council of War at Friedensthal, at which it was resolved to stand vigilantly on the defensive, and to stockade the place. As there was no time to lose, timber for the piles was commenced to be felled on the third day after the Council, and before the expiration of the month, the Friedensthals, with the assistance of the young men of Christian's Spring, had completed the work. It enclosed the mill, the dwelling, the barn and the stabling over the way.

On June 25th, 1756, Commissary Jas. Young visited this stockade, and reports as follows:

"At 3 P. M. Sett out from the Wind Gap for Easton, ab't half way past by Nazareth Mill, Round which is a Large but Slight Staccade ab't 400 ft. one way, and 250 the other, with Logg houses at the Corners for Bastions." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 681.)

Whether this rude stockade was retained as long as those at Nazareth and Gnadenthal is very questionable.

On August 24th, 1756, the shingled roof of the dwelling took fire from sparks from the bake oven, and had not Lefevre's people lent helping hands, the entire settlement would probably have been laid in ashes.

Here Rev. Reichel relates an interesting tradition given him by the venerable Philip Boerstler, whom he visited in the spring of 1871:

"There," said Philip, "at the base of that limestone ridge which bounds the meadows on the south ran a trail between old Nazareth and Friedensthal, and on that trail one of our Ministering brethren, in the times of the Indian War, escaped with his life from the deadly aim of an Indian's rifle as by a miracle. It was the custom of our brethren to make the tour of the settlements on the tract, dispensing words of cheer or ghostly comfort to men whose hearts were failing them amid the harrowing uncertainties in which they lived. Thrice had the passing evangelist been marked by the lurking savage in his covert on the ridge, and thrice did the painted brave pass his fingers across the notches in his tally, which reminded him that there was but one scalp lacking of the needed twelve, to insure him a captainship in his clan. The love of glory fired the dusky warrior's bosom, but he hesitated to perpetrate the foul deed, for in his intended victim he recognized the man whom he had once heard speaking words of peace and mercy and forgiveness, in the turreted little chapel on the Mahoning. But when the coveted prize was within his view for the fourth time, casting from him the remembrance of better things, and calling upon the Evil Spirit to smite him a paralytic, should he quail in taking aim, the frenzied Delaware drew a deadly bead upon his brother, and almost saw himself a Chieftain—when, lo! his rifle fell to the earth, and the brawny limbs and the keen sight lost their cunning for those of an impotent." "And what was the subsequent fate of this so marvelously thwarted savage?" I asked. "He became a convert," replied Philip, "and a helper at the mission." "And did you learn the evangelist's name?" I questioned, said Philip, "it was Fries or Grube, I believe."

The precautions taken to secure Friedensthal from a surprise on the part of the savages were kept up unintermittingly until 1758.

In the third week of March, 1757, the stewards in the "upper places" were cautioned to keep vigilant watch—to reset the shutters on the houses, and to secure the gates of the stockade with strong fastenings. There was certainly need of this vigilance for, on the 24th of March, the Delawares who were residing in an apartment of Nazareth Hall (then not fully completed), reported finding, not a stone's throw from the house, suspended from a sapling in the woods, an Indian token wrought from swan's feathers, such as served to mark the chosen site of a rendezvous for warriors, when about to strike a blow.

By this time, however, it had been decreed that the setting of watches might no longer be done without the Governor's special leave. Warden Schropp accordingly wrote Gov. Denny for the necessary permission, which was promptly accorded and six commissions to Captains of Watches, as follows:

- 1st—To George Klein and John Ortleib, for Bethlehem.
- 2nd—To Godfried Schwarz, in Christian's Brunn.
- 3rd—To Abram Hessler, in Gnadensthal.
- 4th—To Nicholas Shaffer, in Nazareth.
- 5th—To Philip Trenston, in Friedensthal.
- 6th—To Henry Fry, to be Chief Captain, or overseer, of Christian's Brunn, Gnadensthal, Nazareth and Friedensthal.

In April the savages were again at work in the townships of Lehigh and Allen, and a petition for military protection presented to the Governor, in behalf of the people, by Frederic Altemus, James Kennedy and others. So it came to pass that in the first week of May, the Mill was once more filled with fugitives. It was one of this number who brought the sad intelligence that Webb's place had been burned last Sunday by some Indians led on by a Frenchman. Webb's wife, Abraham Miller's widow, and her son Abraham, were taken prisoners. This statement was confirmed a few weeks later by the lad, who had effected his escape.

On August 22d, of the same year, Warden Schropp reported to the Governor, "In Friedensthal Mill they all have arms, and are constantly on the guard and watch by turns."

At the time Commissary Young visited the Stockade, in June, 1756, or, at least, in that month, Captain Inslee, Ensign Inslee and twenty-four men were stationed in the Mill. So well, however, did the Brethren care for themselves that the presence of soldiers in their midst was hardly at any time a matter of great necessity.

With the peace of 1758 came tranquility until the outbreak of the savages in 1763. Once more then were the palisades placed in position, and again did the Brethren take up their arms and stand guard, only to be laid aside in a short time, never more to be taken up.

On the 20th of April, 1771, the Vale of Peace passed out of the hands of the Moravian Brethren into that of strangers, being sold to Samuel Huber, of Warwick township, Lancaster county, for \$2,000, Penn'a currency.

About 1840 the demolition of the old mill was completed, no vestige of it remaining except the well in the barnyard.

The present mill was built in 1794 by Jacob Eyerle, of Nazareth.

I herewith reproduce roughly, a map of the Barony of Nazareth, as it was in 1758, on which are shown Nazareth, founded in 1743, Gnadensthal, or Vale of Grace, founded in 1745, Christian's Spring, founded 1748, Friedensthal, or Vale of Peace, founded 1749, and The Rose, founded 1752, all of which had their share in the events of the times, more or less of which have been given the reader.

I also produce, separately, a map of Friedensthal, showing in detail the localities already enumerated.

Whilst Nazareth, because of its greater size and importance, and the Friedensthal Mill, because of its more exposed position and also great importance, were especially defended and stockaded, and thus call for especial mention, yet a history of the Moravian Defences about Nazareth would be incomplete without further and more extended reference, besides the casual remarks already made, to Gnadensthal, Christian's Spring and "The Rose" Inn, which constituted the remaining three

settlements in the "Barony." Here I am again indebted to the papers of Rev. W. C. Reichel, valuable information furnished by Jno. W. Jordan, Esq., Pennsylvania Historical Society, and to the kind aid of Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, of Nazareth.

GNADENTHAL.

Next in age to old Nazareth itself was Gnadenthal, founded as already stated, in 1745, one year after "the Nazareth Farm," from which it was distant two miles west by north. Nestling as it did, in a hollow at the foot of the ridge which traverses the great tract from east to west, surrounded on all sides by evidences of the Creator's bounty, it is well called the "Vale of Grace."

In the Autumn of 1753, just prior to the times of which we are writing, there was a great gathering of the head men of the Moravian Church at Lindsey House, in the metropolitan suburbs of Chelsea, Kensington Division of the Hundred of Ossulstone, Middlesex, O. E., for the purpose of examining into the financial circumstances of their Society, which then was on the verge of disastrous bankruptcy.

From the report on that occasion submitted by the five representatives of the American Province of the Brethren's Unity, at the head of which stood Bishop Spangenberg, we glean the following facts as to the composition of the Gnadenthal settlement:

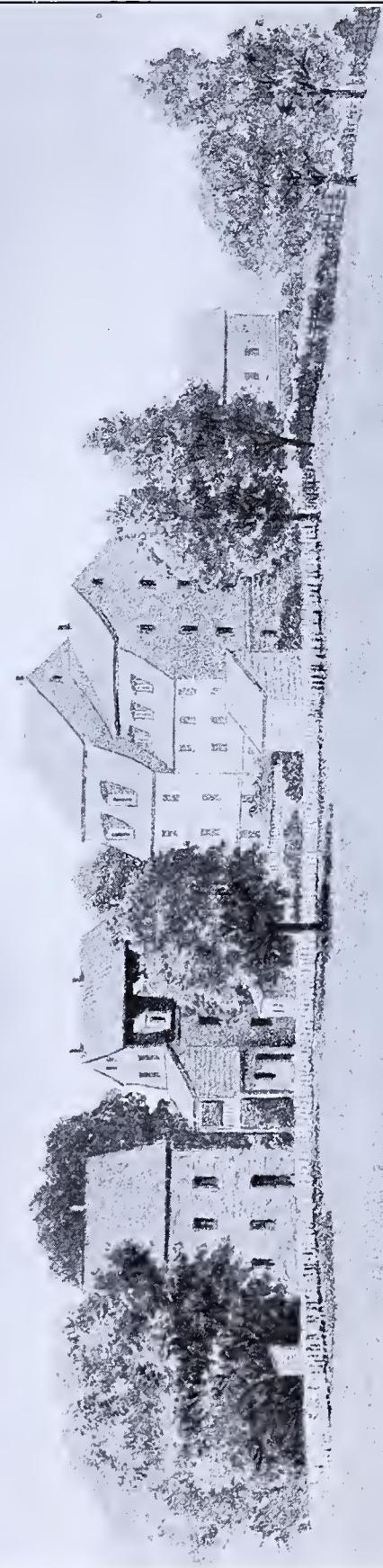
	Value.
1—A Dwelling-house with Brick walls and a tiled Roof, 51 feet long by 30 feet broad, two stories high besides the Garret Story, containeth 10 dwelling Rooms, 2 Halls, 1 Cellar,	£300
2—A House with Brick walls, 36 feet long by 22 feet in Breadth, with 4 Rooms and 1 Cellar,	200
3—A Work-shop,	10
4—A walled Cow-house, 72 feet long by 50 feet in Breadth,	180
5—A Sheep-house,	10

6—A Cow-house, 50 feet long by 20 feet broad,	25
7—Horse Stables, 20 by 16 feet,	10
8—A second Sheep-house 30 by 20 feet,	10
9—A Milk-house and a Wash-house,	10
10—A Barn, 40 by 20 feet,	10
	—
	£765
	—

All the minor buildings gradually sprang up about the main and central building of the plot, from the turret of whose red-tiled roof a bell sounded faintly down the peaceful vale, thrice on every day of the year, summoning its devout people to the services of the sanctuary.

The outbreak of hostilities in the fall of 1755 found Gnadenenthal a happy and prosperous settlement. The stream of fugitives from the frontiers began pouring into the "Barony" immediately after, until, on January 29th, 1756, Gnadenenthal, which had become literally a "Vale of Grace," was sheltering 52 of these sufferers within its hospitable walls. The need of defensive operations was at once apparent, and, on January 22, 1756, a stockade was commenced. The date of its completion and its appearance are not given, neither is there any record of its occupation by Provincial troops. It was doubtless similar to that at Friedensthal, and was, unquestionably, guarded by its own people, assisted in time of need by detachments of the Brethren from the neighboring settlement at Christian's Spring. We have already seen that, in 1757, Gov-Denny issued, amongst others, a commission as Captain of a watch to Abram Hessler of Gnadenenthal. During these perilous times the farm, or grange, was in charge of John Nicholas Weinland, who removed thence from "The Rose," and assumed control in 1756. Mr. Weinland and Philippina, m. n. Loesch, his wife (a daughter of the patriarch George Loesch of Gernsheim, near Worms, in the Palatinate, who lived to be ninety-two years of age and to see gathered around him fifty grandchildren and fifty great-grandchildren) came from Thuringenland, Saxe-Meiningen. He was a musician as well as a farmer. It is related of him that, whilst on a visit to Bethlehem, his love for music induced him to enter a hall in which

CHRISTIAN'S SPRING—STOCKADE.



he heard some amateur musicians rehearsing. His intrusion, of course, arrested their attention, but, in his rustic garb, with whip in hand, he sat down, in no wise disconcerted. Shortly after one of the performers stepped down from the platform to twit the countryman, but the latter was too artless to see the point of his jokes. On being asked, Weinland replied that he loved music and sometimes practiced it. This created merriment and it was at once suggested that he give them a specimen of his skill. A violincello was handed him, a music stand placed in front of him and on it the music laid, upside down. However, none abashed, our worthy farmer allowed the sheet to remain on the stand as it had been placed there and then played it perfectly.

CHRISTIAN'S SPRING.

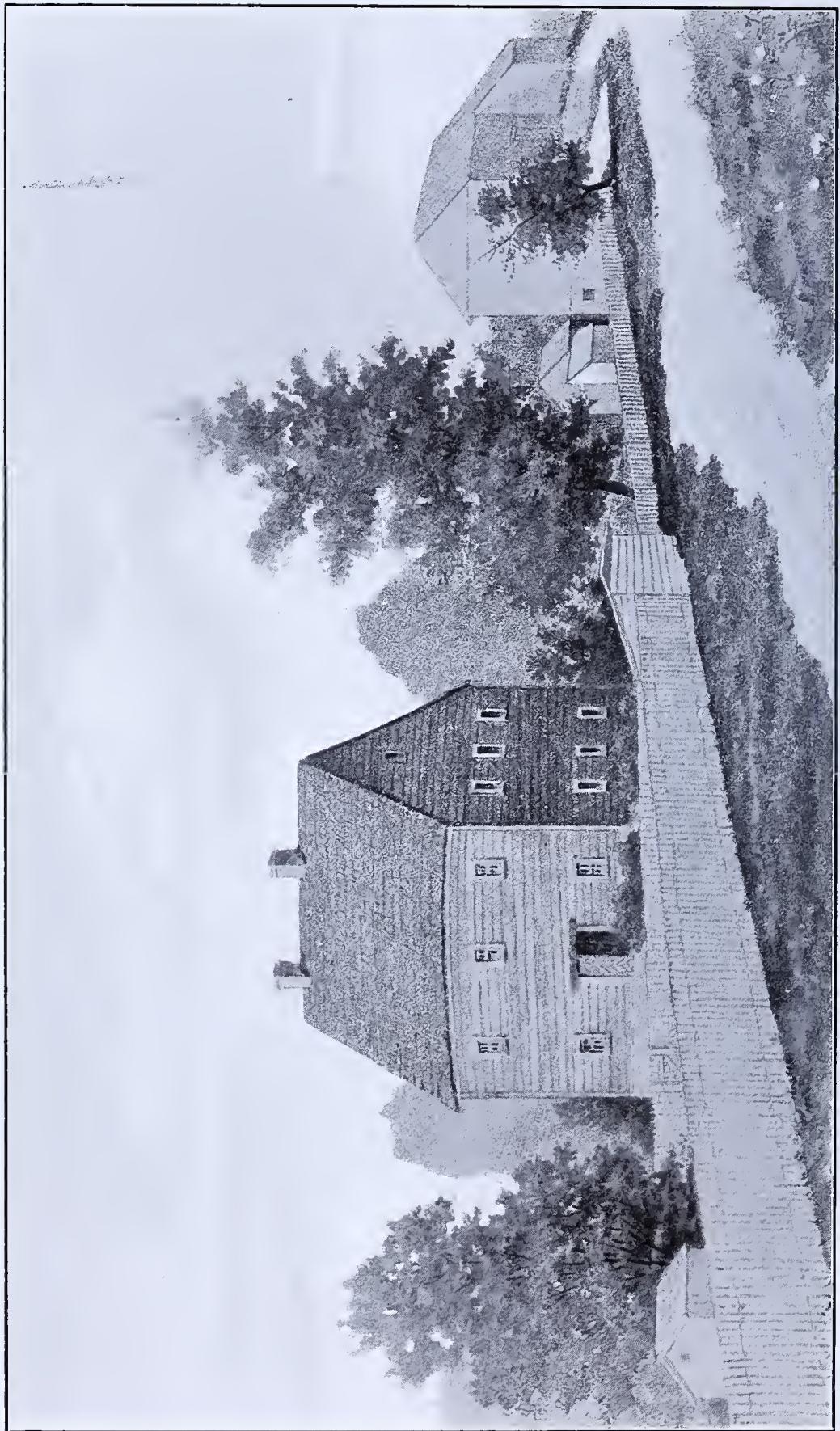
The settlement at Christian's Spring comes next in order of time, to that of Gnadenthal, which it adjoins on the Southwest, being separated from its buildings by the ridge previously mentioned. It was begun in 1747. Here the waters of the Monocasy were made to turn the overshot wheel of a grist and saw mill, and, after the erection of dwellings and stables, of a smith shop and a brewery, the settlement was complete. Men marveled much at the quaintness of its houses, quartered and brick-nogged, hip-roofed and tiled; they marveled much, too, at the quaintness of the brotherhood, which for almost half a century divided its time between the management of the mills and the raising of horses and cattle. It was named Albrecht's Spring at first, subsequently, however, Christian's Spring, in remembrance of Christian Renatus, a son of Count Zinzendorf.

From the same report mentioned in connection with Gnadenthal I find the following details concerning the buildings which composed this grange:

	Value.
1—A House of 47 feet long by 30 feet in Breadth, two Stories high, with 5 Rooms, 1 Hall, 1 Cellar and 1 Fore-house,	£200
2—A new Brick-house, 36 feet long by 28 feet, three Stories high, with 8 Rooms, 1 Kitchen and a Bake-house,	200
3—A Smith's Shop, 40 by 21 feet,	30
4—A Saw-mill and Miller's house,	150
5—A Coal-shop and Stable,	5
6—A walled Brew-house with a vaulted cellar and Grainary, 50 by 30 feet,	230
7—A Cow-house of quartering and Brick-nogged, 70 x 30 feet,	90
8—A Barn, 75 feet long, 36 feet broad, 16 feet high,	75
	<hr/>
	£980
	<hr/>

A peculiarity about Christian's Spring was the fact that during the interval between December, of 1749, and April, 1796, this farm was the seat of an Economy or of unmarried men, known in Moravian parlance as "The Single Brethren's Economy at Christian's Spring." Therefore during the Indian depredations about nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the place were men, unburdened by the care and protection of wives or little ones. This at once placed them in a position entirely different from that of the other settlements. They not only needed no especial protection for themselves, but were always in a position to go to the assistance of others, which they cheerfully did. I can find no record of the erection of a stockade at Christian's Spring. So many of its principal buildings being either of stone or brick, it became only necessary to set a watch and provide temporary shutters for the upper windows of the main buildings to insure against any possibility of capture, surprise or destruction by fire.

Here, too, the ever hospitable doors of the Brethren were thrown open to accommodate the refugees of January, 1756, of whom 48 were sheltered and cared for within them, as we have already seen.



THE ROSE TAVERN—STOCKADE.

At the outbreak of hostilities Brother Nathaniel Seidel, of Bethlehem (afterwards a Bishop), was in command of the "Upper Places." He made his headquarters at Christian's Spring. It is related of him, on one occasion, that, as he was starting for Bethlehem on foot and had gone probably a mile from the settlement, he detected three Indians in hiding who were trying to capture him. Being fleet of foot, he managed to escape by dodging between the trees, and finally regained the Spring.

It was at this place also that Zeisberger, the renowned Indian missionary, finished the compilation of his well known Indian Dictionary—from the letter W to the end.

The history of Christian's Spring during the Indian War may have been comparatively uneventful, but this, in itself, only adds to its lustre. Owing to the peculiar character of its inhabitants, it became a species of "Flying Camp," or rather a body of "Emergency Men." Was aid needed at Friedenthal or Nazareth, it was immediately afforded by a detachment from the Spring. Did "The Rose" send an appeal for help, it was the men of Christian's Brunn who answered it. So, whenever needed and wherever needed, they were always ready to aid. Let us accord them the praise they well deserve for their unselfish action.

"THE ROSE INN."

The youngest sister of the family was she of the beautiful name "Rose." Like the youngest of the house is frequently, so was she, different from all the others. Instead of the quiet, staid and matronly, so to say, settlement at Gnadenhal, Christian's Spring, and Friedenthal, we have the rollicking, bustling and cheerful public "Inn." It was distant about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north by east from old Nazareth. The story of its birth and existence is interesting.

In 1751 there came orders from the head men of the Church in the old country for the laying out of a village on some eligi-

ble spot within the limits of the Nazareth domain. It was to be like unto the Moravian village in Germany. Bishop Spangenberg accordingly selected, and had surveyed into a town plot, a parcel of one hundred and sixty acres, adjacent to the Northern boundary of the modern borough of Nazareth. The survey was actually commenced on the third day of January, 1752, preparations were made looking to the erection of dwellings on the opening of spring, and the name Gnadenstadt—"The City of Grace"—was given to the projected town. On January 10th Bro. Nathaniel (Seidel) escorted the masons and carpenters, forty hands in all, from Bethlehem to Christian's Spring. They were received at Nazareth with sound of trumpets as a welcome. The masons were led to the stone quarry and the carpenters began to fell trees. At an early date a small log house was completed on the site of the new town, and then the further building of Gnadenstadt was indefinitely postponed. The inhabitants of Nazareth, whom it was proposed to transfer thither, were not willing to give up the poetry and freedom of an Economy for the prose and restrictions of a Municipium. The small log house stood vacant until in May, 1760, when it was occupied by John George Claus, a native of Alsace, and Mary Catharine, m. n. Kuehn, his wife. In the Autumn of 1761 Gottlieb Demuth, from Radelsdorf, Bohemia (sometime an inhabitant of Georgia), took up a lot a quarter of a mile south from the Inn and blocked up a house. In this way the building of Gnadenstadt was gradually resumed and the place grew; but in June, 1762, it received the name of Shoeneck, i. e. "Pretty Corner," and so it continued.

One other building was originally erected, a rather imposing looking frame mansion of two stories, our Inn, and as it was the first house of entertainment for the "Tract" or "The Barony," as it was called, its erection deserves more minute mention.

On February 2d, 1752, John Jacob Loesch and Carl Shultze, residents of Bethlehem, were instructed by the authorities "to draft an Inn or Tavern House, such as would be suitable to erect behind Nazareth for the convenience of the workmen of Gnadenstadt and also for the entertainment of strangers,

said house to be thirty-five by thirty feet, to be furthermore quartered, brick-nogged and snugly weather-boarded, with a yard looking North and a garden South." A site for this important accessory was selected on a tract of two hundred and forty-one acres of land, which had been surveyed to the Moravians some times previous by Nicholas Scull, and which touched the head line of the Barony. Here the Inn was staked off, its cellar dug deep down into the cool slate, and on March 27th the first stone of the foundation laid by Bishop Spangenberg, assisted by Warden Schropp, of Nazareth, Gottlieb Pezold, of Bethlehem, and others. Although work was carried on as actively as possible, yet it was autumn before the caravansary was completed. It contained seven rooms, one kitchen and a cellar. Subsequently a stable of stone, thirty-two by twenty-six feet, and a spring house of logs were built. It was first occupied on September 15th, by John Frederic Schaub, a native of Zurich, Switzerland, cooper, and Divert Mary, his wife, who covenanted to discharge the duties of a landlord blamelessly in consideration of the payment unto him annually of £10, lawful money of Pennsylvania. Standing as it did on the great Minisink road that, since 1746, led from the farms and settlements dotting both shores of the Upper Delaware down to the populous portions of the Counties and to the great Capital itself, its portals soon opened to many a weary traveler who speedily found rest and good cheer within. It was on August 6th, 1754, during their incumbancy, that the sign was charged with a full blown scarlet rose. Hence, and ever afterwards, the house was known as "Der Gasthof zur Rose"—Die Rose—THE ROSE. Rev. Reichel very pleasantly says, "Now this floral appellation was bestowed upon the lonely hospice not because its surcoat was dyed deep in Spanish red, not because it was hoped that in its presence the surrounding wilderness of scrub-oak and stunted pines would blossom like the queen of flowers, but in order to keep in lively remembrance a point of history—in so far as when John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn released to Letitia Aubrey, of London, their half-sister, gentlewoman, the five thousand acres of land that had been confirmed to his trusty friend, Sir John Fagg, for her sole use and behoof, by William Penn,

Sr., late Proprietary and Chief Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, by the name of William Penn, of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, Esquire, it was done on the condition of her yielding and paying therefor ONE RED ROSE on the 24th day of June yearly, if the same should be demanded, in full for all services, customs and rents."

Schaub, his wife and son Johnny, the first child of white parents born at Nazareth, bade a reluctant farewell to "The Rose" on August 14th, 1754. John Nicholas Weinland, his successor, mentioned in connection with Gnadenenthal, administered its concerns until the 11th day of December following. So it came to pass that the fury of the Indian War fell upon its neighborhood during the incumbency of Albrecht Klotz, last from Tulpehocken, but a native of Hohenlohe, in the Lower Palatinate, blacksmith, and Ann Margaret, m. n Rieth, his wife, born in Scoharie, a daughter of old Michael Rieth. Associated with them were Christian Stotz, from Laufen, Wurtemburg, farmer, and Ann, m. n. Herr, his wife (they with three children had immigrated to the Province in 1750), last from Gnadenenthal. They came in April, 1755, and attended to the farming. Joseph, a negro from the Gold Coast, who since March 5th, 1753, had been acting as hostler, returned to Bethlehem, with his Indian wife Charity, at this critical period.

On November 1st, 1755, sixty thousand people perished at Lisbon in the great earthquake. A curious and interesting extract from the Moravian chronicles, over which scientists may puzzle if they see fit, states that in the early morning of the 18th of said month there was heard on the Barony, with a star-lit sky overhead, a sound as of a rushing wind and of the booming of distant siege guns, and whilst the sleepers in their beds at the Inn rocked, as do mariners in hammocks out at sea, lo! the doors in "The Rose" swung on their hinges and stood open.

The part taken by our hostelrie in the Indian War was of a peculiar and two-fold nature. In the first place it was par excellence a "house of refuge." At the northern and most advanced point of the Barony and on the high road communicating with the devastated regions, it became the gateway

which admitted the harrassed sufferer and those he loved to safety. On the other hand it was through this same gate the soldiers marched to protect their friends and repel the invader; and it was here they found for a while a comfortable resting place, either when on their way to the front or upon their return from the scene of hostilities. It was but seldom its doors did not resound to the knock of the refugee, and possibly even less seldom they did not open to admit bodies of armed men. Indeed its position of importance as a public house and, in addition, as an outpost of the Barony, demanded the frequent presence of a guard. When, on rare occasions, it did not shelter detachments of Provincial troops, brethren from Christian's Spring were detailed in time of need for that duty. So then besides being "a house of refuge" it was indeed "a fort."

On November 25th, 1755, upwards of sixty terrified men, women and children, from the districts on the north adjacent to the Barony, thronged through the doorway of the Moravian Inn, clamorous for shelter and for protection from the murdering Indians. Among them were the Clevells, from the banks of the romantic Bushkill, the Stechers (whose seedling apple is in high esteen to this day), the Germantons, the Koehlers, the Klaeses and the Kostenboders, all from the plains of upper Northampton. By December 17th, 1755, according to an official enumeration, there were two hundred refugees billeted at Nazareth and in the Ephrata House, and one hundred at the other settlements on the tract. On January 29th following, as previously mentioned, there were 253 at Nazareth and 196 at the other settlements, of which 226 were children. At this time 21 were quartered at the "Rose." It was as promiscuous an assemblage as ever had been gathered in so short a time, embracing, as it did, men of divers nationalities and creeds and women of divers tongues. There were the Eisenmanns, the Geislys, the Hecks, the Hesses, the Heisses, the Heimans, the Hoffmans' the Hueds or Huths, the Kunkles, the Schielses, the Serfases, the Sylvases, and the Weisers, all from Contented valley; the Culvers and the Jonses from McMichael's

creek; the Brewsters, the Countrymans, and the Hillmans, from Dansbury—and many others.

Its occupation as a military post covered the interval, especially, between November 26th, 1755, and February 20th, 1756, a most trying period of the hostilities. On the evening of November 26th a company of Saucon rangers, under command of Capt. Laubach (the Laubachs were settled, prior to 1740, on a branch of the Saucon creek, called Laubach's creek to this day) halted at the Inn, lit their camp fires in the orchard, and bivoucked for the night. Having scoured the neighboring woods next day to no purpose, on their return to "The Rose" there came intelligence of the enemy's presence in the gap in the mountain, whereupon they broke up camp at dusk, and, by the friendly light of the full moon, set out in pursuit. Meanwhile, two detachments of mounted men had arrived. These, however, failed to recognize any necessity for their presence and so, after having dined, departed. On December 14th, Captain Jennings and Doll, at the head of their respective commands, passed "The Rose" en route for the scene of the late disaster at Hoeth's, under orders to search for and bury the dead. Five days, later, on their return from this dangerous duty, they posted Lieut. Brown, with 18 men at the Inn, for the defense of the Moravian Settlements; and well it was they did so, for that very night there were indications of savages lurking within gunshot of its doors. Captain Jennings was the same Solomon Jennings, who, at sunrise on September 19th, 1737, set out with Edward Marshall and James Yeates from John Chapman's corner at Wrightstown, to walk for a wager and to walk off the land for the Penns; but who, on arriving at a point two miles north of the Tohickon, about eleven o'clock the same morning, desisted from the contest. Falling back into the curious crowd that followed in the wake of the walkers, Jennings parted company at the Forks of Lehigh (at the head of the Bethlehem Iron company's island) and struck into the path that led to his farm, situate about two miles higher up on the right bank of the river. Here he died, February 17th, 1757.

On December 21st, Capt. Craig, with a detachment of Ulster-Scots, from their seats on the Monocasy and the springs of

Callsucks, arrived in order to assure himself of the safety of his Moravian neighbors, who, it was rumored, had been cut off by the enemy. Next followed Capt. Trump and Capt. Ashton, with their Companies of Provincials, from the seat of Justice in a remote corner of the county hard by the Jerseys, their destination being Smithfield and their errand the erection of a blockhouse within its limits. This was on December 26th, and the last movement of the military past "The Rose" in the year 1755.

In the first month of 1756, however, the halls of the hosterie again echoed to the tramp of martial feet, and perhaps never more loudly than during the occupation of the Nazareth tract by Capt. Isaac Wayne, of Franklin's command, in the interval between January 5th and 15th. In the ensuing weeks there was constant intercourse between Nazareth and the men of war in Smithfield, detachments of Trump's men coming down from Fort Hamilton to convey supplies of bread, baked at stated periods in the large family oven on the Barony, to their hungry comrades. But on February 17th our good landlord, Albrecht Klotz, was perhaps more sorely tried than on any previous occasion, when he was obliged to billet sixty soldiers who were clamoring for bed and board at the already crowded Inn. The following entries from the accounts of the Tavern are very interesting:

1756—Jan'y 26—To Smithy at Christian's Spring		
for sundry work,	£3.. 3	
Feb. 5—To meals furnished Capt. Ashton's company,	1.. 4	
Feb. 14—To 25 men's eating and drinking, in command of Lieut. Anthony Miller,	1..10	
Feb. 18—To 31 men's breakfast of Capt. Trump's company,	15..6	
Feb. 19—To meals furnished Capt. Arndt's company, in command of Ensign Nicholas Conrad,	1..10	
Feb. 19—To meals and drams furnished Capt. Wetherhold's company,..	15	

Feb. 23—To 700 lbs bread delivered to Capt. W. Craig in Nazareth, . . .	4.. 7..6
March 26—To 200 lbs bread delivered in Naz- areth to Capt. Wetherhold, . . .	1.. 5

£14..10	

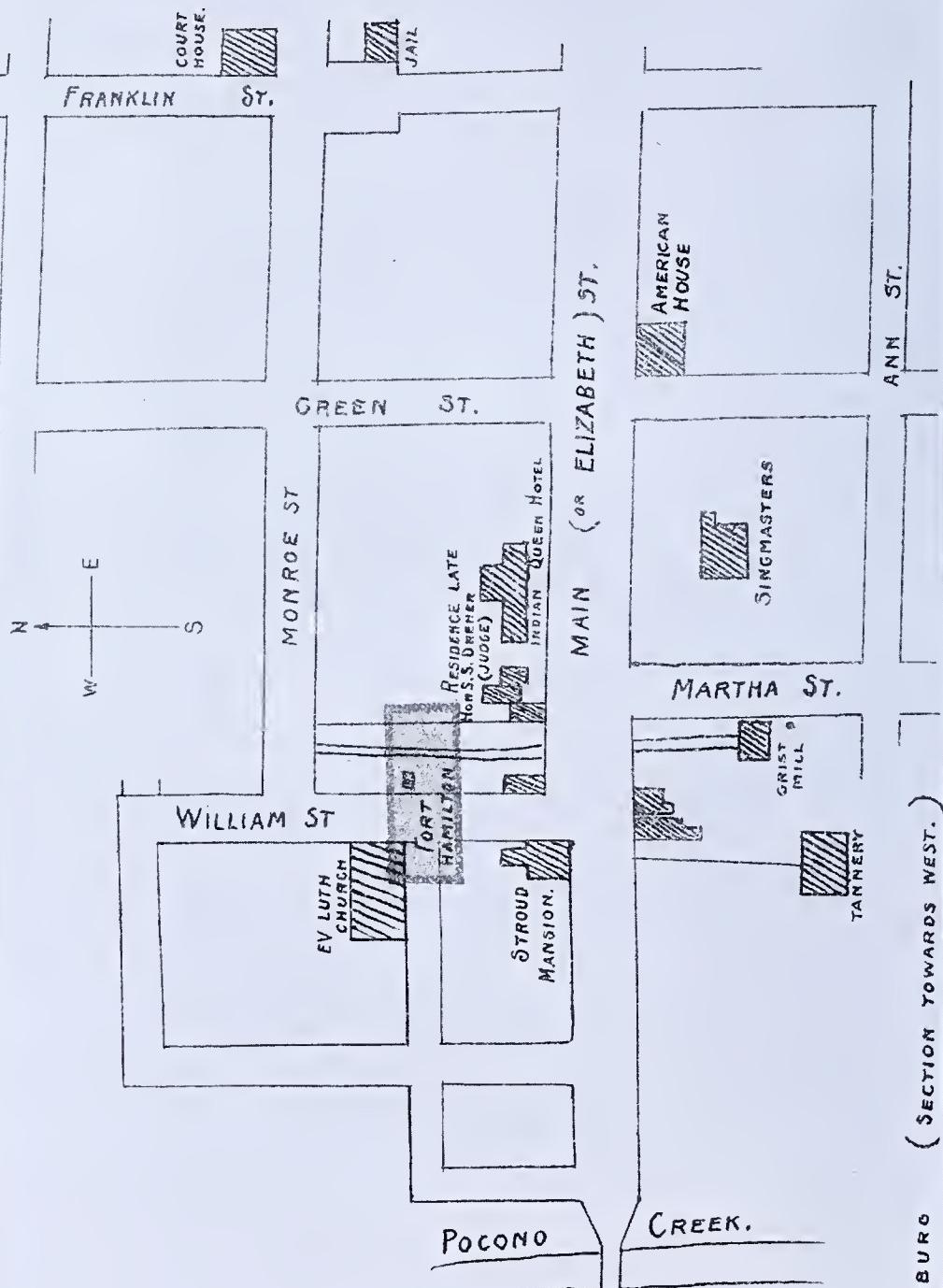
Gottleib Senseman was baker-general at Nazareth.

After this the presence of the military at "The Rose" became less frequent, and gradually, though not uninterruptedly, its history's stream returned into its former more peaceful channel. Were it a part of this work it would be interesting to mention its remaining landlords and tell somewhat about them, as well as to dwell on a few of those who enjoyed its hospitality. The only remaining occurrence, however, which admits of notice was the visit on September 18th and 19th, 1757, of Jacob Volck, Lewis Jung and three Indians who had been sent by Teedyuscung to Joseph Kellar's place, the capture of whose wife near Tead's Blockhouse on September 16th, has been given under that head, to see if any of his liege subjects were implicated in that outrage. This was under the incumbency of Hartmann Verdriers, the fifth landlord, and his wife Catharine, m. n. Bender, who occupied it August 20th, 1756.

After various further alarms and guard mountings, various visits of Indians and authorities of the Province during the efforts made to bring about a treaty of peace, and various vicissitudes, incident to all similar buildings, it finally came into the hands of its last landlord, John Lischer, who, with his wife, Mary Catharine, administered its affairs from April 20th, 1765, until March 30th, 1772. With his retirement it ceased to be an inn, having been sold in 1771 to Dorst Alteman, a native of the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, but prior to 1761 an inhabitant of Lancaster county. It then passed through various hands until the spring of 1858, when the old hostelrie was doomed to destruction. Its chimneys were torn down, its roof was removed, its floors torn up. Some of the boards which survived the wreck were used to cover the gables of the tenant house which then stood on its site. Rev. Reichel says

STROUDSBURG—SHOWING SITE OF FORT HAMILTON.

STROUDSBURG (SECTION TOWARDS WEST.)



they were "the sole remaining, but alas! withered leaves shed from the Red Rose that once bloomed on the Barony of Nazareth."

FORT HAMILTON.

Already in the course of these records we have come across the name "Minisink." We have now reached the Delaware river, in the vicinity of the present town of Stroudsburg, not then, however, in existence. It was this territory which the Minisink, or Monsey tribe of Indians occupied, from whom it derived its name, a name later adopted by the Dutch who first settled there, and in common use at the time of the Indian hostilities.

In the history of Fort Norris we read of the murder of the Hoeth family in the early part of December, 1775. This family lived on the Poco Poco, or, as now called, Big creek, not far distant from where that fort was built shortly after. From thence the savages proceeded to Brodhead's place where they met with a stout resistance. This family lived on or near the creek now bearing their name, probably not far from its mouth and in the general vicinity of where Stroudsburg now stands.

These were the first depredations committed in that locality. At once all was alarm and every heart stricken with terror. The country was immediately filled with settlers fleeing for refuge to the more thickly populated districts south of the mountain.

James Hamilton and Benj. Franklin, the commissioners appointed by the Governor to systematize the defences of this part of the Province, arrived at Easton on December 23d. The following letter written by the former to Governor Morris well describes the lamentable condition of affairs:

Easton, Monday Evening, Dec'r 25, 1755.

Dear Sir :

The Commissioners came to this Town on Saturday Evening, where we found the Country under the greatest Conster-

nation, everything that has been said of the distress of the Inhabitants, more than verified upon our own view. The Country along the River is absolutely deserted from this place to Broadhead's, nor can there be the least communication between us and them but by large Parties of armed Men, every body being afraid to venture without that security, so that we have had no accounts from thence for several days. Broadhead's was stoutly defended by his sons and others, till the Indians thought fit to retire without being able to take it, or set it on fire, tho' they frequently attempted it, it is thought several of them were killed in the attacks, but that is not known with certainty.

We have now here upward of 100 men, being the Companies of Capt'n Aston, Captain Trump, and Capt'n McGlaughlin, and are impatiently expecting more from below, for the people here are not very numerous, & are besides very backward in entering into the Service, tho' the Encouragement is great, and one would think they would gladly embrace the opportunity of revenging themselves on the authors of their ruin; but the terror that has seized them, is so great, or their Spirits so small, that unless men come from other parts of the Province I despair of getting such a number here as will be sufficient to Garrison the Block Houses we propose to build over the Hills, whither we intended to have gone tomorrow, but that our Provision Waggons are not come up, and that we have not men enough for the above mentioned purposes.

I understand that Aaron Dupui is still at home & that it is very unlikely that he will be able to leave his House in this time of Distress, to carry your Message to Wyoming, so that I believe the Expectations of the Treaty will fall to the Ground, nor does any body either here or there believe we have a single Indian that may be called a Friend, nor do I see a possibility of getting that Message conveyed to them from hence, even supposing they were friends; everybody is so afraid of stirring a step without a strong guard.

I heartily wish you were at Liberty to declare Warr against them, and offer large rewards for Scalps, which appears the only way to clear our Frontiers of those Savages, & will, I am persuaded be infinitely cheapest in the end; For I clearly fore-

see the expense of defending ourselves, in the way we are in will ruin the province, and be far from effectual at last, principally for want of a Good Militia Law by which the men might be subjected to discipline, for at present they enter themselves and then leave their Captains at their own humour, without a person in the officers to punish them for that or any other Misbehaviour.

I have Commissioned several Captains here, who engage to raise men, but principally two, who have undertaken to range the Country between the two Branches of this River, for the Security of the two Irish Settlements in hopes that those who had defected by the whole of those on the main Branch, may be induced to return to their Plantations, which after all I very much question, so very great are their apprehensions of the Indians.

I cannot say for certain when we shall leave this place, that depending on the coming up of the Provisions and our getting a sufficient number of men; Many of those already here not being able to march for want of shoes, which has obliged us to send down for a Supply to Philadelphia.

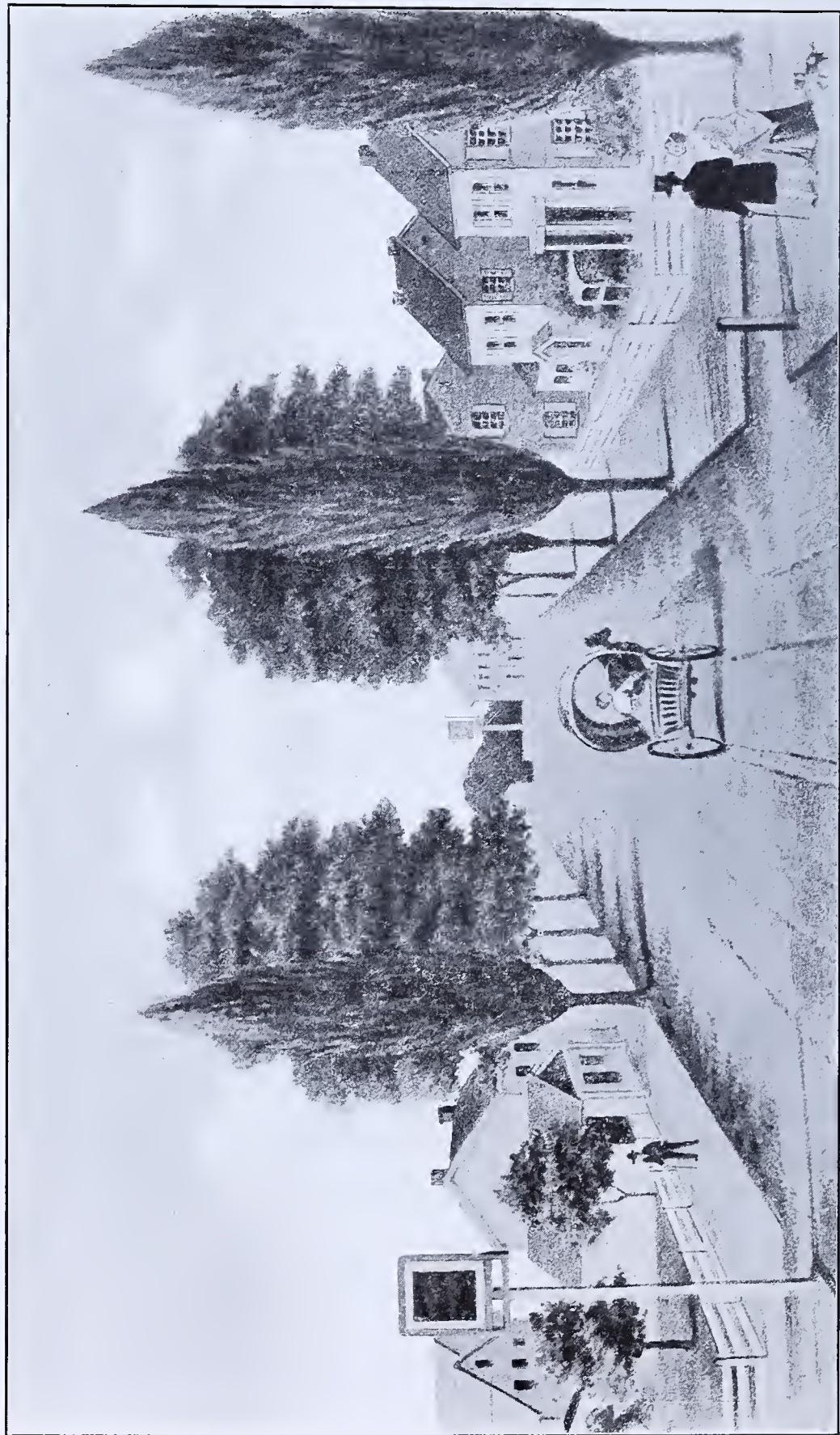
I have but a moments time to write, the Express being ready to depart. I shall from time to time, keep you informed of anything that may be worth your notice, but at present nothing offers.

I am, with great Respect, Sir, Your most obed't Servant,
(Col. Rec., vi, p. 764). JAMES HAMILTON.

We can readily imagine how little of Christmas joy and festivity fell to the lot of the good people of Northampton county in the year of our Lord 1755. Chaos reigned almost supreme. The Governor was nearly deluged with advice, much of it good, but which, unfortunately, could not be carried out. Some progress, however, was made by the Commissioners. Mr. Hamilton seems to have given special attention to the defences on the Delaware at the Minisinks, which were the first undertaken, possibly because there the first blow of the enemy had fallen. Immediately after his letter to the Governor on Christmas, Captains Trump and Ashton were dispatched to the place where Stroudsburg now stands and di-

rected to erect the first of the line of forts then contemplated. The work, however, progressed slowly, partly because of a lack of tools which the people in the neighborhood failed to supply as had been expected, and partly because of the season of the year. On January 14th, 1756, Benj. Franklin writes to the Governor from Bethlehem, "The day after my arrival here I sent off two wagons loaded with bread and some axes for Trump and Aston." These were escorted to Nazareth by Lieut. Davis and 20 men of McLaughlin's Company, where Capt. Wayne, with his fresh troops took charge of the convoy and escorted it to its destination. Capt. Wayne later reported to Franklin that Capt. Trump expected to finish his work about the 20th of January. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 549). Whether completed exactly on the day named or not we cannot say, but we can confidently give it as the approximate time when this first defence was finished. It was named Fort Hamilton after our friend James Hamilton, actively connected with its erection and later Governor of the Province, succeeding Governor Denny as such, his commission being dated July 19, 1759, although not presented by him to Council until November 17th of the same year.

The enemy were constantly on the alert, and, even during the building of the fort, the soldiers had not only the season to contend against, but the savages as well. On January 15th a company of refugees at Bethlehem returned across the mountain to look after their farms and cattle. Although escorted by soldiers, they fell into the hands of the Indians near Schupp's Mill and all suffered death save one, Adam Hold, who escaped with a severe flesh wound in the arm. The killed numbered four farmers and four privates of Capt. Trump's company at Fort Hamilton. About the same time one Mulhausen, a Palatine, while breaking flax on the farm of Philip Bossert in Lower Smithfield, was shot through the body by an unseen Indian, which wound proved fatal. One of Bossert's sons running out of the house on hearing the report of the gun, was also shot in several places and killed. Hereupon old Philip, himself, appearing on the scene of action exchanged shots with the enemy, inflicting and receiving a wound, but



VIEW OF STROUDSBURG IN 1842, SHOWING SITE OF FORT HAMILTON.

might not have escaped so easily but for the timely arrival of some neighbors and consequent retreat of the enemy.

It was not intended that Capt. Trump should remain permanently at Fort Hamilton, and, upon its completion, we find that he is ordered to commence the erection of Fort Norris. He appears to have been succeeded by Capt. Craig, of the Irish Settlement, who is reported on duty April 20th, 1756, at Fort Hamilton, with 41 men. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 325—date incorrectly given 1758).

Commissary James Young, whilst inspecting the forts in that same year, makes the following report concerning Fort Hamilton:

June 23—1756—At 3 P. M. we sett out from Fort Noris on our way to Fort Hamilton. At 6 P. M. we came to Philip Bosarts a Farmer, 12 miles from Fort Noris, here we Stayed all Night, on our way to this house the road very hilly and Barran, past by three Plantations Deserted and the houses Burnt down, in Bossart's house are 6 Families from other Plantations.

24 June, Fort Hamilton.—At 4 A. M. sett out from Bosarts, at 6 Came to Fort Hamilton at ab't 7 miles from Bosarts, a Good Waggon road, and the Land better than any I had seen on the N'o side of the Mountain. Fort Hamilton stands in a Corn field by a Farm house in a Plain and Clear Country, it is a Square with 4 half Bastions all very Ill Contriv'd and finish'd, the Staccades open 6 inches in many Places, and not firm in the ground, and may be easily pull'd down, before the gate are some Staccades drove in the Ground to Cover it which I think might be a great Shelter to an Enemy, I therefore order'd to pull them down, I also order'd to fill up the other Staccades where open. Provincial Stores: 1 Wall Piece, 14 G'd Muskets, 4 wants Repair, 16 Cartooch Boxes, filled with Powder and Lead, 28 lb Powder, 30 lb Lead, 10 Axes, 1 Broad Axe, 26 Tomahauks, 28 Blankets, 3 Drawing Knives, 3 Splitting Knives, 2 Adses, 2 Saws, 1 Brass Kettle.

I found here a Lieu't and Eight men, 7 were gone to Easton with a Prisoner Deserter from Gen. Shirley's Reg't. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 679).

The corn field in which Fort Hamilton then stood is now in

the western section of the town of Stroudsburg. Through the kindness of Rev. Theo. Heilig, an old resident of that place, who lived in the Stroud mansion, I am now able to furnish herewith the map showing its exact location.

Fort Hamilton was not considered a post of especial importance. Whilst it is true, geographically considered, its position was most important, yet it actually stood in a more or less sparsely settled district. The sudden outbreak of hostilities in that vicinity caused an excitement which resulted not only in its immediate erection, but also in the building of Fort Hyndshaw but a few miles distant, as well as the occupation by a garrison of Dupui's house, likewise in its immediate vicinity. As the necessity for this extra force and precaution passed away, to a great extent, so we see a curtailment in the number of troops on duty. How long Capt. Craig remained there we do not know. There are no records to indicate whether he had command of Fort Hamilton in the beginning of April, 1757, or whether Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt had then charge of it. We are merely told by Major Parsons that, on October 11th, 1756, he sent to that garrison 50 lbs of powder and 100 lbs of lead. However, we learn from the journal of Capt. John Van Etten (to be given in full under Fort Hyndshaw), who had then command of Fort Hyndshaw, that he was in addition to assume control of Fort Hamilton. His orders, from Col. Weiser, were dated March 28, 1757, and received by him April 7th. In accordance therewith, on April 8th he took possession with a detachment of 16 men, the company then occupying it marching out and leaving it in his care. His diary continues until July 22, 1757, at which time the same condition of affairs exists, although for a while matters got somewhat mixed up owing to the fact that both the Governor and Col. Weiser had issued orders of diverse nature on the same point, whereby Lieut. Hyndshaw, then of Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt's company, claimed command of Fort Hamilton. A personal visit of Col. Weiser, however, straightened out the tangled skein and left Capt. Van Etten in charge.

With the entry of July 21st, 1757, Capt. Van Etten's journal ends somewhat abruptly. Whether the remainder has been lost, or whether a change of some character took place it is

difficult to say. I am inclined to believe the latter and that Capt. Van Etten left the service, as we hear nothing more of him until in the Revolutionary war when he commanded a company of the Northampton county militia, and also because on October 11th, 1757, we find a letter from Lieut. James Hyndshaw to Gov. Denny, probably written from Fort Hamilton, in which he says, "I beg leave to Acquaint your Honour I have now in my Company Seventy-two Men, Several of which is yet on the one Year's Enlistment, and of the Company of the late Capt. Van Etten, and many of them has had no pay this Ten Months, and several of them not fit for the three Years' Enlistment, and to discharge them without paying them off seemeth hard."

He then goes on to explain the insufficiency of their supplies, the daily depredations of the savages, &c., and asks for better equipment. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 290).

Gradually the fort seems to have become abandoned. James Burd turned aside to look at it during his tour of March, 1758. He says:

March 2'd, Thursday.

Marched from hence (Teed's Block House near Wind Gap) at 9 A. M. for Mr. Samuell Depews, went by the way of Fort Hamilton to view that place, arrived at Fort Hamilton at 2 P. M., viewed it and found it a very poor stockade, with one large house in the middle of it & some familys living in it. This is 15 miles from Tead's. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 356).

At various times different plans were formulated for conducting the war and bringing it to a speedy termination. It had long been felt that the troops were too much scattered, and that too many insignificant stations and buildings were occupied by small garrisons. In April, 1757, it was therefore determined to concentrate the soldiers. Three forts were geographically selected as principal stations,—Fort Henry between the Susquehanna and Schuylkill, Fort Allen on the Lehigh, and Fort Hamilton near the Delaware at the extreme eastern point. It was proposed to garrison each of these with one hundred men and abandon the remainder. The other troops

were then to wage aggressive warfare against the enemy. This program, however excellent, could not be carried out. Had it been, Fort Hamilton might have occupied a more prominent niche in the early history of our State.

When the Delaware tribe, following the example of their other brethren, threw their lot in with the French, the Indians living at the Minisinks joined the other hostiles who were rendezvousing on the Susquehanna. From thence, Diahogo, Wyoming, &c., constant inroads were made on the settlements by scalping parties, varying in size from four or five to fifteen or twenty. Naturally those living near by were the greatest sufferers, and we have been given some slight idea of the horrible depredations committed in Lebanon, Berks and Lehigh counties. Northampton county, however, was by no means exempt, and various bands of savages penetrated the country north of the Blue mountains even to the Delaware river. Therefore, as an outpost to protect the thickly populated regions to the south, as well as the farmers residing in its vicinity, Fort Hamilton was of great importance.

Naturally the Minisink Indians headed for their own locality and, as we have already seen, the first blow struck was against the Hoeth and Broadhead families, living not distant from where Forts Norris and Hamilton were afterwards built.

This was speedily followed by an attack on the house of Henry Hess, the following details of which are given in an examination of Henry Hess, a nephew, aged nineteen years, who was brought back by the Indians during the Conference at Easton in November, 1756:

"This Examinant saith that on New Years day last (1756) he was at his Uncle's, Henry Hess's Plantation in the said Township of Lower Smithfield, and that his Father, Peter Hess, Nicholas Coleman, and one Gotlieb, a laborer, were there likewise. That about nine o'clock in the morning they were surprised by a party of Twenty-five Indians, headed by Teedyuscung, among whom were several of those now in Town [at the Conference, Nov'r, 1756, at Easton] viz, Peter Harrison, Samuel Evans, Christian, Tom Evans, that they killed the said Nicholas Coleman and Gotlieb, and took his Father & him-

self Prisoners, set fire to the Stable, hunted up the horses and took three of them. Then the Indians went over the second Blue Mountains, and overtook five Indians with two Prisoners, Leonard and William Weeser [see testimony of Leonard Weeser under Fort Allen], and a little after this they killed this Examinant's Father, Peter Hess, in his presence, scalped him and took off all his cloaths. The Indians who were thirty in number in ye evening before it was dark, stopped & kindled a Fire in the woods, first tying him and the two Weesers with ropes and fastening them to a tree, in which manner they remained all night, Tho' it was extremely cold, the coldest night as He thinks in this whole year. Some or other of the Indians were awake all night, it being as they said too cold to sleep. They seemed to be under no apprehension of being pursued, for they set no watch. As soon as day broke they set off traveling but slowly, and the next day they came to Wyomish, an Indian town on the Susquehanna, and finding no Indians there, this Examinant understanding afterwards that the Indians who used to live there had removed to Taconnich for fear of being attacked, they proceeded on their journey & came the next day to the Town where were about one hundred Indians, men, women & children. This Examinant further saith, that after the severe weather was abated, all the Indians quitted Taconnich and removed to Diahogo, distant as he thinks fifty miles, situate at the mouth of the Cayuga Branch, where they staid till Planting time, and then some of them went to a place up the Cayuga Branch near its head, called Little Shingle, where they planted corn, and lived there till they set off for this Treaty. During this Examinants stay with them small parties of five or six Warriors went to War, and returned with some Scalps & Prisoners which they said they had taken at Allemingle and Minisinks. This Examinant says further that they would frequently say in their discourses all the country of Pennsylvania did belong to them, & the Governors were always buying their lands from them but did not pay them for it. That Teedyuscung was frequently in conversation with a negro man a Runaway, whose Master lived some where above Samuel Depuys, and he overheard Teedyuscung adivising him to go among the Inhabitants, & talk with the

negros, & persuade them to kill their Masters which if they would do he would be in the woods ready to receive any negro's t would murder their Masters & they might live well with the Indians. This Examinant saith, that he saw some English Prisoners at different places up the Cayuga Branch, and particularly one Hunt, a Boy, as he thinks, of fifteen or sixteen years, who was taken near Paulins Kiln in Jersey, that he had not seen him after Teedyuscung's Return to Diahogo on his first journey."

his
HENRY X HESS.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 56).

mark

In August, 1756, Major Parsons notified Gov'r Morris that Ben, a friendly Indian, had discovered the tracks of about 20 strange Indians coming from the Susquehannah and going towards Minisinks, who were evidently on a hostile errand from the manner of their marching. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 746).

On November 30, 1756, in the evening, Ephraim Coulver, a tavern-keeper opposite Bethlehem, notified Timothy Horsfield that Nicodemus, a friendly Indian, had informed him that a young Indian, who was at the tavern, had something very particular to say concerning the Indians where he came from. He was at once summoned the next day, and gave the following testimony:

"Akoan, a Mahikander, says that he went in Company with Three other Indians to Wyoming, and stay'd there one Day; he says further that he heard some Indians on the Susquehannah were starved to Death for want of Victuals, and he thought, what shall I do there; I will return again to the white People; accordingly he returned alone; about half way from Wyoming to Fort Allen, he met with Four Shawaneese Indians, who related to him that Armstrong, the Indian, with Five other Indians, was gone to the left Hand, from there towards the little Schuylkill, to kill the White People, and that also Four Minisink Indians were gone towards Broadhead's or Minisink, all painted, and white Feathers on their Heads. The same Day, in the Evening, he came to Nathaniel's hunting Hutt, about sixteen miles from Fort Allen; there

he found an Indian sitting at a Fire; the Indian gave him some Flower, and said, ‘bake thee Bread and eat!’ When Akoan had made his Bread, there came Six Indians, dressed in their Warlike Manner, that was Armstrong and his Company; they placed themselves round the Fire, and Akoan gave them share of his Bread; one of the Six Indians, a Shawanese, opened his Bundle and gave Akoan a Piece of Tallow, and on being asked where he got it, the Indian told him they had killed a Cow near Fort Allen, and also a Horse, because they could not catch it, and he shewed him the Bell the Horse had on.

After a while the same Indian said to Akoan, ‘We have been at the Little Schuylkill, about the White People, to do some Mischief, but the snow (it was half Leg deep at that Place) has hindered us, being afraid to be discovered, therefore we will go to the Minisink Town on the Susquehannah and secure our goods, and then we will return to the Inhabitants about the Wind Gap and Minisink, and get Six or Seven Scalps, and if possible, take some alive, and therewith we will go to the French and rejoice them with the Scalps, and will stay awhile with them.

These Indians would fain have had Akoan go with them but he would not.” (Col. Rec., vii, p. 357.)

After the threatening alarms came the dread reality. In April, 1757, the Indians made another inroad on the Minisink region, and left behind them, when they fled, the usual trail of blood and scenes of misery. But we will leave the recital of the tragedy to an eye witness.

Deposition of Michael Roup.

The 24th day of April, one thousand, seven Hundred and Fifty Seven, appeared before me, William Parsons, Esquire, one of His Majestys Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, Michael Roup, of Lower Smithfield, in the said County, aged 52 Years, a Person to me well known and worthy of Credit, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and declare, That His Neighbour, Philip Bozart, being at Fort Norris last Saturday week, heard

a letter read there, which was dispatched by Major Parsons to acquaint the Garrison that he had receiv'd Information that some Enemy Indians intended shortly to come and attack the Inhabitants at and about Minisink and to desire them to be upon their Guard; which was soon made known to all the Neighboring Inhabitants. And this Deponent further saith, That on Friday Morning last John Lefever, passing by the Houses of Philip Bozart and this Deponent, informed them that the Indians had murder'd Casper Gundryman last Wednesday Evening; Whereupon This Deponent went immediately to the House of Philip Bozart to consult what was best to be done, Their House being about half a Mile apart. That they concluded it best for the Neighbors to collect themselves together, as many as they could in some one House. And this Deponant further saith, that he immediately returned home and loaded his Waggon as fast as he cou'd with his most valuable Effects which he carried to Bozart's house. That as soon as he had unloaded his Waggon he drove to his Son-in-Law Peter Soan's House, about two Miles, and loaded as much of his Effects as the Time and hurry wou'd admit, and took them also to Bozart's, where 9 families were retired; That a great Number of the Inhabitants were also retired to the Houses of Conrad Bittenbender & John McDowell; That Bozart's House is 7 Miles from Fort Hamilton and 12 from Fort Norris. And this Deponent further saith, that yesterday Morning about 9 o'clock, the said Peter Soan and Christian Klein with his Daughter about 13 Years of age went from Bozart's House to the House of the said Klein and thence to Soan's House to look after their Cattle and to bring off more effects. And this Deponent further saith, That about a half an hour after the above 3 Persons were gone from Bozart's House, a certain George Hartlieb, who also fled with his family to Bozart's and who had been at his own House about a Mile from Soan's, to look after his Creatures and to bring away what he cou'd, return'd to Bozart's and reported that he had heard 3 guns fired very quick one after the other towards Soan's Place w'ch made them all conclude the above 3 Persons were killed by the Indians. And this Deponent further saith, That their little Company were afraid to venture

to go and see what had happened that Day, as they had many Women and Children to take Care of, who if they had left might have fallen an easy Prey to the enemy. And this Deponent further saith, That this Morning 9 Men of the Neighborhood armed themselves, as well as they co'd, and went towards Peter Soan's Place, in order to discover what was become of the above 3 Persons. That when they came within about 300 yards of the House, they found the Bodies of the said Soan and Klein lying about 20 Feet from each other, killed and scalpt, but did not find Klein's Daughter. Soan was killed by a Bullet which enter'd the upper Part of his Back and came out at his Breast. Klein was killed with their tomahawks. The 9 men immediately returned to Bozart's and reported as above. That this Deponent was not one of the 9, but that he remained at Bozart's with the Women and Children. That the rest of the People desired this Deponent to come to Easton and acquaint the Justice with what had happened. That the 9 men did not think it safe to stay to bury the Dead. And further this Deponent saith not.

The mark of

(Col. Rec., vii, p. 493.)

MICHAEL W ROUP.

In the above deposition mention was made of the murder of Casper Gundryman. The name undoubtedly was intended for Andreas Gundryman, of whose death John Williamson gives this account.

Deposition of John Williamson.

On the Twenty-Second Day of April A'o D'i 1757, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, John Williamson of Lower Smithfield Township, in the said County, Yoeman, aged 48 Years, And being duly Sworn on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did Depose and Declare, That on Wednesday last, the 20th Instant, about Sun Sett, a certain Andreas Gundryman, Youth about 17 Years of Age, went with two Horses and a Sleigh to fetch some Fire Wood, that lay about 80 percehs from Fort Hamilton, to his Father's

House, ab't 10 perches from the Fort. That while the Young Man was out as aforesaid, He this Deponent and Several other Persons, who all live about 10 perches from the Fort, heard two Guns fired; Whereupon, Henry Gundryman (Father of the above named Andreas) and Conrad Friedenberg, one of the Garrison at Fort Hamilton, ran immediately upon hearing the Fireing towards the Place where Andreas was gone for the Fire Wood; some of the Soldiers and other Persons hearing him cry out, and seeing him run down the Hill towards the Fort. And this Dep't further saith, that about 300 Yards from this Fort, they found the said Andreas Gundryman lying dead, and scalp'd quite to the Eyes. And this Deponent further saith that he saw two Indians run up the Hill, from the place where Andreas lay dead. That the Indians did not hitt him with their Shott but as soon as they fired Andreas ran, and they pursued him with their Tomhocks and murdered him very barbarously, and as they went off sett up the Indian War Hallow. And this Deponent further saith, that early on the next Morning the Father of the Deceased, with James Garlanhouse and one of the Soldiers, went and fetch'd the Corps, and the Garrison and Neighbors burried it about 30 perches from the Fort. And this Deponant further saith, that a certain Isaac Randolph, a Soldier, being sent the same Ev'ning the Murder was committed to Acquaint Capt. Van Etten, at Fort Hyndshaw, of what had happen'd, return'd to Fort Hamilton and reported that in his Way he had seen 6 Indians by a Fire, & ab't half way to Samuel Dupui's, which made him afraid to proceed further, and therefore he returned and reported as above. And this Deponant further saith, that he this Deponent that same Night went up to Fort Hyndshaw and acquainted Capt. Van Eetten of what had happened, but saw no Indians in his Journey. And this Dep't further saith, that the said Robert Ellis came to Fort Hamilton on Thursday Morning, and reported that he had seen 3 Indians that same Morning by a Fire on his Plantation, And when the Indians discovered him they left the Fire and went up a Hill. And this Deponant further saith, that Cap't Van Etten came on Thursday Morning with as many Soldiers as could be spared

from Fort Hyndshaw to Fort Hamilton and assisted at the Burial. And this Deponent further saith not.

JOHN WILLIAMSON.

Sworn at Easton, in the County of Northampton, the Day and Year above s'd.

Before me,

W'M PARSONS.

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 139.)

Captain Van Etten, with his weakened and divided forces, the responsibility of guarding two forts resting upon him, was certainly in a quandary. He immediately reported the sad occurrence to Major Parsons as follows:

Worthy Friend,

I am Sorry to Inform you of What happened Sins I Sa you Last on the 20 Day of this Instant, after I came to Fort Hamelton, about two o'Clock, & as I made all the hast I Could to Fort Hyndshaw, about one o'Clock at Night an Express Came to me that a man Was Kiled and Scalped at Fort Hamelton, which I found to be tru, & had the man buried the 21 of this Instant; pray, Sir, Consider my affairs as I am but Weake Now & all the Neighbours about the fort is monted in the fort,, Which I Compel'd to Stan Sentriey Next the Soldiers, tel further orders; pray, Sir, Excuse hast.

Sir, I Remain your

friend and humble

Servant, Sir,

CAPT. JOHN VAN ETTEN.

Fort Hamelton, 21 Apr., 1757. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 139.)

Unfortunately this did not end the tragic chapter of deprivations committed by the party of Indians then on their scalping expedition. On June 27th, 1757, George Ebert made the following deposition before Squire and also Major Parsons, at Easton :

"Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, George Ebert (Son of John Ebert, late of Plainfield Township, in the said County, Yoeman, but now of Easton in the same County), aged Sixteen Years, and being duly sworn

on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and declareth That on or about the Second Day of May last, He, this Deponant, with about Eighteen armed men, went with Two Waggons from Plainfield Township, to assist the Inhabitants of Lower Smithfield, who had a few days before been attacked by the Enemy Indians (and some of the Neighborhood murdered by the Savages) to bring off some of their best Effects. That about Noon of the same Day, they came to the House of Conrad Bittenbender, to which house divers of the Neighbours had fled; here one of the Waggons with about Ten Men, with this Deponant, halted to load their Waggon with the poor People's Effects; and the rest of the Company with the other Waggon went forward about a Mile, to the House of Philip Bozart, to which place others of the Neighbours had also fled, with such of their Effects as they cou'd in their Confusion carry there. That this Deponant and Conrad Bittenbender, Peter Sheaffer, John Nolf, Jacob Roth, Michael Kierster a certain Klein And one man more (whose name this Deponant hath forgot) went about Two Miles into the Woods to seek the Neighbour's Horses, whereof they found Six, And were returning with them to within half a mile of Bittenbender's House where they were attacked by Fifteen French Indians who fired upon them & killed Bittenbender, Jacob Roth, and John Nolf, as he believes, for that he saw Three fall, one dead, And took Peter Sheaffer, who received two flesh Shots, One in his Arm and the other on the Shoulder, and this Deponant Prisoners; This Deponant received no Shot. And this Deponant further sayeth, That the Indians frequently talked French together; That they set off immediately with their Prisoners; That on the Evening of the next Day they fell in with another Company of about Twenty four Indians who had Abram Miller, with his Mother, and Adam Snell's Daughter, Prisoners; The Indians with their Prisoners marched in Parties as far as Diahogo; That at this Place the Indians separated, and about Eight, the foremost, took this Deponant and Abraham Miller with them, and they never saw any of the other Prisoners afterwards; That in their way on this Side of Diahogo they saw Klein's Daughter, who had been taken Prisoner about a Week before this Deponant was taken; That a Day's Journey

beyond Diahogo, they came to some French Indian Cabbins, where they saw another Prisoner, a girl about Eight or Nine Years old, who told this Deponant that her Name was Catharine Yager, that her Father was a Lock Smith and lived at Allemengle, And that she had been a Prisoner ever since Christmas; That at this Place the Indians loosed the Prisoners, this Deponant and Abraham Miller, who they had bound every Night before; That finding themselves at Liberty, they, this Deponant & Abraham Miller, made their Escape in the night, and the next Day afternoon they came to French Margaret's at Diahogo, having been Prisoners Nine Days; That they stayed about four weeks with her, during all which Time she concealed them and supported them; That some French Indians came in Search of the Prisoners, whereupon Margaret told them it was not safe for them to stay longer, and advised them to make the best of their Way homewards; That all the Indians at and on this side Diahogo were very kind to them, and help'd and directed them on their way; John Cook was particularly helpfull to them; That while they were at Diahogo they were informed that the Indians had killed Abraham Miller's Mother, who was not able to travel further, And J. Snell's Daughter, who had received a Wound in her Leg by a Fall when they first took her Prisoner, but they heard nothing of Peter Sheaffer; That in Three Days they arrived at Wyoming, by Water, as Margaret had advised them; That at Wyoming the Indians directed them the Way to Fort Allen, but they missed their Way and came the road to Fort Hamilton, where they arrived last Sunday week. And this Deponant further sayeth, that the friendly Indians told them that the Enemy had killed Marshall's Wife at the first Mountain, And further this Deponant sayeth not."

The mark of
GEORGE X EBERT.

N. B.—This Deponant saith that they understood by the French Indians That the'd Three Days further to go from the Place from whence They escaped.

At the same time the above deposition was read before

Council, another letter from Major Parsons, of June 26th, was presented giving an account of the attack on Brodhead's house, about a mile from and in sight of Fort Hamilton, which they burnt. At the same time they killed and scalped one Tidd besides destroying a number of animals. (Col. Rec., vii, p. 620.)

Besides these murders "It is said that two soldiers of the garrison (Fort Hamilton) walking among the scrub oaks on the brow of the hill where the academy now stands (1845) were killed by a party of Indians in ambuscade." (Rupp—History Monroe County, p. 152.)

It can hardly be a matter of surprise to learn that the people in the vicinity of Fort Hamilton became very much alarmed. They realized that the Government was not affording them sufficient protection, and that the troops already on the ground were too few in number with too much territory to cover. Hence their appeal for aid, and the following petition to Governor Denny immediately after the circumstances just related.

"The Petition of the few remaining Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Smithfield, in the County of Northampton, and in the Province of Pennsylvania:

That the Scituuation of the Petitioners being part of the Frontiers of the Province have for some time past suffered many and great Difficulties by the Excursions of the Savages, untill your Hon'rs accession to this Province, and the Treaty held with the Indians at Easton, which afforded the prospect of a Peace, and gave your Petitioners encouragement to return to their Farms, in order to Plant and to Support their Distressed Familys in a peacable manner; But so it has happened, and please your Honour, to our inexpressible surprise, these perfidious murderers have renewed their Barbarities by killing, Scalping, and Captivating the Inhabitants in a most dreadful manner, which has obliged your honours petitioners to assemble with their Familys together for their Better defence, But as the number of men now here will not be sufficient to defend themselves and Familys any long time against the Enemy, they must inevitably fall into their hands to be massacrey'd or desert the post now at —————, Either of

which must be attended with fatal Consequences to the next Frontiers, and being well assured (under those dismal apprehensions) that the next under Divine Providence your Honour is our Protector, and therefore Desire that our deplorable Circumstances may be taken into Consideration, and that such relief therein may be Granted, as your Honour in your Wisdom shall direct, and your Honours Petitioners as in duty bound Shall ever Pray."

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 174.)

Signed by 21 persons.

On July 25th, 1757, another petition was sent Gov'r Denny from Easton, by persons who had lived about Fort Hamilton but had been obliged to flee for safety to Easton. It is as follows:

The Petition of sundry Persons, formerly Inhabitants beyond the Mountains, humbly Sheweth:

That we, your Petitioners, having made Settlements beyond the Mountains, have been obliged to leave them; that we last fall sowed some grain, which is now fully ripe and should be cut down, but for fear of being waylaid and murdered by our Enemies, we dare not go to reap it, and without it we and our families must be exposed to want and become a burden to our Country.

We therefore humbly pray that the Governor will be pleased to order us a guard of Soldiers to protect us, till we can reap and remove our grain to this Side the Mountains; and your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

FILIB POSSERT,

MELCHER STECHER,
his

GEORGE C. X MENINGER,
mark

JOHANNES BIDENBENDER,
KROG HADLIEB,

his
MICHAEL X RAUPP,
mark

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 238.)

& others.

Capt. Van Etten seems to have done all in his power to aid

the farmers in gathering their harvests, with his limited force. During the month of July, until its abrupt termination on July 21st, we find numerous entries in his journal of detachments sent to guard the harvesters. The available soldiers, however, were certainly too few for the duties required of

During the Conference with the Indians at Easton in July, 1757, when a treacherous attack on the Governor was feared, Col. Weiser sent in haste to Fort Hamilton and Fort Norris for a detachment of troops to augment the town guard. This also tended to weaken, temporarily, the force at the former point.

After this the inroads of the Indians became less frequent. Continuous efforts were made to bring about peace with the various tribes, and the Delawares especially were generally won over to the British side. As a consequence it was practically determined to virtually abandon the Forts at the Minisink region, and, in the Spring of 1758, Lieut. Hyndshaw, then in command of Fort Hamilton, was ordered south of the mountains to Teed's Block House near Wind Gap. Hearing of this contemplated action the settlers sent the following petition to Gov. Denny:

"The Petition of the Distressed Inhabitants of Lower Smithfield Township, in the County of Northampton, most Humbly Sheweth:

That your Honours petitioners are under some apprehensions that the Company of Soldiers, Commanded by James Hyndshaw, are to be removed from their present Station, and of our being left in a Defenceless posture; That your Petitioners have had Intelligence of a Body of upwards of Three Hundred French and Indians that are coming Down to Distress the Frontiers of this province, and as this part at present seems the most Defenceless, it is very probable that we shall be the first attacked; That your petitioners have at present but 12 men allowed by the province, which we humbly apprehend Can afford us but little assistance; and further, we Humbly Conceive that in case we were attacked by so large a party we must inevitably fall an easy prey to our Cruel Savage Enemy, unless your Honour is pleased to afford us a Reinforce-

ment, which we flatter ourselves we are assured of, your Honour Having Hitherto since your Succession to this province, exercised a very Fatherly Care over us, for which we return our Most Hearty thanks; and further, we being well assured that next to Divine Providence your Honour is our protector, we Submit our Circumstances to your Superior Knowledge to act for us, who as Loyall Subjects are Determined with your Honour's assistance to stand against any Enemy that may attempt to invade us, and your Honour's petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray."

Aaron Dupui,	William McNab,
John McMichael,	Edward Connor,
Daniel Shoemaker,	Robert Hanah,
William Clark,	Daniel McIntosh,
Samuel Dupui,	Michael Shouer,
Daniel Broadhead,	John Williamson,
Abraham Mullux,	James Garlinhousing,
Nicolas Miekle,	John Higgins,
Leonard Weeser,	Isaac Flack,
John Cambden,	Enoch Freeland,
Frederick Vanderliss,	John Drake,
James Hilman,	Jeremiah Flemmer,
John Hilman,	Adam Snall,
William Smith,	Francis Delong,
John McDoull,	(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 357.)

These alarms were unfortunately based on something more than mere rumor. The Mohawk Indians were still inclined to side with the French and in June, 1758, had formed quite a party to attack the Minisink settlement. Teedyuscung and the Delawares endeavored to persuade them from their purpose, succeeding, however, only in part. Some of the enemy adhered to their purpose, and committed depredations above the vicinity of Fort Hamilton, which then seems to have been without a garrison. To the credit of the settlers it must be said that from the very outbreak of hostilities in 1755 they showed a determination to defend themselves and not give way to the Indians, perhaps more so than at most other localities, and this too notwithstanding the fact that the protec-

tion afforded by the Government to them was less than usual, neither Fort Hamilton nor Fort Hyndshaw being garrisoned as completely as they should have been. In this instance arrangements were made for defence at Dupui's house, but, providentially, the cloud passed by without causing any destruction.

With the great Conference at Easton of 1758, at which, finally, all the Indian tribes were represented, came peace, hastened possibly by the success which attended the British arms in the field, and the consequent discomfiture of the French.

This peace, as far as the Minisink region is concerned, might never have been broken, not even in 1763 under ordinary circumstances, had it not been for an occurrence the relation of which can hardly fail to cause a feeling of sadness and regret in the heart of every reader of this history. The brief renewal of hostilities was brought about by the tragic death of Teedyuscung, the great Delaware Chief. A great man Teedyuscung certainly was. Born an Indian, and imbued with all the feelings of an Indian, who saw the bountiful hunting grounds of his ancestors and himself rapidly passing into the hands of the white man, too often by unfair means, it was but natural that, in the beginning, he should have sided with the French and given his approval of the scalping parties which went from his tribe against the settlers. It was but natural too, that, for a while, he should have wavered in his allegiance, but it is certainly a fact that early in the war he became friendly to the British Government, and from that time used all his influence in their favor. He first won over his own tribe, the Delawares, and we have seen with how much greater consideration those taken captive by them were treated, many even being released and returned to their friends. He then visited other tribes, gradually winning them over by his eloquence and arguments, until at last, in 1758, he succeeded in bringing about a general peace. At this Conference he was the central figure, to him were accorded the greatest honours, and it was his dignity and shrewdness that gained the greatest results for his people in general. Unfortunately, this proved his ruin. The Mohawk Indians were long accustomed

to look upon the Delawares with contempt, as "women" and not warriors. That one, belonging to a tribe so much beneath them, should occupy such an exalted position on a great occasion like that, was more than they could brook. Their hearts were filled with a hatred which only his death could satisfy. This was determined upon, and, after the close of the Conference, they but waited a fitting time to carry out their purpose. The opportunity came with Pontiac's outbreak in 1763, when they saw a chance for double revenge, and took advantage of it.

Teedyuscung was born on the Pocono, a portion of the lands of the Minisinks, at no very great distance from where Stroudsburg now stands, the scene of our present narrative. Here naturally he returned and lived after the close of hostilities in 1758. He was always grave and dignified, although at heart he seems to have been somewhat of a wit. A tradition of Stroudsburg states that he there met one day a blacksmith named Wm. McNabb, a rather worthless fellow, who accosted him with, "Well, cousin, how do you do?" "Cousin, cousin," repeated the haughty red man, "how do you make that out?" "Oh, we are all cousins from Adam," was the reply. "Ah," retorted Teedyuscung, "then I am glad it is no nearer." (Col. Stone's History of Wyoming.)

It was whilst he was quietly living here that in October, 1763, a party of warriors from the Six Nations paid him a visit with a smile of friendship on the face but with murder in the heart. After lingering about several days they succeeded in treacherously setting fire to his house at night, which, with the veteran himself, was burnt to ashes. Thus perished Teedyuscung, who, with all his failings, and weaknesses for drink, was a brave man, deserving of a better fate.

To shield themselves, the Indians who committed the dastardly deed blamed it on the white settlers from Connecticut. The result can readily be imagined. Beloved as was the Chief by his own people, their wrath was kindled intensely by his death and especially in the manner in which it occurred. Parties at once started out on the war path, and in November the authorities were notified by a friendly Indian, Job Chilleway, who came to Ensign Kern's near Fort Allen, of a move-

ment by the hostile savages on the Minisink settlements. Murder had already been committed at the Forks of the Schuylkill. The outbreak was unexpected and no preparations made for the emergency. But few soldiers were on hand. Capt. Kern had a company of some 30 men, which was in existence, and Capt. De Haas was raising another, but had only succeeded in gathering together 15. A few other companies were organized or organizing south of the mountains. Capt. Kern at once pursued the enemy and ranged towards the Minisinks, accomplishing all that lay in his power. How many murders were committed we are not told, but Rupp in his History of Monroe County, p. 155, says that on February 10, 1764, Indians, to the number of fifty, attacked the farm of James Russell, near Stroudsburg, burnt his barn, killing one of his sons and carrying off another. Also that on February 26th, John Russell, brother of James, was attacked by three Indians. He took to a tree and receiving three fires from each, returned as many and drove them off. One shot passed through his hat, another through the sleeve of his coat, and the third wounded him slightly in the calf of the leg.

With this ends our knowledge of Fort Hamilton and the events which took place in its vicinity. Closely connected with its history, however, and not far distant from it was

FORT HYNDSHAW.

When the commissioners appointed by the Governor took charge of the defences of the Province, Captains Trump and Ashton were sent to build Fort Hamilton, as we know. It was felt that, in addition, the district around the township of Upper Smithfield needed protection. Accordingly Mr. John Van Etten and Mr. James Hyndshaw, both residing in that vicinity, were selected for the purpose mentioned, and on January 12th, 1756, Benjamin Franklin issued the following instructions from Bethlehem:

BUSHKILL P.O.
PIKE CO.



PIKE COUNTY

CREEK

CITY

BUSHKILL

SCHOOL
HOUSE

1/2 MILE FROM BUSHKILL
TO MILE ROAD FROM BUSHKILL
ABOUT 20 MILES FROM BUSHKILL

MAPLE GROVE
HOUSE J.H. PLACE PROP.

AB 400 FT.
UP HILL

MONROE COUNTY

TO DELAWARE RIVER
ABOUT ONE MILE AT TWO NEAREST POINTS
IT MAKING A BEEF-HORSE-SHOE BEND THERE.

FORT HYNDSHAW

TO STRoudSBURG
12 MILES

SITE OF FORT HYNDSHAW.

To Cap't Vanetta, of the Township of Upper Smithfield.

Sir:

1—You are to proceed immediately to raise a Company of Foot, consisting of 30 able Men, including two Serjeants, with which you are to protect the Inhabitants of Upper Smithfield, assisting them while they thresh out and Secure their Corn, and Scouting from time to time as you judge necessary, on the Outside of the Settlements, with Such of the Inhabitants as may join you to discover the Enemy's Approaches and repel their Attacks.

2—For the better Security of the Inhabitants of that District, you are to post your men as follows: Eight at your own House, Eight at Lieutenant Henshaw's, Six with a Serjeant at Tishhock —, and Six with another Serjeant at or near Henry Cortracht's, and you are to settle Signals, or Means of Suddenly alarming the Inhabitants, and convening your whole Strength with the Militia of your District, on any necessary Occasion.

3—Every Man is to be engag'd for one month, and as the Province cannot at present furnish Arms or Blankets to your Company, you are to allow every Man enlisting and bringing his own Arms & Blanket, a Dollar for the Use thereof over and above his Pay.

4—You are to furnish your Men with provisions, not exceeding the Allowance mentioned in the paper herewith given you, and your reasonable Accounts for the same shall be allowed and paid.

5—You are to keep a Diary or Journal of every Day's Transactions, and an exact Account of the Time when each Man enters himself with you, and if any Man desert or die you are to note the Time in your Journal, and the Time of engaging a new Man in his Place, and submit your Journal to the Inspection of the Governor when required.

6—You are to acquaint the Men, that if in their Ranging they meet with, or are at any Time attack'd by the Enemy, and kill any of them, Forty Dollars will be allow'd and paid by the Government for each Scalp of an Indian Enemy so killed, the same being produced with proper Attestations.

7—You are to take care that your Stores and Provisions be not wasted.

8—If by any means you gain Intelligence of the Design of the Enemy, or the March of any of their Parties towards any Part of the Frontier, you are to send Advice thereof to the Governor, and to the other Companies in the Neighborhood, as the Occasion may require.

9—You are to keep good Order among your Men, and prevent Drunkenness and other Immoralities, as much as may be, and not Suffer them to do any Injury to the Inhabitants whom they come to protect.

10—You are to take Care the Men keep their Arms clean and in good Order, and that their Powder be always kept dry and fit for Use.

11—You are to make up your Muster Roll at the Month's End, in order to receive the Pay of your Company, and to make Oath to the Truth thereof before a Justice of the Peace, and then transmit the same to the Governor.

(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 546.)

B. FRANKLIN.

It is evident that the Government expected to put down the enemy at once. It is not the only instance in our memory of short enlistments at the outbreak of lengthy wars. It was not long before the Governor concluded it would be better to make the term of service one and even three years.

The following obligation, signed by nearly fifty soldiers (names not given unfortunately), is so unique as to make it well worthy of a little space in our record:

Jany. 12th, 1756.

We, the Subscribers, do hereby engage ourselves to Serve as Soldiers in his Majesty's Service, under the command of Captain John Vanetta, for the Space of one Month, and whoever of us shall get drunk, desert, or prove cowardly in Time of Action, or disobedient to our Officers, shall forfeit his Pay. This Agreement we make in Consideration of being allow'd at the rate of Six Dollars per Month, Wages, one Dollar for the Use of a Gun and Blanket, to each Man who shall furnish himself with them, and the Provisions and Rum mentioned in a Paper hereunto annex'd." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 547.)

Having forwarded his instructions to Capt. Van Etten, on January 14th, Franklin makes a detailed report to the Governor of what had been accomplished to that time. In it he says, "I have also allow'd 30 Men to secure the Township of Upper Smithfield, and Commission'd Van Etten and Hinshaw as Captain and Lieutenant." (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 549.)

This was also the condition of affairs on April 20th, 1756, when, in a report sent the Governor of the position of troops in Northampton county, it mentions "Capt. Vanetten at Minisks, a Lieut. and 30 men." (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 325—date incorrectly given 1758.)

We are not told when Fort Hyndshaw was built, but it was doubtless erected by Capt. Van Etten and his Lieut., James Hyndshaw, probably not long after they took charge of the vicinity, realizing that they could better protect the settlers in that way than any other. It was evidently named after Lieut. Hyndshaw, who resided near by.

Commissary James Young visited it on his round of inspection, and has this to say, writing from the "Fort 10 miles above Depues, Commonly call'd Hyndshaw Fort."

June 24, 1756.—At 8 A. M. I sett out from Fort Hamilton for Sam'l Depues where Cap'tn Weatherholt's Lieu't and 26 men are Stationed, when I came there his Muster Roll was not ready, I therefore proceeded to the next Fort 10 miles higher up the River, at 1 P. M. Came there, it is a good Plain Road from Depue's, many Plantations this way, but all Deserted, and the houses Chiefly Burnt. Found at this Fort Lieut. Ja's Hyndshaw w'th 25 men he told me the Cap'tn with 5 men was gone up the River yesterday, and did not Expect him back these two days, they had been informed from the Jerseys that 6 Indians had been seen, and fired at the night before 18 miles up the River.—Provincial Stores, 11 Good Muskets, 14 Rounds of Powder & Lead for 30 men, 4 lb Powder, 30 Blankets.

This Fort is a Square ab't 70 f't Each way, very Slightly Staccaded. I gave some direction to alter the Bastions which at present are of very little use, it is clear all round for 300 yards, and stand on the Banks of a Large Creek, and ab't $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the River Delaware, and I think in a very important Place for the Defence of this Frontier; at 3 P. M. I mus-

ter'd the people, and find them agreeable to the Lieu'ts Roll, Regularly inlisted. Finding here such a small Quantity of Powder and Lead, and this Fort the most Distant Frontier, I wrote a Letter to Cap'tn Arrend (Orndt), at Fort Norris, where there is a Large Quantity desiring he would deliver to this Fort 30 lb Powder, and 90 lb Lead, and I promised he should have proper orders from his Superior Officer for so doing, in the meantime my letter should be his Security, in which I hope I have not done amiss as I thought it very necessary for the Good of this Service.

24 June.—At 7 P. M. Came to Sam'l Dupues, * * * *
(Penn. Arch., ii, p. 680.)

It was probably not long after this when Lieut. Jas. Hyndshaw was detached from Capt. Van Etten's Company and attached to the command of Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt, who had charge of the district south of the mountains and also the locality about Dupui's house. Lieut. Hyndshaw therefore remained on duty in the same general neighborhood, although not at Fort Hyndshaw. He was replaced in Capt. Van Etten's Company by Lieut. Samuel Allen, who was commissioned May 19, 1756.

On December 6th, 1756, Major Parsons reports to Rich'd Peters, the Colonial Secretary, that he had supplied Fort Hyndshaw on August 24th, with $15\frac{1}{2}$ lb powder, 90 lb lead and 25 flints. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 81.)

I beg now to give a sketch showing the location of this Fort, for which I am indebted to Rev. Theo. Heilig, of Stroudsburg. With regard to it Mr. Heilig says, "About Fort Hyndshaw I am quite sure, having the data from a man who has been 'in the fort many a time' over thirty years ago." Mr Heilig, himself, has resided in the vicinity for a long time and is thoroughly acquainted with its people and history. It would seem as if traces of the embankment, or line of stockades, were visible some thirty years ago.

In accordance with the instructions given him by Franklin, Capt. Van Etten was careful to keep a daily journal of events. We are fortunate in having preserved to us the record extending over some months. Whilst more fully narrating the oc-

currences at Fort Hyndshaw, it also includes Fort Hamilton, Captain Van Etten being in command of both defences. We cannot do better than to give it, without comment, as he has written it:

Journal kept by Captain John Van Etten, 1757.

Of all the Proceedings and Circumstances of Affairs, together with all Busnis and Scouting Done by said Company, from the 1st Day of December, 1756.

December y'e 1st, 1756.

1. I went on Scout with the oldest Ser't, to see if there ware Indians on the Cost, but discov'r'd none; we Returned safe to the fort.

2. After Releaving Guard Employ'd the men in halling firewood.

3. Reliev'd Guard and kept the men about the Garrison.

4 and 5. Paid some of the men, and for some provisions.

6. Kept the men in their posts about the Garrison.

7. I went on Scout with 2 men and made no Discovery; Return'd Safe to the Fort at Night and found all in Good order.

8. and 9. The men Divided, one part standing on Sentry while the other Cut and Hall'd firewood.

10. I went out on Scout with one man and made no Discovery, and Return'd safe to the fort.

11. The Lieu't. went on his Journey to Philadelphia, in order to get the pay for my men for 3 months; the same Day, about 11 o'clock I went out on Scout with 6 men and Traviled four milda out making no Discovery, Return'd to the fort.

12. Sunday and Rainey, we all staid at the Garrison.

13. In the morning, after Guard Relv'd, I went out with six men on Scout and one Neighbour, and Traviled eight milda out and made no Discovery, and Return'd to the Garrison all safe.

14. After Guard Reliev'd I went out with four men on Scout, and sent two men with Jacob Swortwood to Guarde him in fetching his Grane, where it might be thrash'd.

15. I went with five men on Scout, and s'd Jacob Swortwood went again to his place with s'd Guard, it being about four

milds from the fort. At night, when I returned, told me, that before he and s'd Guard came to the field they saw a small Stack of Rye set out in a Large Shock of 30 Sheves on a side, and places Left in the middle to Soot out at, and a bee hive set on the top.

16. After the Guard Reliev'd, I went with six men to the place, and order'd two men with the Wagons to come sometime after when I surrounded the field, then to come and take their Loads which was Done, but no Discovery of the Enemy. I wend then with two men through the woods and the rest of the men Guarded the Waggon, and we all returned safe to the fort.

17. It snow'd; I made a pair of Mokesons for myself to Scout in.

18. After the Guard Reliev'd I went to Scout with six men, and went about Six mильs from the fort and found the Snow in many places half Leg deep; we Discovering no Enemy, all Returned safe to the fort.

19. It was Sunday, one of the Corporals with 4 men went on Scout but made no Discovery, and all Returned safe to the fort.

20. It Snow'd, therefore we all kept the fort.

21. The Corporal with 5 men hall'd firewood to the Fort, and I went with 3 men on Scout, and four mильs out finding the Snow knee deep, but made no Discovery, and Returned to the fort after dark.

22. After the Guard Reliev'd we cleard of the Snow round the Fort, in order to go to work to build a blockhouse.

23. We all kept the fort.

24. And to the end of the month, the Snow Rendering it unfit for Work or Scouting, we cleared the Parade and kept the men to their Exercise twice a Day, in which time I paid of the men.

January y'e 1st, 1757.

1. Reliev'd Guard and Exercis'd the men, and kept the fort.
2. Sunday, kept the fort.
3. Stormy weather.
4. Kept the men to their Exercise.
5. The same.

6. Hall'd firewood for the Fort.
7. Exercis'd the men twice.
8. Hall'd firewood, having the advantage of the Snow.
9. Sunday, all kept the fort.
10. I went on Scout with Six men, and Night on us we lodg'd at Daniel Shoemakers.
11. Returned home to the fort.
12. I went on Scout with 4 men, made no discovery, and all Returned to the fort.
15. Hall'd firewood for the fort.
17. I went on Scout with 5 men, Discovering nothing, Return'd to the fort.
19. I, with the Leu't, went on Scout with 6 men, and Traviled 3 milds out, and Returned to the Fort, Discovering nothing.
20. I went out on Scout with two men and made no Discovery; Return'd safe to the fort.
21. Reliev'd Guard and kept the fort.
22. I went out with one man on Scout about 7 milds from the fort, Discover'd nothing, and Returned safe to the fort.
23. Receiv'd order from Hon'bl Cor'll, Dated 16 Instant, that as soon as the Season would admit to Dissipline the men in the English Exercise, and to teach them the Indian method of war, the which was immediately observ'd and daily practis'd.
30. Receiv'd Orders from the Hon'bl Cor'll to Inlist men to fill up my Company, to consist of fifty men, Encluding 2 Serj'ts, 2 Corporals and a Drummer.

Febrawary y'e 4'th.

Then writ to Maj'r W'm. Persons, Discovering the necessity we ware in of Ammonission.

6. Receiv'd an answer with 29 lb of Lead.
7. Keep the men to their Exercise as usual.
9. Excessive bad weather.
11. After Guard Reliev'd hall'd firewood,
12. Snow, which made it unfit for Exercise.
14. Kept the men at their Exercise.
16. Hall'd firewood for the fort.

17. The men Exercis'd twice.
18. and 19. The same.
20. Sunday, kept the fort.
21. Went out on Scout with 4 men, but finding it so uncomfortable Traviling, and making no Discovery, Return'd to the Fort.
22. and 23. The men kept to their Exercise.
24. After Guard Reliev'd hall'd firewood.
25. Kept the men to their Exercise, and to the End of the month.

March the 1st, 1757.

- At Eight O'c Reliev'd Guard and Exercis'd the men twice.
4. After Guard Reliev'd, orderd the old Guard to Hall firewood for the fort.
 6. Sunday, Reliev'd Guard at 8 O'c and then Exercis'd the men.
 7. After Guard Reliev'd went out on Scout with ten men, Travil'd about Six milda, made no Discovery, and Return'd to the fort.
 9. Exercis'd the men twice.
 10. Exercis'd the men twice.
 11. After Guard Reliev'd at 8 O'c, Hall'd firewood for the fort.
 12. After Guard Reliev'd I went with Six men on Scout, and traviled about Six milda and made no Discovery, and all Return'd safe to the fort.
 13. Sunday, Reliev'd Guard at 8 O'c, and all kept the Garrison.
 14. After Guard Reliev'd went on Scout with 8 men, Discovering nothing Return'd to the fort.
 16. After Guard Reliev', hall'd fire wood for the fort.
 17. Dissiplind the men twice.
 18. After Guard Reliev'd I went on Scout with 5 men, made no Discovery, and Return'd to the fort.
 19. Reliev'd Guard, Dissiplind the men, and hall'd fire wood.
 20. Reliev'd Guard at 8 O'c, and all kept the fort.
 21. Went on my Journey for Easton in order to attend Court, Leaving the Charge of the Company w't the Leu't., and

being Detain'd by Reson of Bad weather I attended the whole term.

28. I Return'd Safe to my Company at Fort Hyndshaw, finding all thing in good order and my men in health.

29. Reliev'd Guarde and Dissiplind the men twice.

30. After Guarde Reliev'd went on Scout with 4 men, and others employ'd in halling fire wood for the fort.

April 1st.

After Guard Reliev'd I went on Scout with 4 men, and went about 4 milds, making no Discovery Returnd to the fort.

2. Reliev'd Guard and Dissiplind the men.

3. Sunday, Reliev'd Guard and kept the Fort.

4. Dissiplin'd the men twice.

5. Reliev'd Guard, then employ the men in halling fire wood.

6. Dissiplind the men.

7. Rec'd an Order, dated March 28th, from the Hon'bl Cor'll Wiser, commanding me immediately to Send an Attachment of men, 16 in number, to Relieve the Company station'd at Fort Hambleton.

8. Took possession of s'd fort according to my orders, and the Company march'd of Leaving the fort in my care.

9. A Copy of a Letter from Maj'r Will'm Parsons, sent to then commander at fort Hambleton, I being there and no other. I open'd the same, and found it to be a Coppy from the original, sent by Jacob Snyder, Insign, being then Commander at fort Norris, with which I could not content myself but went of immediately to Easton to see the Maj'r.

10. Then spoke with the Maj'r at his own House, who order'd that the Leu't., with 25 men of my Company, should immediately march to Riddin, to the Cor'l's, there to Rec'd fur-ther orders.

11. Return'd home to fort Hyndshaw, Receiving the Orig-i-nal of the Maj'r's order by the way, and acquainted the Leu't. with the affair.

12. Got the men ready for a march.

13. Convey'd the Leu't. with s'd Company as far as fort Hambleton.

14. The Leu't. march'd with said Company about Eight O'-

Clock in the morning from Fort Hambleton, and I Returned to fort Hyndshaw.

15. Dissiplind the men.

16. Went to see the Maj'r.

20. Return't to Fort Hyndshaw, visiting Fort Hambleton on my way, and found all things in good order at both Forts. The Night following an Express came from fort Hambleton to me at fort Hyndshaw, with an accomp't of a murder Committed about Sun set.

21. Went to Fort Hambleton with 7 men, and found it to be one Countryman, a Lad of about 17 years of age, Kill'd and scalp'd by the Indians, about 100 Rods from fort Hambleton, which I took up and Buried the same day; Return'd safe with my men to fort Hyndshaw.

22. Dissiplined the men twice.

23. Employ'd the men halling firewood to the fort.

24. Sunday, all Kept the fort.

25. My Serj't Leonard Den, with 2 men of, for subsistance to Sam'll Depues, having got within about 2 milds of s'd Depues, s'd Sej't was shot, the 2 men Return'd and inform'd me of it, where upon an alarm was beat, and the neighbours all gather'd to the fort; myself with 7 men went of immediately and found him Kill'd and Scalp'd, and intirely Strip'd and shamefully cut, that his bowls was Spred on the Ground, I immediately sent of 3 men to s'd Depues for a Wagon, which being come we carried him to s'd Depues, where we kept guarde that night.

26. Early in the morning we Buried him in a Christian manner, & all Return'd to Fort Hyndshaw.

27. Dissiplind the men, increasing our Sentinels as far as our week circumstances would allow.

28. Dissiplind the men, giving them such Causion as I thought needfull.

29. and 30. Guarded the neighbours in their necessary Busines, with all that could possibly Leave the fort.

May 1st.

Sunday, all Kept the fort.

2. Dissiplind the men at 8 O'c in the morning, then employed the men in halling firewood for the Garrison.

3. Dissiplin'd the men at 8 O'c in the morning, then I went ont Scout with 5 men, an traviled about 5 milda and Discovered nothing, and all Returned safe to the fort.

4. Dissiplin'd the men at 8 O'c in the morning, then I went on Scout with 5 men, & traviled about 6 milda, Discovering nothing; all Return'd safe to the fort.

5. About eight in the morning, word came to me that an Indian was seen about 3 quarters of a mild from the fort; I went out immediately in pursuit of them with Eight men & one neighbour, and found it true by seeing his track, but could not come up with him, but my men from the fourt saw him Running from us at a Considerable distance from us, as they Likewise at the same time Could see some of my Company, as the few I left to Keep the fort affirm'd to me at my Return, but I seeing nothing of him Return'd with my men safe to the fort.

The same day one of my men, coming from a field where I sent a guard to Guard the neighbours at there work, saw three Indians coming down a mountain near s'd field, he gave me notice, I immediately went out with s'd man and 2 others in pursuit of them, not thinking it proper to go very far, the Garrison being left very weak. I stood on guard with 2 men, while one went to alarm the Guard that was in the field, then Returned to the fort, Discovering nothing.

6. At Eight of the Clock Dissiplind the men, after which some of my men, who had observ'd the night before as they were on Sentury, that the Dogs Kept an unusual barking and running to a particular place, went to see what the occasion should be, and found that an Indian had stood behind a tree about 25 yards from the fort; being told I went to see and found it true, his tracks being visible enough to be seen; in the afternoon I went on Scout with 4 men and a neighbour, but made no Discovery, and all Return'd safe to the fort.

7. The men call to their Exercise at the usual time, after which I went w'th 4 men to a Smiths shop whare we made an Instrument to take a Bullit out of my Horse, who was shot when Ser't. Den was Kill'd, and all return'd safe to the fort.

8. Sunday, assisted some of the neighbours with their Goods and families to the fort.

9. Dissoplind the men, after which Guarded two of the neighbours in their necessary Bussiness, with what men could be Spaird, and continued the same to the

15. Sunday, we all Kept the fourt.

16. Tho weak handed, I went on Scout with 4 men, traviled about 4 milda, made no Discovery, and Return'd safe to the fort.

17. Dissiplind the men at 8 O'c in the morning, then guarded the neighbours with all I could Spair from the fort.

18. Exercised the men twice, and all kept the fort.

19. After Exercising the men, Guarded the neighbours with all that could be Spaird from the fort.

20. The Corporal, with 3 men, went on Scout by my order, traviled about 3 milda, mad no Discovery, and Return'd to the fort.

21. Att 4 O'c, afternoon, Receiv'd a letter from Cap't. Busse to send a Corp'll, with 5 men, to meat him at Lest on the 22 day, to Guard him to fort Allin, which men Dispatch'd in half an hour.

22. Sunday, we few which Remaind all kept the fort.

23. About 10 O'Clock in the morning I Receiv'd a Letter from Maj'r Parson, wherein he Desir'd me to come to Easton to Rec'e my pay, with the pay for my men; I having then but 19 men Left me to keep the Fort, I took the Case together with my men into consideration, who all Beg'd of me not to leave the fort, where upon I wrote to the Maj'r and Beg'd of him to Consider our Circumstance, and Excuse me untill the men Return'd.

24. Dissoplind the Men at Eight in the morning, and all kept the fort, being week handed.

25. I went on Scout with 3 men, and traviled about 3 milda in the mountains and Discover'd nothing; Return'd to the fort.

26. Dissiplind the men, and all staid about the fort.

27. Dissiplind the men twice.

28. At 2 O'c, in the afternoon, the men, who with Comisary Young, from Easton to fort Allen, Return'd all in Helth.

29. Eexecis'd the men, and all kept the fort.

30. I went on Scout with 3 men, and traviled about 4 milda, discover'd nothing and Return'd to the fort.

31. Dissiplind the men at 8 O'c in the morning, afternoon went on Scout with 4 men, went about 3 mильs from the fort, Discover'd nothing, and Returned to the fort.

June y'e 1st.

The Corporal, with 3 men, went on Scout, and gave account of no discovery on their Return.

2. Five men sent to Sam'll Depues for Subsistance, in the afternoon the fort allarm'd by hearing several Guns fird, I immediately, with 3 men, went to find out the Reason, & found it to be some who unwittingly shot at fowl in the River. Our men all Return'd safe about Sunsett.

3. I sett of on my Journey for Philadelphia, about 4 O'-Clock in the afternoon, with 6 men as a Guard, and came all safe to Fort Hambleton, and found everything in good order there.

4. At 8 O'c in the morning Dissiplind the men, and gave strict orders to the Sergant to keep the men Exact to there duty, and about 4 O'c afternoon I persued my Journey.

5. I lay sick by the way within five mильs of Easton.

6. Came to Easton and paid my Respects to Maj'r Persons.

7. Notwithstanding the Ill Surcomstance of Body I was in I persued my Jorney.

8. About 4 in the afternoon I came to Philadelphia, and Deliver'd the Express sent to Maj'r Persons, just as it was sent to him to his Hon'r the Governor, who Desir'd me to wait on him at 12 O'c in the next day.

9. I waited on his Honour as was requested, the answer from Mr. Petters was that my Busines should be done the next day at 9 O'c in the morning.

10, 11 and 12. I waited, but it was not done according to Expectation.

13. About 3 O'c in the afternoon I left the Town.

14. About two in the afternoon I came to Easton, I directly paid my Respects to Maj'r Persons, who told me I should take a Supply of Ammonicion, where upon I provided Sacks and took 100 lb of powder, 100 lb of Lead, and a 100 Flints, and also Rec'd a Copy from his Honour, the Governors orders to

Remove to fort Hambleton, and left Easton about 6 O'c and went about five milds.

15. Came safe to fort Hambleton with the Ammonicion, about 6 O'c afternoon, and found all things in good order.

16. At Eight O'c in the morning Displ'd the men and ordered them all to shoot at a mark at Armes End, and some of them did Exceeding well then; taking a 'Scort of men with me I went to Fort where we all arrived safe. I immediately call'd the men to Arms, and Ordred every one to get their Cloaths, and what ever they had, together as quick as possible, and be Redy to march to fort Hambleton.

17 and 18. After Dissolining the men as usual, we made everything Redy for our march.

19. About 9 O'c in the morning we all marched from fort Hyndshaw, with all the Baggage, and all arrived safe at fort Hambleton, and met no opposition, and found all things in good order there.

20. At Eight in the morning call'd the men under Armes, and after Exercising the men, order'd out Six men on Samuel Dupes Request, to Guard him in taking his wife to the Doct'r, at Bethlehem, who tarrid all night at s'd Depues; the same day I went on Scout with 4 men and one neighbour to git acquainted with the woods, as also to See if any Discovery could be made of the Enemy, but made no Discovery and Return'd to the fort.

21. At 8 O'c Exercis'd the men, about 12 O'c the Guard, with s'd Depue & wife, came to the fort; then order'd a Guar'd of ten men, who went of under the Care of a Corporal with s'd Depue with orders, that after they had Guarded s'd Depue as far as was needful, to Carry a Message from me to the Maj'r, at Easton, and to Return as soon as Dispatch could be made.

22. Exercis'd the men that Remand at the fort as Usual; nothing Extreordinary hapned, so all kept the fort.

23. In the morning, near Eleven O'c, the fort was allarm'd by some of the neighbours who had made their escape from the Enemy, five of them in Company near Brawdhead's house, seeking their horses in order to go to mill, was fir'd upon by the Enemy, and said that one of them, John Tidd by name,

was Kill'd, whereupon I immediately Draughted out 9 men, myself making the tents, in as private a manner as possible, and as privately went back in to the mountains in order to make a Discovery, giving Strict orders to those left to fire the wall peace to allarm us, if any attact should be attempted on the fort in my absence there, but Six men left at the fort, and coming in sight of s'd house, on the back side Perceiv'd a small smoke arise at s'd House, then traviling about a Quarter of a mile in order to surround them, we heard four Guns, the first of which being much Louder than the rest, Expected the fort was attacked, where upon we Retreated back about a Quarter of a mile, and hering no more Guns, my Council was to go to the House, but my pilot, who was well acquainted with the woods, thought it best to place ourselves in ambush, for they would come that way, he said; and as we ascended the mountain in order to place ourselves we saw the house in a blaze, and the pilot thought best to Retire a little nearer the house and the fort, where we might have a better view, and in the Retreat we heard 14 Guns fir'd as Quick after each other as one could count, then we plac'd our selves in two Companies, the better to waylay them; the party that was nearest between the house and the fort soon saw 27 Endeavouring to git between them and the fort, I, with the other party saw 5 more comeing on the other side, we found that we were discovr'd and like to be surrounded by a vast number, wherefore we all Retreated and got between them and the fort, then haulting they came in view. I then Calinged them to come, and fir'd at them, and altho at a Considerable distance, it was Generally thought one of them was kill'd, by ther Squoottting and making off, then we all Retir'd to the fort; Immediately upon our Return, a Scout of 13 men from the Jersey, who were in search of Edw'd Marshals wife, who was kill'd some time ago, came to the fort, being brought there by seeing the smoke and hearing the Guns fir'd, who all seem'd forward to go after them, when I, with nine men, went out with them, but having got some distance out they would go to the house to see whether the s'd man was kill'd. Being come, we found him Kill'd and Scalp'd, his Body and face Cut in an

inhuman manner, Cattle also lying dead on the Ground, where upon they all went of and left me with my small number to take care of the Dead man; whereupon we took him up and Returned to the fort, in which time my men that went to Easton Return'd to the fort.

24. Att about nine in the morning, having made redy, I went with 18 men and buried the man, then went from the grave in search and found 15 Cattle, Horses and hogs dead, besides two that was shot, one with 5 bulits, the other with one, and yet there are many missing, out of which the Enemy took, as we Judg, the value of two Beaves and almost one Swine—in the Evening sent an Express by two men to the Maj'rs.

25. Disciplined the men nothing Extraordinary hapned, all Kept the fort that night; the two men that went with the Express to Easton Returnd in safety to the Fort.

26. Early in the morning Rec'd the Maj'rs Letter, wherein he show'd himself very unesey that the men from Fort Norris had not Joyned me, and Desir'd me to send to fort Norris to know the Reason; and thinking it might be occasion'd for want of Carriages to bring their Stores, Desir'd me to indeavour to send a Wagon theather, accordingly, as I was indeavoring all I could in compliance of the Maj'rs Desire, about 3 O'c in the afternoon, Lieu't Hyndshaw came to the fort with ten men from Cap't. Weatherhold, and Six from Fort Norris, showing his order from Cor'll Weiser, for him to Command Fort Hambleton, and for me to abide with a small number of men at Fort Hyndshaw.

27. At Eight in the morning call'd my men under Armes as usual, and Draughted out Eleven men and sent them under the care of a Corp'll, with 3 neighbours, in search of some Cattle, which they fear'd ware taken or Kill'd by the Enemy, at which time the Lieu't. undertook to talk with me, and propos'd to me that if I would Let him have Six out of the men I had with me, to Joyn the men he had from Cap'tn Weatherhold, he would go to Fort Hyndshaw and stay there untill further orders, and Leave the Six men he brought from Fort Norris with me, which I could not Comply with, as not being in my power, having mov'd to Fort Hambleton by his Honours,

the Governors order, there to be reinforc'd by a Detachment from Fort Norris, their to stay untill further orders, at which the Lieu't. went of with a Sej't, and a waiting man he brought w't him from fort Augusta, and left the 16 men he brought under no bodies care; the Scout which went out all Return'd safe to the fort, finding what they went in search of, all well.

28. After Exercising my men, as Usual, I sent out a Scout of 12 men under the care of Serj't, who traviled about six milda out, and all Return'd safe to the fort making no discovery. I being not fully satisfied on the acc't of the men Left with me, whome I could do no less to then feed and Give them their proper allowance of Rum, wherefore I wrote to the Maj'r, laying the Circumstance of the matter as plain as possible befor him, Desiring his advice what to do in the Case, the which I sent of in the Evening by the Serj't, and one man with him.

29. After Exercising the men I sent of Six men, under the Care of the Corporal, with Six of those men which the Lieu't. left, who voluntarily went to assist and to guard one Peter Snyder, in taking of some Cattle whome he had, fled of and Left some time ago, least they should be Kill'd by the Enemy; in the Night the Serj't, w't the man that went w't him Return'd safe from Easton, with a letter from Maj'r, wherein he advis'd me to put the s'd men on duty which was left w't me, and where as he Expected Cor'll Weiser to be hare in a few days, to keep the fort untill he came, also Desir'd me to Endeavour to hasten Lieu't. Engles march to fort Hambleton.

30. I put the men left w't me on duty in the afternoon, the men that Guarded Peter Snyder all Return'd safe to the fort.

July 1.

In the morning Call'd my men under Armes, Draughted out ten men whom I sent under the Care of the Serj't, with nine of those men the Lieu't Left at the fort, whome I ordred where and how far they should travil on Scout, the which they perform'd and Return'd about one, after noon. About one O'c, after noon, the Lieu't. came past the fort, stoping at John McMackills, soon after. Came to the fort and show'd an Order from Cor'll Weiser, that I should Resign the Command

of Fort Hambleton to him, upon which I Call'd my men under armes, and as I was sending for the Lieu't. to Give up the Command to him, the Centunal hearing musick, acquainted me with it; I Expecting it was the Cor'll coming, delaide untill the Cor'll came, who weighing the Circumstances of things, continued me in possession of s'd Fort.

A True Journal of All Transaction in Captain John Van Etten's Company from the Second Day of July.

July ye 2d, 1757.

At Eight in the morning the men called to armes, at which time the Cor'll took a view of the men and their arms, and finding all in good order, after Giving Orders for the Regulation of the Company about 12 o'clock, the Cor'll with his attendance marchd off, after which we all kept the fort.

3. All Kept the Fort it being Sunday.
4. After Disciplining the men a party of twelve men under the command of a Serj't sent to Sam'll Depues with a Team for Necessary Subsistance, and all Returnd safe to the fort in the evening according to orders.
5. Very Rainy Weather unfit for Scouting or Exercise, all keep the fort.
6. At Eight in the Morning call'd the men to their Exercise, and Gave the men necessary Council how to behave according to the Orders Given to me by the Cor'll, at which time Complaint was made to me by some of the men that some of the Neighbours which Resided in the fort ware Lousey, by which means the whole Garrison would soon be in the same condition. I then Orderd the Corp'll with 3 men to assist him to make a search, and found that one Henery Countryman his family, and one John Hillman and his family ware Lousey, I ordred them out of the fort to their own house, it being but about 8 or 9 Rods from the fort, then Employd the men to Clean the fort within Doors and without, which was accordingly done, also sent out a scout of four men with 3 neighbors who voluntarily went in hopes to find some Cattle they had missing to Return the same Day, which they did in the Evening all safe to the fort, making no Discovery of any Enemy.

7. At Eight in the morning I called the men to their Exercise then Divided the men into two Guards, Each Guarde to stand their Day, those that ware not on Guarde to be employ'd in Scouting, Guarding the Neighbours and in things necessary to be done about the fort, and gave strict orders to those that ware on guarde that they should not Leave their post nor go from the fort, and that Every Sentunal should behave well on his post, about one o'clock after noon having occasion to go to John McMickles, saw John Jough Coming out of the woods with hoopolls on his Sholder, who was one of the Guarde, Immediately the Corp'll cane to s'd house, I then went home, and finding the Glass ran out I examined the matter and found that the Sentunal had stood his proper time out and ought to be Reliev'd. I therefore calld the next man on the List and see to his Relieff myself, the men that ware not on Guarde I employed in banking up the Earth against the Stockaders to prevent the waters Settling and running into the well which I found to be the Occasion that the water was so bad in the well.

8. At Eight in the morning Reliev'd Guard, after which I employd the old Guard in clearing out the well.

9. After Guard Reliev'd, a scout of ten men with the Serj't. went w't some of the Neighbors to Mr. Broadhead's place, who went on Necessary Busines and met no opposition, and all Return'd safe to the fort.

10. Sunday, a scout of 6 men went to Sam'll Depues on Necessary Busines, on their Return said they heard a person whistle, which was supposed to be an Indian, but see nothing, all Returnd safe to the fort.

11. After Guard Reliev'd, The Serj't. with the old Guarde ten men Set out on Scout to travil South-East, and as far as to Return by night which was performed, Meeting no Opposition nor Discovering any Signs of the Enemy all returnd safe to the fort.

12. At Eight in the morning calld the men to their Exercise and Reliev'd Guarde, after which upon John McMichaels Impertunity ordered ten men as a Guarde, where he was Cutting his harvest some Distance from the fort, with whom I went myself and placed them to the best advantage I could

ordering none to fire his Gun Except at an Enemy, and that 3 Guns should be an Allarm, they meeting no opposition all returned safe to the fort.

13. After the men exercisid and Guard Reliev'd, it was my intent to Guard John McMickle as the Day before but his Son in Law Coming from a Long Jorney or Voiage Detained him from Labour, wherefore I then took the Old Guard consisting of ten men and three Neighbours, with whom I went on Scout Directing my course South about 5 miles from the fort, and from thence west 2 miles, thence by judgment northerly so as to come to the fort in which way we came by the Sepperates Meeting house, where we found the Enemy had Lodged not long since, they Leaving a Bed of Fern even in the pulpit, But meeting no opposition all returnd safe to the fort.

14. At Seven in the morning calld the men to their Exercise & Reliev'd Guard, I then went with John McMickle and ten of my men as a Guard, to Guard said McMickle and men Employd at his harvest, posting five men a Small Distance from the field, which I thought best to discover the Enemy if any Should attempt to fall upon the people at work, the other five I posted in the field, about 3 o'clock afternoon I went w't the Corporal Round to the Sentinals as privately as we could and found them all on their guard.

15. It being very Rainey unfit to be out with arms we all kept the Fort.

16. The Rain Continueing until near 12 o'clock I then went to John MacMickle and asked him wheather he was Redy to go to his harvest, but I saw no preparation or Inclination for it, wherefore I went to the fort intending to go on scout with part of the men after Dinner, but before we ware redy four men came to the fort with an order from Cor'll Weiser, dated June 14, 1757, the Contents were as followeth, that he had Sent Orders to Lieu't Hyndshaw to attend the Treaty with the ten men of Capt. Weatherholts Company with him who ware then at Fort Hyndshaw and ordered me therefore without fail to send ten men from fort Hamilton to replace those Ordered away, where upon I immediately draughted out nine men, the Corp'll making the tenth whom I sent off to the Lieu't the same day, as soon as possably they could make them

Selves Redy which was in about half an hour after Receiving the Cor'l's Orders Under the Cair of the Corp'll with Orders to the Lieu't to station them as he thought fit, the which the posted at Sam'll Depues.

17. Sunday, seven of my small party of men left with me with four neighbours went on scout under the Command of the Serj't, who traviled South-westerly about six miles, then taking a Compass northerly all returned safe to the fort making no Discovery of any Enemy.

18. At Eight in the morning I went with five men and guarded John McMickle at his harvest, placing 3 Sentunals a small Distance from the field, and two in the field with men at work, they meeting no Opposition all returned safe to the fort.

19. Early in the morning one Garrit Brodhead applied to me for a guard to which I told him I would do for him what Lay in my power with the few men I had, I then ordred five men under the Cair of the Serj't & went my Self with one man to accompany me to the fort, and placed the Sentunals in the best manner I could for Safty, Leaving orders with the Serj't that fireing 3 guns should be an allarm, and then returned to the fort, and tended guard unti' ye Second Double Sentyury.

20. Guarded s'd Brodhead as the Day Before, and all returnd safe to the fort.

21. In compliance with the Cor'l's order early in the morning I sent to Sam'll Depues for the [mare] he had in keeping in order to send my message to the Cor'l at Easton, who returnd with s'd Mare safe in the Evening also 4 men Guarded John Drake at his harvest with orders to give an account of what hapnd, which was all was well, but as to their behaviour after their coming to the fort, I shall acquaint the Cor'l of the matter.

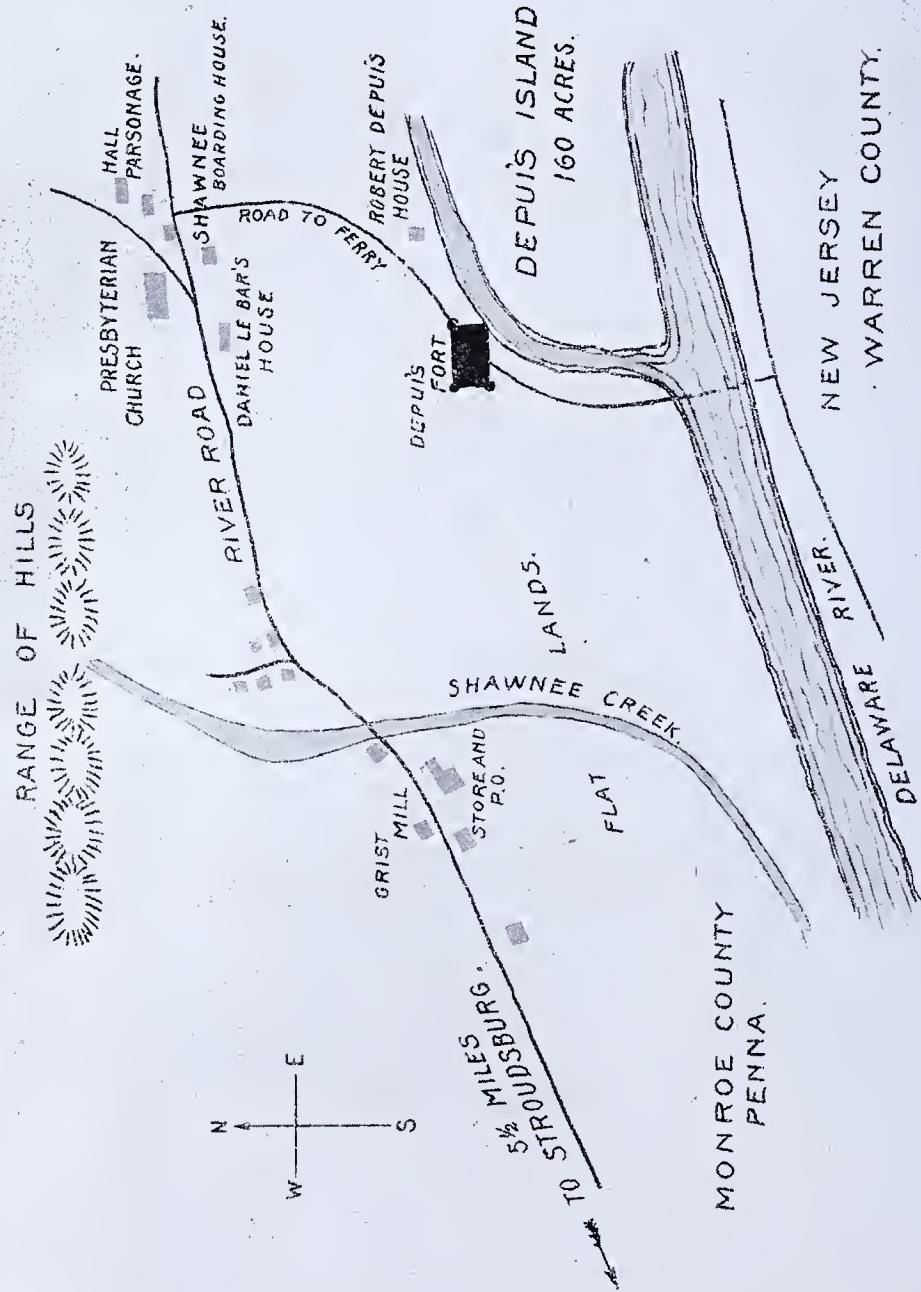
(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 222).

With this dairy ends our history of Fort Hyndshaw. It is probable that it was abandoned as a defensive station even before Fort Hamilton, and, with the gradual approach of peace, there only remained for it to stand as a silent memento of the terrible events of the past.

DUPUI'S FORT.

It is not generally known that probably the first settlements in Pennsylvania were not on the Delaware at Philadelphia, but some hundred miles up that river at Shawnee, in Monroe county, near Stroudsburg. They were made by the Low Dutch or Hollanders, from New Netherlands, on the fertile, low lands along the Delaware, called, after the Indians occupying them, the "Minisink Flats." These lands lay on both sides of the river for a number of miles. When the first settlement was made is unknown, and could not be ascertained even from those living there in 1787, generally the grandchildren of the original settlers, and who were merely aware that it antedated, many years, Penn's purchase in 1682. Those who first came seem to have been Holland miners, who made a good road, about 100 miles long, from Esopus (now Kingston) on the Hudson river to the Mine Holes on the Jersey side of the Delaware river near Stroudsburg. Tradition has it that much ore was hauled from thence over the Mine road as it was called, to Esopus, but of what character is not known. Seeing the extreme fertility of the low lands, the Dutch soon occupied them, raised abundant crops and hauled their produce over this same road to Esopus, their market. When later the English reached them they found a people who knew nothing of Philadelphia, William Penn or the Proprietary Government. Capt. John Van Etten, of Fort Hyndshaw and Fort Hamilton, was one of the descendants of these original Dutch settlers. The person, however, in whom we are now most interested is Samuel Dupui, a Huguenot Frenchman, who settled originally at Esopus, there married a Dutch girl, and some time prior to 1725 came to the Minisink region. He purchased a large portion of the level lands on which the present town of Shawnee is situated, of the Minsi Indians in 1727, and likewise the two large islands in the Delaware—Shawano and Manwalamink. Subsequently, in 1733, he purchased the same property of William Allen. Here, on the Delaware river, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from where the present town of Stroudsburg stands, Dupui built a log house, his first home, which was afterwards

FORT OR BLOCK HOUSE AT DEPUIS.



replaced by a stone house, of spacious size, and which he occupied at the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1755.

Prominently situated as it was, just beyond the mountain, where it commanded the populous region above, as well as the district below with the approaches to Easton, Bethlehem, &c., it was but natural to occupy the building at once, especially as its substantial character, in itself, made it an admirable place of defence and refuge.

This was immediately done. As early as December, 1755, Capt. Isaac Wayne was temporarily on duty at the place. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 542). Before long, however, when the Commissioners were completing their more permanent arrangements, Capt. Wayne was ordered elsewhere, and Dupui's forts was put under the Command of Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt, who had general charge of the entire country just south of the Blue mountains from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. The building was further strengthened and fortified by constructing around it a stockade.

This is what Commissary Jas. Young has to say about it, when he reached it on his tour of inspection:

June 24, 1756. At 8 A. M. I sett out from Fort Hamilton for Sam'l Depues, where Cap'tn Weatherholt's Lieu't and 26 men are Stationed, when I came there his Muster Roll was not ready. I therefore proceeded to the next Fort, 10 miles higher up the River (Fort Hyndshaw, which he duly inspected and left the same day). * * * At 7 P. M. Came to Sam'l Depues, Mustered that Part of Cap'tn Weatherholt's Comp'y that are Stationed here, a Lieu't and 26 men all regularly Inlisted for 6 months as are the rest of his Comp'y; Round Depues house is a Large but very Slight, and ill Contriv'd Stac-cade with a Sweevle Gun mounted on each Corner. M'r De-pue was not at home, his Son with a Son of M'r Broadheads keeping house. They express'd themselves as if they thought the Province was oblig'd to them for allowing this Party to be in their house, allso made use of very arrogant Expressions of the Commissioners, and the People of Phil'a in General; they seem to make a mere merchandize of the People stationed here, selling Rum at 8d. p'r Gill.—Provincial Stores, 13 G'd Muskets, 3 Cartooch Boxes, 13 lb Powder, 22 lb Lead.

25 June—At 5 A. M. sett out from Depues for the Wind Gapp. (Penn. Arch., ii, p. 680).

Mr. Young's criticism of the family is hardly fair, and was doubtless occasioned by some little occurrence not to his liking. When we remember that these people, and others, had been living for years on their plantations, many of them purchased fairly from the Indians, which, at considerable expense and labor had been brought to a high state of cultivation, and were then suddenly confronted by the English from Philadelphia who bluntly told them the lands were theirs and that they would either be obliged to purchase them over again or leave them, we can readily believe that they did not have the most cordial feeling towards the English. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, I read nowhere else any harsh criticism against Mr. Dupui, but, on the contrary, many kindly expressions. He may have sold rum to the garrison, but it was hardly to be expected that he could keep them supplied with that necessary of life for nothing. We know, in addition, that he served as Commissary to a portion of the Provincial troops, but doubtless gave full and honest measure for everything for which he was paid.

I am again indebted to the Rev. Theo. Heilig, of Stroudsburg, for the map herewith given, showing the location of Dupui's Fort. He, in turn, obtained his information from Mr. Robert Depuy and his wife, the oldest people of the vicinity, descendants of the original settlers, and present owners of the identical farm. Mr. Depuy resides at present in Stroudsburg. It has been and is still a source of great regret to him that many valuable papers relating to this very subject were destroyed by a miserable vandal into whose possession an old secretary fell, which contained them, and which he wanted to use for a more practical purpose and so made way with the papers.

The location of Dupui's Fort is generally given at the mouth of Mill creek. This is a mistake. The fort, as we have seen, was Mr. Dupui's residence and this was located as above. It was about 200 ft. west by south of Mr. Robert Depuy's present farm house. It was on the road leading from the main road to the ferry. From here the main road runs in a westerly direction to Stroudsburg, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the Delaware Water

Gap, and in a northeasterly direction to Bushkill, by the river, where stood formerly Fort Hyndshaw. There was an old spring on its site, and numerous relics have since been found on the spot, corroborating the testimony of Mr. Robert Depuy, its present owner, whose ancestor built the original log house, as well as the stone house, which surrounded by its stockade, was the fort.

On February 5, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Depew's House in charge of Capt. Garraway (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 339), and, in detail, names Ensign Hughes in Command, with 23 men, 10 Province Arms, 9 Private Guns, 40 lbs powder, 80 lbs lead, 4 months Provisions, 6 Cartridges, and distant from P. Doll's Block House 20 miles. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 340).

James Burd on his tour of inspection in 1758 reports:

March 2'd, Thursday.

Marched from hence [Teed's Block House] at 9 A. M. for Mr. Samuell Depews, went by the way of Fort Hamilton to Vew that place, arrived at Fort Hamilton at 2 P. M., vewed it & found it a very porr Stockade, with one large house in the middle of it & some familys in it. This is 15 miles from Tead's.

Arrived at Mr. Depews at 4 P. M., 6 miles, snowed much & prodigious cold, ordered a Revew tomorrow morning at 9 A. M.

This is a very fine Plantation, Situate upon the River Delaware, 21 miles from Tead's & 100 Miles from Phila'a, they go in Boats from hence to Phila'a by the River Delaware, which carrys about 22 Ton. This place is 35 miles from Easton & 38 from Bethlehem. There is a pretty good Stockade here & 4 Sweevells mounted & good accommodation for soldiers.

3'd Friday.

Reviewed this Garrison and found here 22 good men, 50 lb of powder, 125 lb of lead, no flints, a great Quantity of Beaff, I suppose 8 Mo. Provisions for a Comp'y, but no flour, plenty of flour at the Mill, about 300 yards from the Fort. My horses being tyred I'm obliged to hault here today. Extreme cold. The Country apply for a Company to be Stationed here. Ordered Ensigne Hughes to his Post at Swetarrow.

4th Saturday.

Sett off this morning for Easton. * * * (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 356).

In June, 1758, Capt. Bull, commanding Fort Allen, having been notified of approaching danger, at once wrote Mr. Dupui as follows:

June ye 14th, 1758, at Fort Allen.

Mr. Samuel Depugh:

This is to let you know that there is this evening come to Fort Allen too white men from Wioming, one named Frederick Post, and one Thomson, who have been there with messages from the Government, who informs that there pass'd by Wioming a party of Indians, in number 25, Being part of too hundred French Indians, on their way to the frontiers or Minisinks, these in hast from yours to Serve,

(Penn. Arch., iii, p. 423). JOHN BULL, Capt.

Immediately Mr. Dupui wrote to Mr. Swain at Easton:

Smithfield, June 15th, 1758, at night.

Dear Sir:

Inclosed I send you Capt. Bull's letter to me from Fort Allen, with an acc't of Indians supposed to be on their way to this part of the Frontiers or Minisinks, which is much to be feared, will prove most fatal to this part, as it is at present the most Defenceless, the Bearer of Mr. Bull's letter informs me that he saw 11 Indians between this and Fort Allen, but he Luckily made his escape, to this he says he is willing to be qualified, I hope D'r Sir you will be kind enough to take his qualification, and Transmit it to his Honour our Governor with a state of our present Defenceless Circumstances, interceding for us by imploring his hon'r to aid and assist us as much as in his power, as your influence I humbly apprehend is Great and yourself well acquainted with our Defenceless Situation, much mischief has been done in the Minisinks some time ago of which I believe you are by this time informed, last Thirsday the Indians began to renew their Barbarities by killing and scalping 2 men, and slightly wounding another in the Minisinks, and this morning we heard the Disagreeable



OLD SHAWNEE CHURCH, SITE OF FORT DUPUY

news of a Fort being taken at the upper end of the Minisinks, by a party of Indians supposed to be 40 in number, the white men its said belonging to that Garrison were Farmers, and were out in their plantations when the Indians fired on them and killed them, whereupon the Indians marched up to the Fort and took all the women and children Captive and carrying them away, and last night the Indians stole a ferry Boat at a place called Wallpack; and brought from the Jersey Shore to this side a large number of Indians, as appeared by their Tracks on the sand banks, so that we are in continual fear of their approach, I wish we may be able to Defend ourselves against them till it be in his honour's power to assist us under God, he being our protector, and I make no Doubt from the Fatherly care his honour has been pleased to exercise over us since his succession to this province, But he will be willing to acquiesce with your reasonable and just sentiments upon the whole, which believe me Dear Sir will always meet a gratefull and adequate acknowledgement from your most Humble Servant,

SAMUEL DUPUI.

P. S.—Should his Honour think proper to send men, he need not provide any further than their arrival here, I have provisions for them. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 424).

On June 29th Lieut. Samuel Price writes Gov'r Denny, from Fort Allen, notifying him of the arrival of Teedyuscung, and stating that Capt. Bull, with Ensign Quicksell, and 40 men, had set out on a scout towards the Minisinks and up the Mountains, from whence they had not yet returned. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 429).

Shortly after this, early in August, a party of Mohawk Indians and a French Captain reached Diahogo, on the Susquehanna, with the avowed intention of making war against the English. The friendly Delawares persuaded a number to return, but ten of them and the French Captain could not be restrained and proceeded, apparently in the direction of the Minisinks. Teedyuscung at once sent word to Fort Allen of this fact. (Penn. Arch., iii, p. 509).

It is needless to say that all the occurrences given in connec-

tion with both Fort Hamilton and Fort Hyndshaw are applicable to a certain extent also to Dupui's Fort. As in the case of these other Forts, when peace was finally declared not long after it gradually cast off its warlike garb and became once more the quiet domicile of a prosperous farmer and trader.

Certainly the history of the three forts just concluded, and the part played by each of them in the dark Indian tragedy, is of sufficient interest and importance to entitle each of them to a tablet, perpetuating their memory, to be placed as may be most advantageous for the purpose intended.

FORT PENN.

Dupui's Fort closes the list of defences erected and used from the Susquehanna to the Delaware River during the Indian War of 1755-63, the history of which has made a more or less connected narrative of events. There remains one more, however, in this territory, which played a part, although not a very important one, in the later events of the Revolutionary War. This was Fort Penn, located in the eastern section of Stroudsburg.

When built and by whom I have not been able to ascertain definitely. It seems to have been erected during the early part of the war, by the authorities of Northampton county, doubtless under direction of the Executive Council. I am even inclined to believe that it was under the direct supervision of Colonel Jacob Stroud, commanding the Sixth Battalion of Northampton county militia, who remained in charge of it during its entire history. Colonel Stroud owned some 4,000 acres of land in its vicinity, and it was after him and his family that Stroudsburg was named. The Colonel himself, however, was not inclined to sell any of his property as building lots, and it was not until after his death in 1806 that the town was really laid out, in an admirable manner, by his son Daniel, who had traveled through various towns and villages in New Jersey and New England, and, copying after them, im-



CHESTNUT ST.

HICKSITE
FRIEND'S
CEMETERY

ST.

FORT
PENN

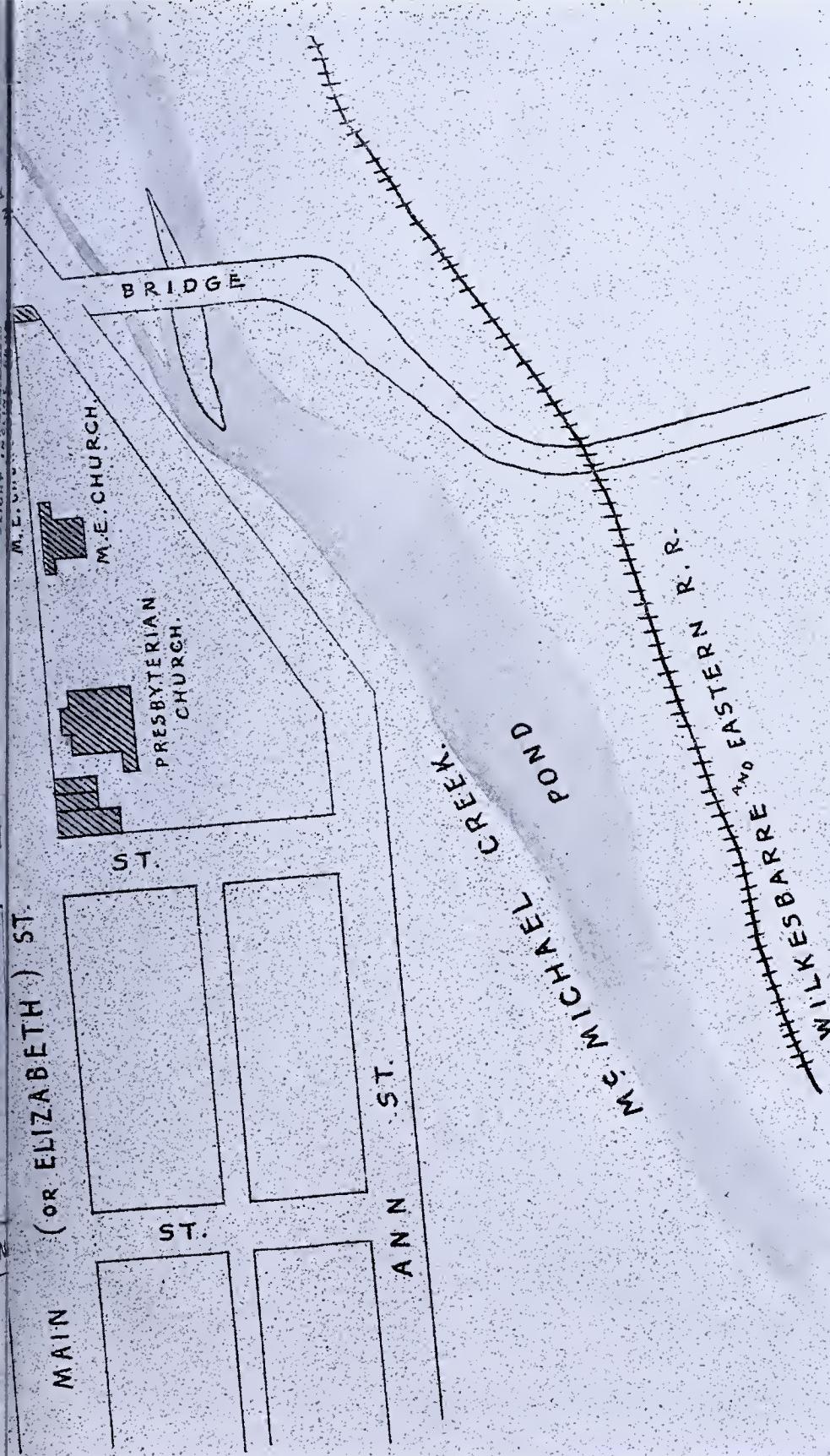
CENTRE

COURT
HOUSE
ST.
MONROE
JAIL
FRANKLIN

OSBURG
ST.
STRONG
ST.
E. J.
SLIGHT

STROUDSBURG (SECTION TOWARDS EAST.)

SITE OF FORT PENN AT STROUDSBURG



parted to his own place the quiet rural aspect which they possessed.

The fort was most likely named after the Proprietor of the Province, William Penn. It does not seem, at any time, except for a few days occasionally, to have been occupied by troops of the Continental army, but served as a place of rendezvous for the militia of the neighborhood when called into active service, for which purpose Col. Stroud made it his headquarters. It was evidently built as a possible means of protection against the Indians, and was expected to be used for that purpose more than to resist an attack from the British troops, as it stood near what was still the frontier of settlement and was more or less surrounded by savages who might at any time begin hostilities, being incited thereto by the machinations of the British and Tories. It is equally unfortunate that we have nothing to indicate its appearance. There can be but little question on that point, however, as forts built at the same time and under similar circumstances were very much on the style of the forts used during the Indian War a few years previous, except more substantial and generally more extensive.

Through the kindness of Rev. Theo. Heilig, of Stroudsburg, I am able to give the exact location of Fort Penn.

The first event with which Fort Penn was prominently identified was the terrible massacre at Wyoming in the beginning of July, 1778. In the early part of the war the British, to their disgrace, began intrigues with the Indians of the Six Nations, who had committed such terrible atrocities during the French and Indian War and who had, with such difficulty, been won over to peace. Their depredations in the year 1777 were principally in the northern part of New York, during which time Pennsylvania enjoyed a certain immunity from danger, notwithstanding its proximity to the savages. Prompted by a feeling of patriotism, and ignoring their own danger, the men of the Wyoming Valley enlisted in the Continental army, in response to the many urgent appeals of Congress, leaving their homes defenceless. It was then that Colonel John Butler, with a party of Tory Rangers, a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, and large body of Indians, chiefly Senecas, descended the Susquehanna and fell upon the

hapless women, children and old men left in the Valley. It has been assigned to another to tell the sad story of brave but ineffectual defence which was made, and of the terrible scenes of massacre which followed. Families were broken up and dispersed, men and wives separated, mothers torn from their children and some carried into captivity, while those who escaped fled through the wilderness of the Pocono mountains toward the Delaware river. Of these some died of their wounds, other were lost and never heard of more, others again perished in the great swamp of this neighborhood which from that circumstance gained its present name, "The Shades of Death," and the miserable remnant at last found refuge in Fort Penn.

Just prior to this time Col. Spalding had been at Stroudsburg with a detachment, and, upon learning of the danger threatening the people of Wyoming, immediately left to succor them, but was too late, and passed on to the West Branch, and afterwards went up to Sheshequin.

This brings us to the first official record I have been able to find which has any bearing on our subject, a letter to Vice President Bryan signed by Colonel John Weitzel, Lieut. of the County, and John Chambers, a Sub. Lieut. It is as follows:

Northampton, July 8, 1778.

Sir;

Just now we Received A Letter from Col. Stroud of the 6th Batt'n of Northampton County Militia informing us that a body of Indians and Whitemen are upon their march to the Settlements upon Delaware, they being Discovered at the mouth of Lahawaxin and moving towards Shaholy. By the best Information we Received we Learn that Wyoming is Finally Destroyed, upon which we have Ordered out half of the Batt'n of the County; but by all the Accounts it is not a Sufficient number to withstand their Force, as we suppose this to be a Different Number from those at Wyoming, which by those that made their Escape their number is supposed to be between Seven and Eight Hundred.

Sir, we Humbly beg your Interposition on the Premises & am with Due Submission your Humble Servants,

JOHN WEITZEL, Lieut.

JOHN CHAMBERS, Sub. Lieut.

To His Honour George Bryan, Esq'r., Vice President in and for the State of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. (Penn. Arch., vi, p. 629).

The enemy continued their ravages and advance towards the Minisinks, where the people were but poorly prepared to receive them. Col. Stroud begs for aid in a letter of the 17th, to Col. Weitzel:

Fort Penn, July 17th, 1778.

Dear Sir:

I just now, by express, received a letter from Judge Symens, informing me that Coshishton was entirely cut off yesterday morning by a parcell of torys & Indians, masacreing all Men, Woemen & Children, Even those that have been Captivated by them before and dismissed by them with certain badges of Distinction, and their reputed friends they threatnd to cut off, & destroy Peanpeek this morning, which we expect, if they should incline to come on to Minisinks and this place; we shall be unable to prevent it, as we are but about 60 men Strong now assembled, therefore I must beg a line from you directing me what to do, whether to retreat with the inhabitants or stand with a handful of men to be destroyed, or whether I can depend on relief, as we cannot hear any thing of relief coming; if you, in your wisdom, should think it Best for me to make as good a stand as I can, I beg you will in all haste send me more ammunition, and you may depend on my taking all the care I can.

I am, Sir,

your humble Serv't,

JACOB STROUD, Col'n.

P. S.—I cannot moderate the Inhabitants to continue much longer without more assistance, and I beg your instructions as I have had none yet from you; and I assure you I think more danger than I apprehend you think of, and I assure you I cannot Stand nor keep my men here without more assistance.

(Penn. Arch., vi, p. 651.)

J. S.

It is the letter of a brave man who was willing to remain at his post of duty in the face of almost certain death if attacked. It is therefore a source of comfort to know that, for the present at least, the danger passed by.

The Indians, however, were a constant menace to the inhabitants, and in September, of the same year, we have this appeal for assistance to Vice President George Bryan, of the Executive Council:

Lower Smithfield, Northampton Co.,
September 27th, 1778.

Sir;

We think proper to give your Honour Intiligence of the present Circumstances of this part of the State, relative to the fears of the good people of these Townships labour under for fear of the Indians. It is some time past since the Melitia's times were up & they discharg'd; we for some time after were in hopes that others would be sent to take their place. Above us in Delaware & upper Smithfield, a fine Contry near thirty miles in length, is almost Evacuated, the people moved over to new Jersey for safety; & in this Township there is only a Guard left at Cornl Stroud, whose times is almost expired & will soon return home, & unless they are replaced with others we shall lay expos'd to the Ravages of the Savages. There is a Verbal report here that Men is sent towards their Towns; as for the certainty we do not know, & if so the success is uncertain, & if the attempt should prove unsuccessful we may soon expect to shere the fate of the later; and as there is no Men to scout to make any discovery, the first notice we may expect is a Stroke, we therefore Submit our case to the wisdom of your Honour & the board of War to grant us such assistance as you in your wisdom shall think Proper.

We are with due respects,

your humble Sarv'ts,

JOHN CHAMBERS, Sub Lieut.,

BENJAMIN VAN CAMPEN, Sub. Lieut.,

NICHOLAS DUPUI,

JACOB STROUD, Corl,

JOHN VAN CAMPEN.

(Penn. Arch., vi, p. 767.)

Efforts seem to have been made to collect the militia together, but apparently with only partial result, not sufficient to guard against the danger which still threatened. On October 25th, Col. Stroud, himself, writes another letter to the Council direct, laying before them the state of affairs and again asking aid:

Fort Penn, October the 25th, 1778.

Dear Sir;

I heare send with the Bearer the Copey of Two Mens Oathes, and by other circumstances as wee can fully Learn, That the Indeons and Toreys are gon up to Coshishton with their Plunder, and Expect there to get more Reinforcements, and to be Down Emediately on us; perhaps when you see oathes of these people that was sworn at Minesink, you may not fully persieve why These Toreys that is there spoke of stays in them woods, but I will Relate a little fuller: a great part of these Toreys that has been seen theire is persons that has there wives and fameleys and Relations, and indeed Correspondance in the Settlement, and I am apprehensive That the Councyl and your Honour Dos not persieve how this settlement and Wyoming Lyes, as Wyoming can be of no service to us as a frunteer from the Indeons and Toreys from Coshishton and Cook house, and That Quarter, of you will please to Take the map and Look in that there, you may see that Wyoming with a small party, hardly able to keep That fort can be of any Safety to us from up Delawar, as these Indeons That we feare will fall on us will come down Delawar River with Cnowes (canoes) down to the mouth of Mahaughkamack Crick, which is just above Our Settlement, as they did Last; or perhaps they may Come a little Lower, as they may find Convenient, as I know of nothing to prevent them; for I assure you there is very few people Left above Manuel Gonsaleses mill, which is 12 miles from My house, and Back of me, between me and the great swamp There is no settlement, but the bare woods, now if it Can be thought Best not to have the frunteer heare, I could wish the Councyl in their wisdom would point out the place. Indeons is not like our other Ennemys, that we can live with them and about them, but whare they have there Camp for they Distroy

all; and as for the other acc't that wee sent with Esqr' Van camp, the oath of that woman, the Indeons came near the time she spoke of, and had it not been for the high weatter they would have done much more Mischief, for there was nothing to hinder them, for it was Two Days atfer they was gon before the Malitia could be collected all; so I must Leave the Matter with you and the Councyl. Hoping you will do at this Distressing time something for us, and to give us Relief, as wee Have our Eyes on you, as wee have no other place to apply to for Relief.

I am, Sir, your very umble serv't,
 (Penn. Arch., vii, p. 63.) JACOB STROUD.

In the beginning of his letter Col. Stroud mentions that he sends with the bearer the testimony of two men. This he had just received from his Major, Sam'l Westbrook, with the following letter:

Dear Sir,

I send you the afidavits of Two persons which has had the opertunity of Conversing with some of the Party that was with Brant in Doing the Mischief att Peainpack, and to my sorrow I acquaint you it has struck the People in General with such fear that they are moving away from the upper End of the Minisink very fast. If there is Not some means Taken to Stop the Enemy the whole of the Inhabitance will move from this Place, and, if so, pray what will be Consquence? Ruin an distruption will Emediatly follow.

I am Sir,

Your Hu'ble Serv't,
 SAM'L WESTBROOK, Major.

Sandiston, Oct. 24, 1778.

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 63.)

Living, as this generation does, in the midst of peace and surrounded by plenty, we can hardly appreciate the sufferings and ordeals through which our fathers were obliged to pass during the long, weary years from 1755 until 1783 during which they were so constantly subject to the murderous assault of the savage Indian. Indeed, more than that, I am deeply impressed with the great lack of general knowledge existing on the subject. Otherwise bright pupils in our public schools

can give minute details of Indian depredations in Massachusetts and Virginia, and are not aware that their own State was ever called upon to undergo a like trial, and possibly one of even more terrible character. And for this they are not entirely to blame, especially when we consider how little has been written on the subject, and how much less is contained in the histories furnished them for text books.

Unlike the Provincial Government, who, however, were probably not in a position to do so, the Congress, into whose hands the whole matter finally came, determined to strike a severe blow at the savages. Instead of contenting themselves with garrisoning a number of forts and awaiting the approach of the enemy, active preparations were made in the beginning of 1779 to march into their own country and lay it waste. Two armies were placed in the field, one under General Sullivan who started from Easton as his headquarters, marched through the Wind Gap and ascended the Susquehanna, and the other under General James Clinton who descended the same river from the north. This expedition was entirely successful. The savages were completely routed and all their villages totally destroyed, in the summer of that year.

After this terrible lesson it was supposed the Indians would be too much disheartened to undertake further expeditions. Unfortunately such was the case only in part. Small parties of them still continued on the war path, and depredations were still committed although in a more or less desultory manner.

Early in June, 1779, prior to the destruction wrought by Gen'l Sullivan, Captain Brant, the half-bred Indian Chief, left the Susquehanna with some four hundred warriors to make an incursion into the Delaware valley. The settlers received due notice of this movement and threw out scouts to watch him. The wily Indians, however, turned a short corner, struck for the upper Delaware, crossed near Mast Hope, at a place known as Grassy Brook, clambered over the mountains, and by forced marches reached the little town of Minisink, where the town of Port Jervis now stands. The inhabitants fled, and the place was sacked and destroyed. Flushed with success the invaders moved slowly up the Delaware with their

plunder, on the York State side. In the meantime the people of Orange county raised about one hundred and fifty men who started on the trail of the savages. On the night of the 21st the Indians encamped at the mouth of Beaver brook, whilst their pursuers lay four or five miles further down. On the fatal morning of the 22nd both parties were early in motion. Brant had reached the ford at the mouth of the Lackawaxen and a good part of the plunder was safe in Pike county. The whites held a short consultation at the Indian encampment, where the more prudent urged a return. All further deliberation, however, was cut short by a Captain Meeker, who boldly stepped to the front exclaiming, "Let brave men follow me," whereupon nearly the whole party once more started in pursuit. Two short miles brought them to the ford, where a large body of the enemy could be seen on the opposite shore. A few shots were fired and one Indian was seen to roll down the bank towards the river. About this time a heavy volley was fired into the whites from the high hills in the rear, which immediately awoke them to a sense of their danger and the mistake they had made in leaving their only avenue of escape in the hands of the enemy. The officers in command ordered a rush to be made for the high ground. The Indians fell back, and chose their position; the pursued recrossed the river, and the brave but doomed band of patriotic whites were cut off from the water and surrounded by their merciless foes. During the whole of that day the battle raged. As night was closing in, some twenty or thirty, who survived, made a dash for the river, headed by Major Wood, who, through mistake, made the grand masonic hailing sign of distress as he approached the spot where Brant was standing. The Indian, true to his obligation, allowed the party to pass. They swam the river and made their escape into the wilds of Pike county. A few more escaped under cover of darkness, and the rest slept the sleep that knows no waking on this earth. In the year 1822 the bones of friend and foe alike were gathered together, transported to Goshen, in Orange county, where they were decently interred and a beautiful monument erected over them by a public spirited citizen of the place. (History of Penn'a—Dr. W. H. Egle—Vol. ii, p. 1050.)

It was this invasion which caused Col. Stroud to write to Col. Weitzel, the Lieut. of the County, warning him of approaching danger, whereupon Col. Weitzel notified Pres. Reed, and the Council:

Gentlemen,

I this moment Rec'd an express from Col. Strouds, informing me that he hourly expected an attack from the Indians (their being a Large Bodey of them the numbers not known) at the Minisinks, and are Got Down as farr as Aaron Fraudenburgs, in ye Jerseys, and thay have burnt his house and Barn and have taken sum prisseners their. Gent'n Col'n Stroud in his Letter to me Greatly Complains for the whant of Aminition and whee have know Aminition hear to send him, I humbly beg your Excelence will give Orders to the Commiss'y of M. Stores for sum Aminition I haveing Ordered a number of men up to Col. Strouds Assistance as fast as possibly.

JOHN WEITZEL, Lieut.

Northampton, y'e 22nd of July, 1779.

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 572.)

In accordance with this request the Council ordered on July 23d that two hundred pounds of powder, and eight hundred pounds of lead be forwarded as soon as possible, and that the Commissary of Military Stores provide the same, applying to the Honorable Board of War for lead, if the State store cannot supply it, and that the same be delivered to Henry Houghenbuck. .(Col. Rec., xii, p. 57.)

The emergency was great and the advance of the enemy such that there seemed but little doubt of his reaching the vicinity of Fort Penn very soon. We are not surprised therefore, in addition to the letter written by Col. Weitzel, to find several from John Van Campen, one of the Sub-Lieutenants of the county, to Prest. Reed, on the same subject. The first is from Lower Smithfield, July 22d, 1779, and reads as follows:

Honr'd Sir,

This morning I Returned home from Minnysink at which place I left last Evening where I was the spectator of great Distress's of many Families, left bare and destitute of all Necessaries of life who lived formerly in the midst of Plenty,

the Depredations of the Enemy your Honour will Observe by the Inclos'd Deposition of the People in general are all fled in Forts Both sides of the River the Distress's is very great in our parts & adjicent Neighbours, after Informing your Hon'r of all the Distress's, I am much pleas'd to see the People animated with such spirit, one Hundr'd & five under the Command of Major Meeker of the State of New York; by the last Accounts Last Evening was in pursuit of the Enemy within four or five miles Distance of their Rear [this was the party which met the terrible defeat just related], this morning one Clock P. M. Capt. Shymer march't across the River Delaware with one hundred and seventy men with an intent to head them off at the mouth of Lakeroack, taken with him 5 Days Provision. I Flattre myself in a few Days to give y'r Honour an agreeable account of those brave men who are always Ready to Step Forth in the Defence of their Country,

I am Sir,

your Hon's most Obd't

Hum'e Serv't,

JOHN VAN CAMPEN.

P. S.—We have apply'd to our Lieu's sundry times for Relief but none yet Came.

Coll. Jacob Stroud acts the part of a Brave Officer with a few of his Neighbours who Scouts in the woods with him. (Penn. Arch., vii, p. 573.)

The other letter, written the next day, is as follows:
Honor'd S'r,

It is with Distress of mind I Repeat writing to your Exclency in Confirmation of what I mentioned to your Exlency yesterday by Capt. Shrawder, it is Now an Undoubted case with me that this Operation will be as it seems to appeare by Butlers Orders to Capt. Caldwell.

By Express this morning we are informed The Enemy are Legally Encamped at Willes mill and Grinding all the grain that was in the Mill and What they can collect in Defiance of all the Forces that can be collected at present. They have yesterday takeing three Prisoners in Jersey and killed 20 head of Horned Cattle and all The Horses of Morgan Desheay in

Pennsylvania, The Entillgence by Express will Accompanie This my letter to your Excelency, I have no Further Doubt unless Speedy Relief by Additions to all the Small Forces we can Collect we will not be able to Relieve the poor people that are Fled into Forts For the Preservation of their Lives.

There seems at Present no Prospect but Distress and Distraction in this part of this Country, it Seems to appeare that the object of the Enemy is as much Designed against Jersey as Pennsylvania. I could wish to have the State of the Operation of the Enemy sent to me Qualifyed to, Capt. Hover our Informer is a man of undoubted Carreter.

I Entend this afternoon to Set of to See and learn the movement of Enemy, if any Farther Intelligence Properly Asserted by Qualification,

I have the Honor

S'r, to be your
Excellencys most
obb't Hum'e Serv't,

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 575.)

JOHN VAN CAMPEN.

Mr. Van Campen was doomed to bitter disappointment with regard to the success which he hoped would attend the advance of the parties hastily gathered together. One of them, as we know, was almost totally annihilated, and the other seems to have met with reverses, or at least to have accomplished nothing, if we may judge from the next letter which he wrote Pres't Reed:

Smithfield, July the 31st, 1779.

Hon'd Sir,

The Bearer Coll. Chambers is an ondoubted friend to his Country, Sub. Lieu't of our County, and an intelligable man, our Country is in a Distress'd situation, in my last to y'r Honour I mention'd of the Distress's of that Rich settlement call'd Mahakemack, I flatter'd myself of suckcess of our men that Step'd forth in Pursuit of the Enemy but my Expectations turned out to the Contrary I came from that place yesterday, where I went to get the Particulars of the present Situation of that Cuntry, I feare, without a speedy Relief this Cuntry will be Vacuated we have as yet no hopes of any Relief

from the Interior parts of this County, your Militia seems to be in Confusion at present, S'r I would Refer you to the Bearer Coll. Chambers for the particulars of our present Situation.

With Due Respect
I am S'r your Honours
Most Obdt Huble Sert,
JOHN VAN CAMPEN.

N. B. By the Bearer I send y'r Honour an account of the men Missing that pursued the Enemy.

The outlook was of a very gloomy character to the good people of the locality about which we are writing, and would have been still more gloomy in reality had it not been for the providential care of Him who watches over all his creatures and so often averts the danger which is about overwhelming them. Just as the Indian Chief, Brant, was about extending his operations and would shortly have fallen upon a rich and populous region, practically without means of defence, he was obliged to abruptly retrace his footsteps and hasten to the protection of his own home now seriously threatened by the advance of General Sullivan. He barely got back in time to prepare for the battle fought near Newtown, the present site of Elmira, N. Y., on August 29th, 1779, which resulted in his total defeat, and was followed by the complete destruction of all the Indian towns, supplies and property in general. The power of the savages was broken, and, whilst small parties still harassed the inhabitants for a long time, they were prevented thereafter, from accomplishing an invasion on a large scale.

The reader has doubtless noticed, from the correspondence given, that there seemed to have been some difficulty in getting the militia under arms when most needed, and some intimation was given of a clash of authority. Such, unfortunately, was the case and we are obliged, reluctantly, to close our record of Fort Penn with an account of the disagreement which arose between Col. Stroud and the county officials.

On the official minutes of the Executive Council for August 4th, 1779, appears this entry:

"Complaint having been made against Jacob Stroud, Colonel of the Sixth Battalion of Northampton County Militia, that He incites the People to oppose the authority of the Lieutenants of the County, and in other respects obstructs the Execution of the Law: Whereupon it was resolved, that Colonel Stroud do attend this Board on the Tenth of September next, to answer the said complaint and that a Copy of this resolution be served upon Him, at least Ten days before, and that Colonel Wetzel do give Notice to the Sub-Lieutenants of this resolve, that they may be ready to Support the said complaint." (Col. Rec., xii, p. 65.)

Notices of this action of the Council were sent by Mr. T. Matlack, Secy., to John Orndt, who was directed to see that they were duly delivered to Colonels Stroud and Weitzel. (Penn. Arch., vii, p. 625.)

What the trouble was we are not told definitely, but can surmise. Col. Stroud was expected to defend his neighborhood from the assaults of the enemy. To do this required troops and these came very slowly indeed, too much so in the opinion of the man who saw the foe drawing nearer every day, knew that all were looking to him for protection, and could see no possibility of obtaining the aid which was needed to enable him to perform his duty. Naturally he blamed the County officers for neglect of duty and doubtless took steps of his own to gather soldiers together, and then came the clash. All were faithful officers, and whilst all were wrong and to blame, yet it was a wrong which might easily be committed under like circumstances, and, which might readily be condoned. Still a disagreement between those who had the care and protection of their fellow citizens in their keeping could only result in public harm, and called for censure. It is a matter of no surprise therefore to find that President Reed felt called upon to address communications to each of the parties in fault, which are herewith given:

In Council,

Philada., August 3d, 1779.

Sir,

The Distresses of your County by the late Incursions of the Indians has given us very great Concern, and the more so as

we understand the Militia having got into some Confusion do not render the Services that might be expected. We are sorry to find that some mistaken Opinions you have formed on the Mode of their being called out & of the appointments of the Lieutenants have had a great share in this Evil. As you are now most probably experiencing the sad Effects of such Mistakes we shall not add to your Pain by dwelling upon them. But desire you to consider the Effects & Consequences which cannot be other than the Ruin of your outer Settlements & Impoverishment of the County itself.

A well regulated Militia is the only proper & effectual Force against Such an Enemy & the Enemy would stand more in Awe of them than three Times the Number of standing Troops. To raise Companies for a few Months is not only dreadfully expensive & in most Cases ineffectual, but it seems to unhinge the System & leave you in fact much weaker than before. As you therefore possess a good share of the Esteem & Confidence of the People, I shall hope & do recommend it to you as the best Service you can perform to your bleeding Country to do away as far as possible the Effects of former Opinions & strive by a general Concurrence with the other Gentlemen in the Militia to give them Vigour & Efficacy, encouraging and promoting a Spirit of Fidelity & Obedience to the Laws calculated to afford the best Relief & Security against this dreadful Calamity.

Wishing you Health & Safety

I remain Sir, your most
obed & very Hbbl Serv't,
JOS. REED,
President.

To Colonel Jacob Stroud, of N'n County.

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 613.)

Of the same date follows another to the colonels and other field officers of the militia in Northampton county:

Philada., Aug. 3, 1779.

Gentlemen:

It has given us great Concern to hear that when your County is in the utmost Danger & Apprehension, when so many of

your friends & Countrymen are suffering so much from a cruel & barbarous Enemy, the Militia which is well regulated would be your best Defence is in such a state of Confusion as to give little or no Aid. We entreat you Gentlemen to bestir yourselves, support your Lieutenants with your utmost Weight & Influence, remove from the Minds of your Neighbours every unkind & uncharitable Sentiment & urge them to obey the Laws, to perform the Offices & Duties of Humanity which require us on all Occasions to endeavor to relieve the Distresses & remove the Dangers of our Friends & Fellow Subjects. It is probably from this Beginning that the Indians finding you so unprepared will be induced to continue their Ravages & endeavor to evade the Expedition set on Foot against them by distressing & destroying the Frontiers.—I therefore take this Opp'y to request you would at some convenient Day call out your Battalions, convince them of the Necessity & Duty they are under to turn out with Alacrity & Zeal when such havock is made among their Friends & Countrymen. If they are Lovers of this Government & Constitution they will shew it by their Submission to its Laws & a cheerful Discharge of their Duty,—for nothing can so effectually disgrace & injure any government as having its Laws neglected, its Frontiers destroyed & a mere handful of an Enemy committing Ravages which the spirited Exertions of a few men will soon suppress if animated by a proper Sense of Duty to themselves & their Country.

Extinguish the Disputes which subsist among you as fatal to your Peace, Safety & Happiness & Hereafter let there be but one Dispute who shall serve his Country best. If there are any Differences between you & any of the Lieutenants in Matter of Opinion avoid Disputes & Heartburnings as much as possible, support each other, & be assured that we will support you with every Necessary. If I could flatter myself this happy Spirit would prevail I should have Pleasure in visiting the Country & examining the State of the Militia. This I shall endeavor to do this Fall if other publick Buseness will

admit, in the mean Time recommending these Things to your most serious Consideration.

I remain Gentlemen
Your Sincere Friend
& Obed Hble Serv't,

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 616.)

JOS. REED, President.

The third letter, also of the same date, is to Col. John Weitzel, Lieutenant of Northampton county:

Philada., August 3, 1779.

Sir,

The Depredations which have lately been committed in & near the County of Northampton have given us the most sensible Concern. We have flattered ourselves that the Expedition under Gen'l Sullivan would have given perfect Peace to that & every other Part of our Western Frontiers. It must now be clearly evident that nothing can afford effectual Relief against this Calamity but a well regulated Militia, which being always at Hand might before This Time, if duly attended to, have given a Check to their barbarous Incursions. It was to this Force & not to standing Troops or Volunteer Companies, raised for a few months & stationed in Forts, that N. England delivered herself from the most horrible Indian Wars. And we must recommend it to you in the most earnest & serious Manner to give this important Service your utmost Attention. If your other offices, as we fear is the Case, interfere with your Duties as Lieutenant of the County we would wish you to Consider in which you can be most useful, and not suffer one Duty to clash with another by attempting to perform too much or too many.

If the Colonels or other Officers fail in their respective Duties & do not give you the Support they ought we request you would candidly and fairly communicate such Transactions that Measures may be taken to enforce a different Line of Conduct. If the Frontiers are broke up those who now think themselves safe will be a Frontier & shortly experience that wretchedness from which they now refuse to rescue their Neighbours. We doubt not from the Influence & Weight you must possess that your Representations on this Head will be

much regarded & we do entreat you to leave no Means unes-sayed to effect this desirable Purpose.

We immedately complied with your Request the other Day we shall do the same on all other Occasions being resolved that nothing in our Power shall be wanting to give the good People of the County all possible Relief and Assistance.

I am Sir,

Your most Obed. & very
Hble Serv't,

(Penn. Arch., vii, p. 617.)

JOS. REED, President.

In due course of time the tenth day of September arrived when Col. Stroud was to appear before the Council at Philad'a to answer for his actions. In justice to a faithful officer, the reader of this record will be equally gratified with him who writes it to see the following happy conclusion of a most unfortunate state of affairs, as taken from the minutes of Council on that day:

"This being the day appointed for hearing the complaint against Colonel Stroud, and the parties attending, and producing sundry papers, which were also read, the Council took the same into consideration; whereupon,

Resolved, That the conduct of Colonel Stroud, in arraigning the authority of the Lieutenants, and the legality of their appointments, is Highly disapproved by this Board, it being their clear opinion, confirmed by the sentiments of all parts of the State, that the Assembly have a legal constitutional power to appoint Lieutenants, and that they ought to be re-spected accordingly.

Resolved, That disputes between officers appointed to pro-mote the same service, and Especially one on which the safety and security of the People so much depend, is highly preju-dicial to the Public Welfare; that, therefore, it be recom-mended to the parties now before the Board, to lay aside all animosities, and, in future, treat each other with kindness, and conduct the Publick business with Harmony.

Resolved, That in consideration of Colonel Stroud's good Character as an officer, his activity and zeal in the Publick Service, the Board think it proper to pass over any farther proceedings herein." (Col. Rec., xii, p. 100.)

Thus happily ends our account of the more important transactions about Fort Penn.

Thus also ends our record of the Indian Forts along the Blue range, a record which leaves behind it a trail of blood such as, we trust, the fair fields of our beloved State may never again be called upon to witness. The old forts have crumbled away, never more to be rebuilt, and the peaceful plow has long since leveled to the ground the little mounds which marked the line of their stockades. Even their existence was fast passing out of the memory of man, and in a few brief years the location of the spots on which most of them stood would have been buried in utter oblivion had it not been for the wisdom of our Legislature in the appointment of the Commission whose labors have just been completed.

As my investigation into the task assigned me progressed, I was very greatly impressed with its importance, and still more greatly impressed with the neglect which has heretofore been generally accorded it. It is painful to realize how few are familiar with the events of momentous historical importance which transpired at this period in the life of our Commonwealth, and on the other hand gratifying to see how many are desirous of acquiring this information which has hitherto been denied them because not published in a suitable form.

My work is necessarily one of compilation, as is all history, and yet it contains much that is original especially that with regard to the location of the several forts. These were, in nearly every instance, obtained after most thorough personal visitation and investigation. Indeed I have aimed to insert nothing in this record which is not actual and true history, and, to that end, have written nothing until, after most careful scrutiny and comparison with the statements of reliable authors on the same subject, I have felt assured of its authenticity. And yet, withal, I am painfully aware of how imperfect my efforts have been, and am only constrained to offer them, in obedience to my appointment by his Excellency the Governor, and the hope that they may be an incentive to further research, which in the near future may result in more

valuable publications and writings on a most important subject heretofore too much neglected.

In the prosecution of this work my correspondence has necessarily been very large. In addition it has been my privilege to pay personal visits to many homesteads, and to interview many persons. It is with great pleasure I here testify to the universal courtesy and kindness shown me, and the universal desire to aid me in my work, in which every one became at once greatly interested. With the best of intention, however, I found that an actual knowledge of affairs, in many instances, no longer existed, and would have failed in my work had it not been for the presence in the community of one or more very aged gentlemen, in several instances almost centenarians who may, even now, have ceased to exist.

In all cases where information of a more important character was furnished me, I have endeavored to give the name of my informant and fair credit for the same. It only remains for me to mention the name of one more gentleman, not hitherto given, Mr. Samuel J. Weiler, of Reading, Penn'a, who, above all others, has rendered me most valuable aid. Thoroughly acquainted with every road and part of the country in my district, between the Susquehanna and Lehigh rivers, as well as with all the principal inhabitants, he has most cheerfully and unselfishly placed his knowledge at my disposal, besides much of his time, and has been the means of my quickly accomplishing results which could only have been brought about otherwise with the expenditure of much time and labor.

To him and all my kind friends I return sincere thanks.

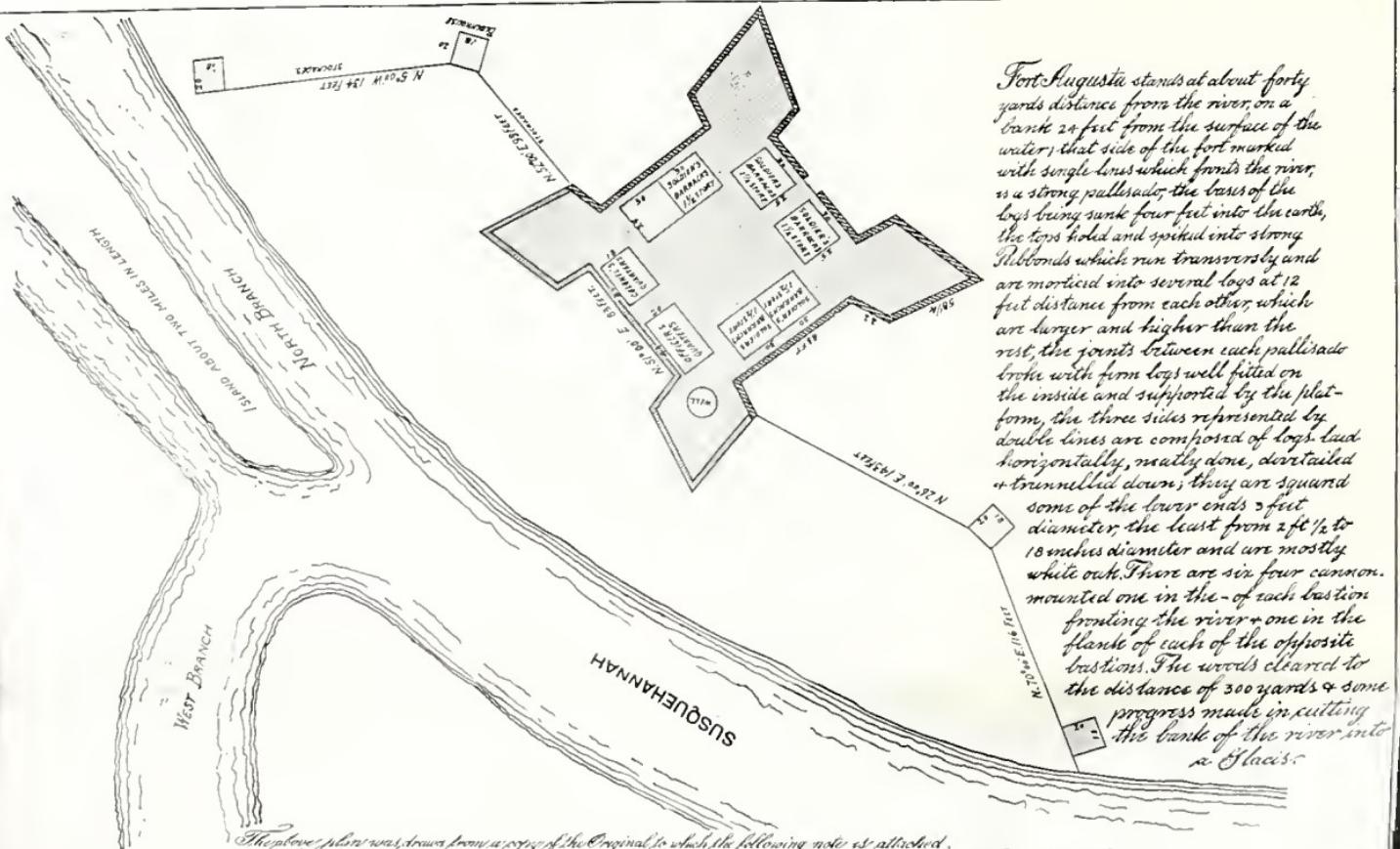
Respectfully submitted,

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

Reading, Penna., May, 1894.



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The above plan was drawn from a copy of the Original to which the following note is attached.
Dear Sirs Engineers: Bulkyly copied by me for Mr. Dibble Esq from the Original deposited in the Geographical & topographical Collection belonging to Library of his late Maj: Sir George the Third and presented by his Majesty King George the Fourth to the British museum
London March 1830. William Osman J"

William Osman"

PLAN OF FORT AUGUSTA.



THE FRONTIER FORTS
WITHIN THE
NORTH AND WEST BRANCHES
OF THE
SUSQUEHANNA RIVER

BY JOHN M. BUCKALEW



(350)

THE FRONTIER FORTS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND WEST BRANCHES.

To the Honorable the Commission appointed by his Excellency, Gov. Robert E. Pattison, under Act of Assembly, approved the 23d day of May, A. D. 1893, to examine and report to the next session of the Legislature upon the advisability of marking by suitable tablets the various forts erected against the Indians by the early settlers of this Commonwealth prior to the year 1783.

This committee, having qualified, met in Harrisburg in November, 1893; after organizing, divided the State into five districts, one to each member to examine and report upon to the body at some time agreed upon. This being the time set, I respectfully submit for your inspection and approval the result of my investigations.

Commencing my labors soon after returning home from Harrisburg, I found my territory, which comprised old Northumberland county, with her ample limits contained fifteen or sixteen of these forts, many of whose sites were unknown to the great mass of our citizens. Three to five generations had passed away since the stirring scenes that made these forts necessary had been enacted; in some cases the descendants of the early settlers had removed or the families died out of the knowledge of the present generation. One would wonder at this was he not acquainted with the settling up of the great West, where, for seventy or more years poured a steady stream of emigrants, who, I am happy to say, have done no discredit to the State rearing them.

Those paying attention to archeology invariably assisted me to the extent of their ability whenever called upon. I am

deeply indebted to Col. John G. Freeze, author of History of Columbia County; Hon. John Blair Linn, author of Annals of Buffalo Valley; J. M. M. Gerner, of Muncey, and publisher-author of Now and Then, for much valuable aid. To that veteran historian, John F. Meginness, of Williamsport, I am deeply indebted for assistance in locating a part of the forts, as well as the information derived from his publications, especially his "Otzinachson," or History of the West Branch Valley; to J. H. MacMinn and Capt. David Bly, of Williamsport, and Capt. R. Stewart Barker of Lock Haven, for valuable aid; to Wm. Field Shay, Esq., and J. I. Higbee, of Watsontown, for information and aid in locating sites of some of the forts; to David Montgomery, at Fort Rice at Montgomery's for aid; to O. B. Melick, Esq., of Bloomsburg, for aid in locating; to M. L. Hendricks, of Sunbury, for gentlemanly aid to the Commission when there; to Dr. R. H. Awl, of the same place, for information to the Commission. We found him a veritable storehouse of knowledge in all pertaining to Fort Augusta, to Sunbury and its surroundings.

I find it impossible to set out the claims of many of these forts to recognition without including the biography in part of some of the most active participants in the stirring events of their date, and consequently, our report will assume greater dimensions than originally expected.

The forts coming within my review according to the decision of the commission, were as follows:

Fort Augusta. At Sunbury, Northumberland county, Pa., on East bank of Main River Susquehanna, and near the junction of its North and West Branches, covering branches and main river.

Fort Jenkins. Located on the North bank of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, in Centre township, Columbia county, about midway between the present towns of Berwick and Bloomsburg.

Fort Wheeler. Located on banks of Fishing Creek, about three miles above present town of Bloomsburg, on B. & S. R. R., in Scott township, Columbia county, at Shew's paper mill.

Fort McClure. Located on bank of river within the present limits of town of Bloomsburg, Columbia county, Penna.

Fort Bosley, or Bosley's Mills. Located at Washingtonville, Derry township, Montour county, in the forks of the Chilisquaqua Creek.

Fort Freeland. Located on the north side of Warrior Run, about four miles east of Watsontown, Northumberland county, and on the line of the W. & W. R. R.

Fort Boone, or Boone's Mills. Located on Muddy Run, near its mouth, between the towns of Milton and Watsontown, and about two miles below the latter, near the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in Northumberland county, Pa.

Fort Swartz. Located on the east bank of the West Branch of the Susquehanna river, in Northumberland county, Pa., about one mile above the present town of Milton.

Fort Menninger. Located at White Deer Mills, on the west bank of the West Branch of the Susquehanna and on the north bank of White Deer Creek, near the town of White Deer, in Union county.

Fort Brady. Located adjoining the town of Muncey, Lycoming county, south of the built-up portions of the town.

Fort Muncey. Located on railroad about half a mile above Hall's Station, in Lycoming county, and a few hundred yards directly in front of the famous Hall's Stone House of 1769.

Fort Antes. Located on the edge of a plateau overlooking Nippenose Creek, at its mouth and commanding the West Branch of the Susquehanna river, on the south side, opposite the town of Jersey Shore, situated in Lycoming county, near line of P. & E. R. R.

Fort Horn. Located in the P. & E. railroad, about midway between Pine and McElhattan Stations, in Clinton county, Pa.

Fort Reid. Located in the town of Lock Haven, Clinton county, Penna., on Water street, in close proximity and east of the Bald Eagle canal. Fortified, spring of 1777.

Fort Rice. At Montgomery's, known in turns by each of these names. Located in Lewis township, Northumberland county, four miles west of Bosley's mills, and two or three miles from site of Fort Freeland.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN M. BUCKALEW.

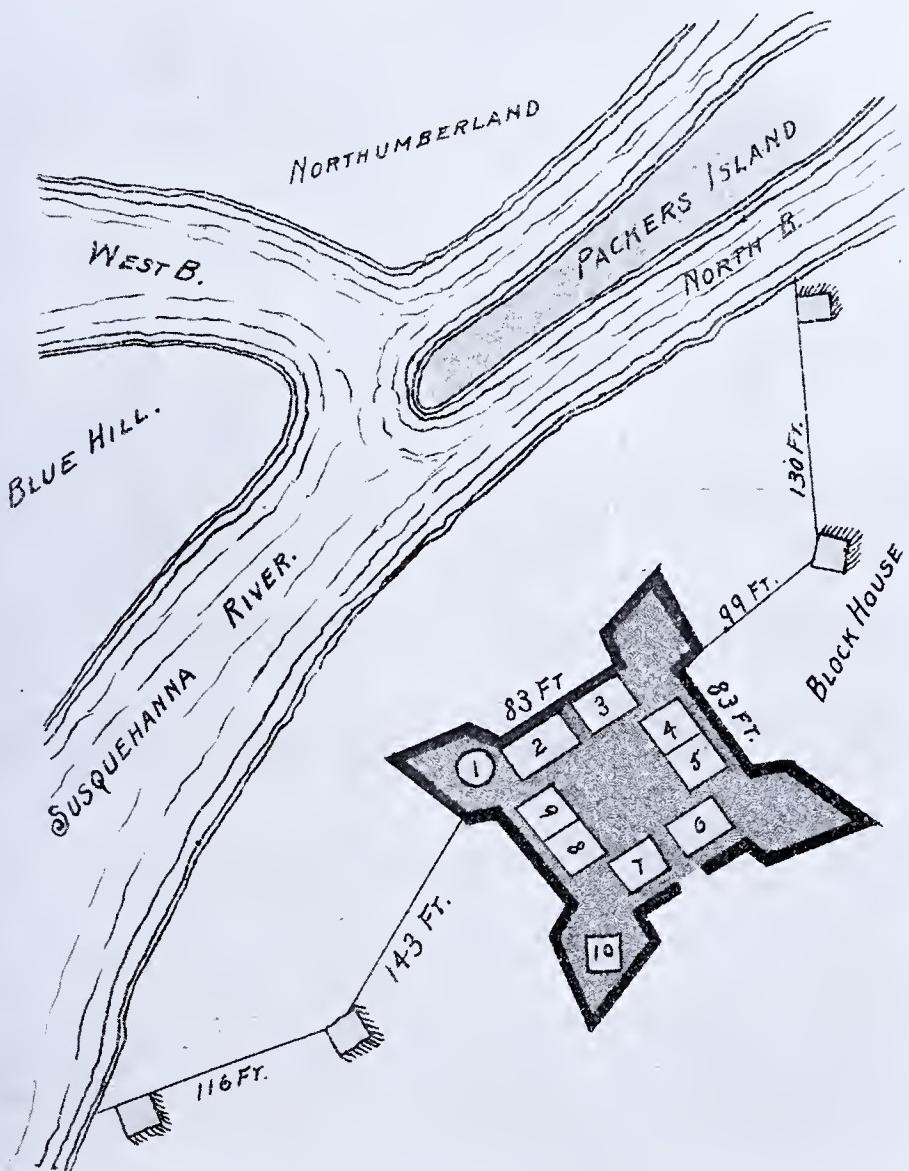
THE FORTS.

FORT AUGUSTA—AT SUNBURY.*

Was built in 1756, on the east bank of the main river just below the junction of the North and West branches of the Susquehanna that here form the main river, the artillery covering the debouchure of the branches, as well as the main river, at once closing the path by land and movement by water to the settlements below from an enemy; it stood at the upper end of the now enterprising town of Sunbury, was a regularly laid out fort, and when completed, mounted as the returns of the times show, at least twelve cannon and two swivels; quite a formidable armament for the time and place; seven blunderbusses were also included in its armament; it was one of those military necessities barely acted upon in time.

The causes that led to the building of the fort were: The French and English were struggling for the supremacy at this time in America. The English, in our State, had pushed settlements up to the Blue mountains on the north, and were moving through the passes of the Alleghenies towards Duquesne; the French owned Canada and the Lakes and had an eye to the ultimate conquest of our State or a part of it. In pursuance of this object, as they held Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, they had fortified Lake Erie at Presqu' Isle, and run a line of forts by the waters of the Allegheny river, from Presqu' Isle to Fort Duquesne. The forks of the Susquehanna, after securing their communication with Duquesne, attracted their attention; the branches of the Susquehanna, the one rising in one of the lesser lakes in the State of New York, the other overlapping some of the branches of the Allegheny, offered them water communication a part of the distance to the forks of the Susquehanna. When we take into consideration that Braddock's defeat had occurred but a year before this and their allies, the Indians, were still elated over this

*Marked by D. A. R. 1906.



- NO. 1. WELL
- NO. 2. OFFICER'S QUARTERS 20X40 FEET.
- NO. 3. COLONEL'S QUARTERS 18X30 FEET.
- NO. 4. BARRACKS 25X30 FEET
- NO. 5. BARRACKS " " "
- NO. 6. " " " "
- NO. 7. " " " "
- NO. 8. SOLDIER'S BARRACKS 25X30 FEET.
- NO. 9. BARRACKS 25X30 FEET.
- NO. 10. MAGAZINE.

PLAN OF FORT AUGUSTA.

great victory and ready for new conquests; the movements of the French at this time indicate this plainly, as shown by the Tradition of the Cannon Hole at the Race Ground Island, in the West Branch, as told the English by the Indians after peace, was that a party of French and Indians had left the lake country in the fall of 1756 to make permanent advance to the forks of the Susquehanna, bringing along three small brass cannon. Striking the head waters of the Susquehanna (West Branch), they descended by water to about the mouth of Loyal Sock creek, where, landing, they sent a reconnoitering party to the top of the Blue hill overlooking the forks and Fort Augusta, then partially built. Seeing the advancement of the fort and the number of men guarding it, considered it imprudent to attack and so reported to the main body who, after consultation, decided to return; as the water was falling, finding themselves encumbered with their cannon, they threw them in the deep pot hole, or eddy, at the upper end of the old time race ground island, which has been known as the Cannon Hole ever since. Fort Augusta continued on the alert for French aggressions until some time after the capture of Quebec by Wolf in 1759, which virtually decided the control of the Canadas and, of course, of the Indian allies of the French.

The friendly Indians at Shamokin urged Gov. Morris to erect a strong house at Shamokin for his and their defence, and as a rallying point for such Indians as were or might become friendly to English interests. The Governor was slower to comprehend the military necessity of the move than the Indians. After considerable delay he finally secured the consent of the Royal Commissioners and, upon the Assembly voting £2,000 for the King's use, he directed Colonel William Clapham to recruit a regiment of four hundred men for that purpose; when the regiment was completed he furnished him a plan of a regular fort to be built on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, at Shamokin. Col. Clapham, after building Fort Halifax and leaving fifty men to garrison it to keep open his communications and protect the inhabitants on the upper part of his route, arrived at Shamokin in July, 1756, after building a protection for his men and stores, proceeded to execute the Governor's commands, and before winter, had it quite

secure. Col. Clapham did not remain here a great length of time after completing the fort, being called away by other duties. He was killed by the Indians in 1763, together with his family, on Sewickley creek, in Western Pennsylvania. Col. James Burd, who succeeded him, continued to strengthen the work, as his interesting journal shows. (See Archives, second series, Vol. ii, pp. 745-820.) Col. Burd participated in the Bouquet expedition and had command of 582 men. He was in the battle of Loyal Hanna (Bushy Run) and, after that victory, accompanied the army to Fort Duquesne.

For the correspondence in the matter, see History of the Forts, Appendix to Penna. Archives, Vol. xii, first series, where it is fully collated with references, and shows the magnitude of the undertaking at so great a distance from his base of supplies, with the difficulties of transportation.

Fort Augusta was at once armed with eight cannon and two swivels; the number was increased to twelve, or fifteen cannon and two swivels.

Upon the close of the "French and Indian War," notwithstanding the great importance of Fort Augusta as a strategic point to the Province, a clamor was raised by the "peace at any price" party of that day, and the fort was partly dismantled. The condition of affairs in the Province at this time is ably described by Dr. Egle, in his History of Pennsylvania, which says: "The situation of the frontiers was truly deplorable owing to the supineness of the Provincial authorities, for the Quakers who controlled the Government were, to use the language of Lazarus Stewart, 'more solicitous for the welfare of the bloodthirsty Indian than for the lives of the frontiersman.' In this blind partiality, bigotry and political prejudice they would not readily accede to the demands of those of a different religious faith. To them, therefore, was greatly attributable the reign of horror and devastation in the border counties. The Government was deaf to all entreaties, and General Amherst, commander of the British forces in America, did not hesitate to give his feelings an emphatic expression. 'The conduct of the Pennsylvania Assembly,' he wrote, 'is altogether so infatuated and stupidly obstinate that I want words to express my indignation thereat.' Nevertheless, the sturdy



HEADQUARTERS OF COMMANDANT, FORT AUGUSTA, 1757.

Scotch-Irish and Germans of the frontier rallied for their own defence and the entire force of Colonel Bouquet was composed of them."

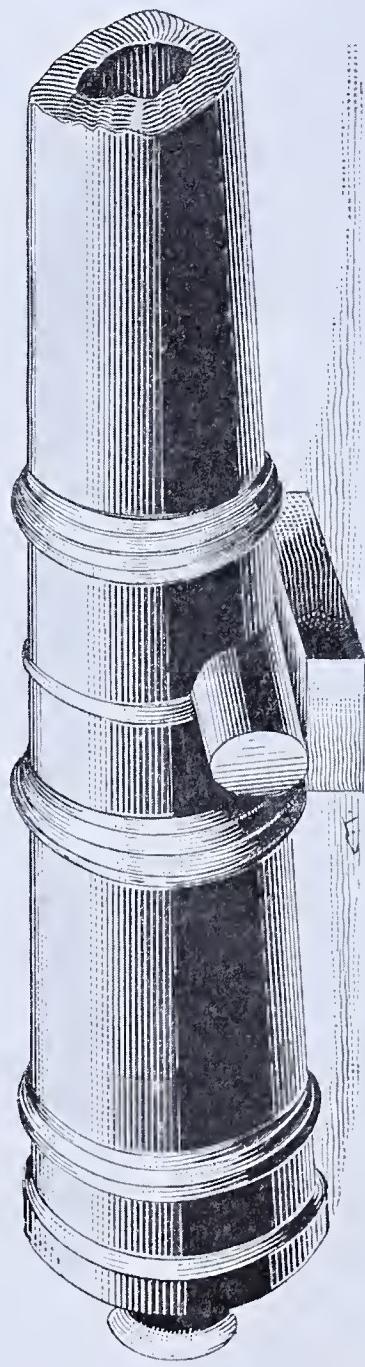
Fort Augusta, at time of building, held a place of great strategic importance, being far in advance of the English settlements of the Province, holding the only passage by water and blocking the pathway along the river by land, to the pioneer settlements below.

Readily reinforced and provisioned by batteaux from below, the country spreading out fan-like before it, requiring an elaborate system of forts in front of it to restrain it; a safe depot for supplies and the accumulation of a force for aggression, a point where the main Indian paths could be readily reached, and communications kept with them and supply them with the necessary beads and gew-gaws to keep them on friendly terms, or, on the other hand, to restrain them. Here Colonel Hartley drew his supplies in part in his famous march to the destruction of Tioga in 1778, returning by way of the North Branch. Here, Colonel Plunket organized his expedition against Wyoming, ending in the fiasco of Nanticoke and also ending the doughty Colonel's military aspirations.

After the commencement of the Revolution Fort Augusta became the headquarters of this that may be properly termed the military department of the upper Susquehanna. Col. Hunter was appointed county lieutenant and exercised authority here to the close of the war. Col. Hartley, with his regiment was stationed here a part of 1777 and 1778. On the breaking out of the Indians in these settlements, which had furnished the main body of their men capable of bearing arms to the Continental army, cried loudly for aid. After the battle of Brandywine, Gen. Washington consolidated the 12th Pennsylvania regiment that, by its fierce fighting at Brandywine and other places was almost decimated, with the 3d and 6th Pennsylvania regiments, mustered out the officers and sent them home to help the people organize for defence, Capt. John Brady, Capt. Hawkins Boone and Capt. Samuel Daugherty being among the number. A system of forts were decided upon to cover the settlements as much as they were possibly able to do so, and were designed to run across the country from near op-

posite Nescopeck, commencing on the north bank of the North Branch, where was quite a settlement on the river flats; via Meelick's, on Fishing creek, to Bosley's mills, covering most of the settlers on Chillisquaque, to Freeland's mill, on Warrior Run, thence to Widow Smith's mills on the west side of West Branch; thence returning to Muncy and thence to Hall's, continuing on up and crossing to Antes Fort; continuing up on the south side of the river to Mr. Reid's, at now Lock Haven. A few of these places were fortified in 1777, but a portion were fortified in the spring of 1778. As the Indians became quite active in the spring of 1778, the military authorities of Fort Augusta were kept very actively engaged. The massacre at Wyoming in that year with the Big Runaway, on the West Branch, deluged Fort Augusta with the destitute and distressed; already overloaded, they were now overwhelmed. The most of these destitute and distressed people soon passing down the river, most of the garrisons were withdrawn. The Indians soon followed and burned everything undefended. At this time the valley of the West Branch presented a pitiable spectacle, which it did not regain to any extent until peace was proclaimed.

It has been claimed by some that at the time of the Big Runaway Col. Hunter lost his head and precipitated matters by withdrawing the garrisons of these forts on the West Branch. To one looking at his exhausted means for defence we cannot see how, as a prudent military man, he could do otherwise. Without means to reinforce the feeble garrisons that were menaced by a foe more powerful than himself, to have left them to their fate would have been improper and likely to have been condemned by those who were so ready to find fault with him for doing the only thing in his power to do as a military head to this department. Colonel Hunter, at this time, had commanded this department fifteen years and knew the country and its people intimately; had become so thoroughly affiliated with their interests as to be one of them; their fears and misfortunes affected him as they did them. What few rays of joy that broke through the black clouds of adversity were as exhilarating to him as to them. He was an open-hearted, hospitable, brave, generous man, who eventually spent



A FORT AUGUSTA CANNON.

twenty years of his life in their service and died in 1784, before he saw the full effects of peace, and was buried by the side of the fort he so ably defended, and among the people he worked for and loved so ardently. He was one of the many prominent men who settled in this region.

General Potter, who served in the Continental army and lived in the Buffalo Valley, was a man of great ability, forced by bad health to resign from the Continental army before the close of the Revolution. He was indefatigable in his endeavors to resist the foe and place his people in a safe position of defense. He, too, merits the approbation of the succeeding generations.

Colonel John Kelly and Colonel Hartley are entitled to worthy remembrance for the many acts of military ability shown by them.

Moses Van Campen, whose young manhood developed on the waters of the Fishing Creek, detained by the Committee of Safety from the Continental army for the defence of the frontiers, spent the summer of 1777 in Colonel Kelly's regiment in holding Fort Reid and scouting duty, being orderly sergeant of Captain Gaskin's company. In 1778 we find him a lieutenant, and early in the season building Fort Wheeler on the Fishing creek and on scouting duties; in 1779 scouting duties and quartermaster to collect stores for Sullivan's army. Arriving at Tioga he volunteered, with many important scouts intrusted to him, in which he acquitted himself well. In 1780, captured by the Indians, his father, brother, and uncle killed, he, Peter Pence and Abram Pike, rising on their captors, killed nine and wounded the only remaining one. This was about fifteen miles below Tioga; 1781 engaged in scouting and looking after tories; winter spent in guarding British prisoners; spring of 1782 marched Robinson's Rangers, of which he was lieutenant, back to Northumberland; after a few day's rest, ordered to rebuild Fort Muncy. Having commenced the work, on arrival of his captain he was sent with a detail of men to the neighborhood of Big Island, where he was attacked by a large body of Indians led by a white man, when in the fight that ensued, his party were killed or captured, he included among the latter, ran the gauntlet at the Indian towns. Fortune favored

him, and he was not recognized as the leader who killed the Indians when a captive until after he was sold to the English. A tedious captivity ensued, enlivened occasionally by practical jokes, etc. He was at last exchanged and returned home, where, after recruiting his health he was sent to assist garrisoning Fort Wilkes-Barre. At this place he remained to the close of the war. Having, during his service, built Fort Wheeler and defended it for a time, built Fort McClure and assisted at rebuilding Fort Muncy, besides being actively engaged on frontier duties from the commencement to the close of the war. He removed to the State of New York before 1800 where, after an active life as surveyor and engineer he died, at the advanced age of ninety-two, universally respected.

Visiting with the Forts Commission the ruins of Fort Augusta in the summer of 1894, under the guidance of Mr. M. L. Hendricks, of Sunbury, we found the magazine still there and in good condition. John F. Meginness, in his *Otzinachson, or History of the West Branch Valley*, page 269, gives a description of it as we saw it: "The magazine was built according to report, on plans of Capt. Gordon, who served as engineer, and to-day is still in a good state of preservation, being the only evidence of the existence of the fort. It is located in a small field about sixty feet south of the brick house known as the 'Hunter Mansion,' and one hundred and sixty-five feet from the river bank. A small mound of earth marks the spot where it may be found, and upon examination an opening in the ground is discovered which is two and a half feet wide. There are twelve four-inch stone steps leading below. On descending these steps the ground space inside the magazine is found to be 10 x 12 feet, and it is eight feet from the floor to the apex of the arched ceiling. The arch is of brick and commences on an offset purposely made in the wall five feet above the ground floor. The brick are of English manufacture and were transported from Philadelphia to Harris's and then up the river by batteaux. On entering the ancient magazine one is reminded of a huge bake oven; it has been stated that an underground passage led from the magazine to the river, but has been closed up. Although a break or narrow cave-in in the river bank directly opposite the magazine which had existed for years



REMAINS OF THE OLD MAGAZINE OF FORT AUGUSTA.

would indicate that such was the fact, yet there is no evidence on the inside walls that there ever was such a passage. A recent careful examination failed to show any signs of an opening having existed. The stone basement walls are as solid apparently as when they were first laid. There are no marks or other evidence whatever that there had been an opening in the wall or that it had been closed up since the construction of the magazine." (Query: Would a magazine in a warlike fort have communication with the outside world). "There was such a passage starting from one of the angles of the fort, but it had no connection with the magazine."

There is but one of the cannon that was formerly mounted upon the fort known to be in existence. Mr. Hendricks took the commission to Fire Engine House No. 1 and showed us the highly prized relic. Dr. R. H. Awl, of Sunbury, furnished J. F. Meginness its history for his History of the West Branch Valley and a cut of the old cannon. It is securely fastened and carefully guarded. It is supposed it was thrown in the river at the time of the great Runaway in 1778, after being spiked. In 1798 it was reclaimed from the river by George and Jacob Mantz, Samuel Hahn and George Shoop. After heating, by burning several cords of hickory wood, they succeeded in drilling out the spiked file. It has had quite a checkered experience, being stolen from one place to another to serve the different political parties, between times hidden in places considered secure until 1834, when Dr. R. H. Awl and ten other young men of Sunbury made a raid on Selinsgrove at night, secured the much-prized relic and have retained it ever since. Of the eleven young men engaged in its rescue sixty years ago the doctor is the only one living to tell the tale of its return. It is of English make, weighs about one thousand pounds and has about three and one-half inch bore. A drunken negro sledged off the ring at the muzzle, out of pure wantonness in 1838.

The Maclay mansion, built by William Maclay, one of the most prominent citizens of his time, in 1773, is a historic building. The back part of the lot was stockaded during the Revolution. The house is built of limestone and is now owned and occupied by Hon. S. P. Wolverton, present member of Con-

gress from this district, who prizes it highly for its antiquity and historic reminiscences.

Near here Conrad Weiser built the "Locke house"** for Shickelmy in 1754, the first building in the "Shamokin country," and built for a place to confine refractory Indians. Shickelmy is said to have at one time exercised almost unlimited control over the Indian tribes, north, west and south. Here the Vice-King died and was buried in 1759. When the grave of Shickelmy was removed some years ago, Mr. M. L. Hendricks, the antiquarian of Sunbury, secured the strings of wampum, the pipe and many other relics that were buried with the Vice-King. He was the father of Logan, the Mingo chief.

The Bloody Spring. The Hon. S. P. Wolverton also owns the land on which this spring is located. Its history, as related by Col. Samuel Miles, is as follows, and shows the constant danger menacing the garrisons of Fort Augusta. In the summer of 1756, I was nearly taken prisoner by the Indians. At about half a mile distant from the fort stood a large tree that bore excellent plums, in an open piece of ground, near what is now called the Bloody Spring. Lieut. S. Atlee and myself one day took a walk to this tree to gather plums. While we were there a party of Indians lay a short distance from us, concealed in the thicket, and had nearly gotten between us and the fort, when a soldier belonging to the Bullock guard not far from us came to the spring to drink. The Indians were thereby in danger of discovery and in consequence thereof fired at and killed the soldier, by which means we got off and returned to the fort in much less time than we were coming out. The rescuing party from the fort found the soldiers scalped and his blood trickling into the spring, giving the water a crimson hue, and was ever afterwards called the Bloody Spring. John F. Meginness, who visited this spring a few years ago, says: "This historic spring is located on the hillside. The space occupied by it is about the size of an ordinary town lot, and it looks as if it might have been dug out and the earth taken

*Conrad Weiser, in a letter to James Logan, Sept. 29, 1744, makes mention of this "locke house" (See Penna. Archives, I, p. 661.) That this "locke house," which was built for Shikellamy, was a jail or place of confinement is an error due to Weiser's orthography. "Locke" was simply his way of spelling "log." It was a log house, intended as a home for the Iroquois vice-gerent. In the same letter Weiser spells "shingles" "singles. Geo P. Donehoo.

SITE OF FORT JENKINS SOUTHWEST VIEW, SHOWING NORTH BRANCH.



away with horse and cart. The distance across is about twenty-five feet and has a depth of ten or twelve feet, and then runs out with the declivity. The spring has been gradually filling up and there is no doubt it would flow constantly if it were cleaned out. The spring now only runs over a couple of months in the spring of the year.

The Blue Hill, standing out boldly, opposite Northumberland, is here in bold relief surmounted in our younger days by Mason's observatory overhanging the cliff of some four hundred feet in height; it is now capped by a fine health resort hotel.*

The famous thief, Joe Disbury, was tried at Sunbury in 1784 for some of his many misdemeanors, found guilty, sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, stand in the pillory one hour, have his ears cut off and nailed to the post, that he be imprisoned three months, and pay a fine of £30. The venerable Dr. Awl still shows the place on the old square where punishment was inflicted by the pillory and whipping post. The famous Dr. Plunket, after attaining notoriety as a military leader, took to the bench. As a jurist he dispensed law impartially; as to "rogues," he saw they did not go unwhipped of justice.

FORT JENKINS.

Fort Jenkins was erected in the fall of 1777, or the winter and early spring of 1778. From its size inside the stockades, 60x80 feet, we incline to the former date. Mr. Jenkins, the owner of the house around which the stockade was erected, had been a merchant in Philadelphia, of means, and at this time there was quite a number of settlers within three miles whom he might get to assist at a work of this kind.

If built by Colonel Hartley's men, one would suppose they would have built it larger, to hold Mr. Jenkins' family, the settlers and their families in an emergency, and at least thirty of themselves, and one would also suppose Col. Hartley would have mentioned it or been credited with its building, as he was with Fort Muncy. It was a stockade enclosing the dwelling of Mr. Jenkins, the proprietor of the land, and from present appearances a second building was included, as cellar depression

*See Appendix 4.

would indicate, it probably dated with the stockading, and had a lookout place on the roof which was a common thing in those perilous times. It is situated on a high bank, or flat, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna and overlooks the river, about twenty rods distant, as well as the country around, about midway between now the thriving towns of Berwick and Bloomsburg, in Columbia county. The first we hear of Fort Jenkins is from Lieut. Moses Van Campen. When building Fort Wheeler he was attacked by Indians, in the month of May, 1778, and running short of ammunition, he sent two men at night across the country about eight miles to Fort Jenkins; they returned next morning before dawn with an ample supply. (*Life of Moses Van Campen*, page 51).

It was the right flanking defence of the line running from here, on the North Branch to the West Branch, at White Deer and thence to Lock Haven; here it was near the Connecticut settlements in Salem township, now Luzerne county. It covered the river and was a place of importance, and in conjunction with Wheeler, on the Fishing creek, covered the settlers within their line to the river, from ordinary raids.

Mr. Jenkins sold the property to James Wilson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who, in turn, sold it to Capt. Frederick Hill, who moved upon it and erected a dwelling on the site of Fort Jenkins, where he built and kept a hotel, and in memory of the old fort named it the Fort Jenkins Hotel. In the old days of stage coaches it was a well-known hostelry. When he was too old for business his son, Jacob, succeeded him and kept up the reputation of the place, until, by some chance, he became converted among the Methodists, when (having plenty of the sterling material they make good citizens of within him) cut down his sign post, tore out his bar and devoted himself to his farm, which is a fine one, and to the rearing of his family in the paths of rectitude and virtue, in which he was very successful. Here was born his son, Charles F. Hill, now of Hazleton, an archaeologist of considerable note in this region of country, to whom we are indebted for gathering and preserving many of the facts connected with Fort Jenkins. On September 9, 1893, I met Mr. C. F. Hill, at the site of the fort.

He pointed out that the farm house stood upon the site of

the Jenkins house, that the cellar wall was sat on the original foundation; that the well at the farm house was dug inside the oaken palisades of the fort during the Revolution, being seventy-five feet deep and down into the limestone rock. Also where, when a boy, he recollects seeing the remains of the oak palisades still visible in his time; the place where his father had shown him the Indians who were killed in the vicinity were buried; the ground where the whites, civilians and soldiers, who were killed in fights with Indians or died of disease were buried; some half dozen apple trees yet remaining of the orchard planted by Mr. Jenkins before the Revolution, bearing signs of great age, the orchard planted by his grandfather showing less signs of age. The spot where, in digging the foundation to the present kitchen attached to the present farm house he had found the sunken fire place and hearth, with bricks about six inches square, unlike anything he had ever seen, supposed they were of English make and had been brought up the river in boats. He also pointed out where an island of five acres, as he remembers it, stood in the river so heavily timbered as to prevent a view from the fort to the other side, of which not a sign now remains, heavy floods having destroyed it effectually; also, where Nathan Beach's father's cabin stood, by the North Branch canal, but under the guns of the fort. The canal passes between the site of the fort and river at the foot of the plateau on which the fort stood. Outside the fort stood the cabin of a family whose name I have dropped; it consisted of at least six persons and is referred to by Col. Hunter under date of 26 May, 1779, writing from Fort Augusta, "there has been no mischief done in this county since the 17th instant; that there was a family of four persons killed and scalped about twenty-seven miles above this, on the North Branch opposite Fort Jenkins. Suppose there are Indians seen every day one place or another on our frontiers."

The story of this massacre, as related by Mr. Hill is, the parents sending two of their children, a boy and girl, to the neighborhood of Catawissa, for some necessaries, the children took the path on the hill back of the cabin running parallel with the river. After proceeding some distance they came to

the remains of a recent fire, where mussels from the river had been roasted. Becoming alarmed, they turned back for home, and, on arriving at the hill overlooking their house, they saw it in flames and Indians disappearing from the clearing into the woods. On descending they found their family they had left in health a short time before, killed and scalped and themselves homeless orphans. This occurred directly opposite the fort and almost within reach of the rifles, but concealed from view of the garrison by the forest of the island and shore. Their first notice came with smoke of the burning cabin, the Indians disappearing as rapidly as they came."

Col. Hunter says, in reference to the removal of Col. Hubley's regiment toward Wyoming: "This leaves Fort Muncy and Fort Jenkins vacant at this critical time, being harvest time. (Vol. xii, Appendix, p. 381). Col. Hunter, November 27, proposes to send twenty-five men to Fort Jenkins for the support and protection of the distressed inhabitants." (p. 381). "Col. Ludwig Weltner writes to the Board of War, December 13, 1779, in reference to the posture of several forts, on his taking command. I found Fort Muncy, on the West, and Fort Jenkins, on the East branch, with the magazine at Sunbury, to have been the only standing posts that were occupied. (p. 381).

"April 2, 1780; the savages, the day before yesterday, took seven or eight prisoners about two miles above Fort Jenkins, and, comparing the condition of things with what it was twelve months before, when the forts were well garrisoned, Col. Hunter says, now we have but about thirty men at Fort Jenkins, which was not able to spare enough men out of the garrison to pursue the enemy that carried off the prisoners." "On the 9th," Col. Weltner writes from Northumberland and says, "I have manned three material outposts, viz: Fort Jenkins, Fort Montgomery (Fort Rice at Montgomery's) and Bosley's Mills. Col. James Potter writes from Sunbury, Sept. 18, 1780, that the enemy burned and destroyed everything in their power and on their going they sent a party and burnt the fort and buildings at Fort Jenkins, which had been evacuated a few days before, on the enemy appearing at Fort Rice."

Nathan Beach, Esq., an old and highly respected as well as widely-known citizen of Luzerne county (in Miner's History of



SITE OF FORT JENKINS, SOUTHEAST VIEW, SHOWING OLD WELL.

Wyoming, Appendix, p. 36), says: "In the year 1769 my father removed with his family from the State of New York to the Valley of Wyoming, now Luzerne county, State of Pennsylvania, where he continued to reside within the limits of the said county until the 4th day of July, 1778, the day after the Wyoming Massacre, so-called, when the inhabitants, to wit, all those who had escaped the tomahawk and scalping knife fled in every direction to places of security. About the first of August following, I returned with my father and Thomas Dodson to secure our harvest, which we had left in the fields. While we were engaged in securing our harvest as aforesaid, I was taken prisoner by the Indians and Tories; made my escape the day following. In the fall of the same year, 1778, my father and family went to live at Fort Jenkins (Columbia county, Pa.). I was there employed with others of the citizens and sent out on scouting parties by Capt. Swany (Capt. Isaac Sweeney of Col. Hartley's Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment), "commander of the fort, and belonging to Col. Hartley's regiment of the Pennsylvania line. Continued at said fort until about the first of June, 1779, during which time had a number of skirmishes with the Indians. In May the Indians, thirty-five in number, made an attack on some families that lived one mile from the fort and took three families prisoners, twenty-two in number. Information having been received at the fort, Ensign Thornbury (Ensign Francis Thornbury of the Lieut. Cols. Company afterwards transferred to Third Pennsylvania) was sent out by the captain in pursuit of the Indians with twenty soldiers, myself and three others of the citizens also went, making twenty-four. We came up with them—a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted about thirty minutes, during which time we had four men killed and five wounded out the twenty-four. As we were compelled to retreat to the fort, leaving our dead on the ground, the Indians took their scalps. During our engagement with the Indians the prisoners before mentioned made their escape and got safe to the fort. The names of the heads of those families taken prisoners as aforesaid were Bartlet Ramey, Christopher Forrow and Joseph Dewey; the first named, Bartley Ramey, was killed by the Indians. Soon after the aforesaid engagement in June, I entered the boat depart-

ment, boats having been built at Middletown, Dauphin county, called Continental boats made for the purpose of transporting the baggage, provisions, etc., of Genl. Sullivan's army, which was on its march to destroy the Indian towns in the lake country, in the State of New York. I steered one of these boats to Tioga Point, where we discharged our loading and I returned to Fort Jenkins in August, where I found our family. The Indians still continued to be troublesome; my father thought it advisable to leave the country and go to a place of more safety. We left the Susquehanna, crossed the mountains to Northampton county, in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, this being the fall of 1779. Nathan Beach says our family Record says I was born July, 1763, near a place now called Hudson, consequently he was at that time but little past sixteen." Showing the development of the boys of that period into men under the pressure of the circumstances in which they were placed, his case is not an exceptional one.

Fort Jenkins, built in the fall of 1777 or early spring of 1778, was garrisoned by about thirty men under Col. Hartley. Col. Adam Hubley, Jr., who succeeded him, marched the regiment away, when County Lieut. Col. Hunter furnished a few men who, with the citizens of the neighborhood held the fort until the arrival of Col. Ludwig Weltner with the German Battalion about the latter part of 1779, on their return from the Sullivan campaign. After remaining at Wilkes-Barre on guard for some time, Weltner's sturdy Germans held the post until the 5th or 6th of September, 1780, when, on the attack on Fort Rice by 250 or 300 Tories and Indians, the garrison was withdrawn to go to the support of Fort Rice and Fort Augusta.

On failure to capture the fort, the Tories and Indians broke into smaller parties, overrun the country with tomahawk and fire. One large company moved east by end of the Nob Mountain to the river; finding Fort Jenkins abandoned they set fire to it and to the buildings in the neighborhood on the 9th of September; they commenced to cut down the orchard planted by Mr. Jenkins before the Revolution. It is supposed their attention was called from this by news of the approach of Capt. Klader with a company of Northampton county militia, when they suddenly decamped, crossed the river in the neighbor-

hood of now Berwick, went on to Sugarloaf, in Luzerne county, where they ambuscaded the militia, killed or captured the greater portion of them, broke up the expedition, relieved their Tory friends of fear of capture and expulsion of their families. The Indians are said to have passed up east of Wyoming to their homes in the lake country. Fort Jenkins, from the many raids in its neighborhood, shows to have been much in the way of the Indians.

FORT WHEELER.

Lieut. Moses Van Campen says, "Early in the month of April, 1778, he was ordered to go with his men up the North Branch of the Susquehanna river to the mouth of Fishing creek and follow up this three miles to a compact settlement, located in that region, and build a fort for the reception of the inhabitants in case of an attack from the Indians. News had come thus early of their having visited the outer line of settlements and of their committing depredations, so that terrified messengers were arriving almost daily, bringing the sad news of houses burned, victims scalped and of families carried into captivity.

"It was no time to be idle; a few days, it might be a few hours, and the savage might be amongst those whom he was appointed to guard and repeat these scenes of cruelty and blood. He and his men, his command of twenty men, who, as well as himself, were familiar with the country, expert in the use of the rifle and acquainted with the Indian modes of warfare, without delay they entered vigorously upon the work, selecting a site for the fort on the farm of Mr. Wheeler (hence, when completed, it was called Fort Wheeler). It was built of stockades and sufficiently large to accommodate all the families of the neighborhood. Anticipating an early approach of the foe, they worked with a will to bring the fort to completion or at least into a condition that would afford some protection in case of an attack. The Indians, in approaching the border

settlements, usually struck upon the head waters of some of the streams upon which settlers were located and followed them down through valley or mountain defile until they came near a white man's house, when they would divide so as to fall in small companies upon different habitations at the same time. "Before the fort was completed a runner came flying with the speed of the wind to announce the approach of a large party of savages. The inhabitants gathered into the fort with quick and hasty rush, taking with them what valuables they could, and leaving their cheerful homes to the undisputed sway of the enemy. Very soon the Indians came prowling around under cover of the woods and all at once, with wild yells, burst forth upon the peaceful farmhouses of the settlement. Fortunately, the inmates were not there to become victims of the tomahawk and scalping knife. From the elevated position of the fort the inhabitants could see their dwellings entered, their feather beds and blankets carried out and scattered around with frantic cries and very soon after the flame and smoke leap to the tops of their houses and, finally, the whole settle down into a quiet heap of ashes. The Indians spent most of the day in pillaging and burning houses, some of them made an attack on the fort but to little purpose. Van Campen and his men were actively engaged in preparing for a vigorous defence in case of an attack to storm their unfinished works. They were successful in surrounding the fort at a distance of four rods with a barricade "made with brush and stakes, the ends sharpened and locked into each other so that it was difficult to remove them and almost impossible for one to get through. The Indians, seeing this obstruction, were disposed to fire at them from a distance, and keep concealed behind the bushes. Their shots were promptly returned and a brisk firing was kept up all the time till evening. It was expected that the Indians would renew the attack the next morning and, as the ammunition of the fort was nearly expended, Van Campen sent two of his men to Fort Jenkins, about eight miles distant, on the Susquehanna, who returned next morning before dawn of day with a plentiful supply of powder and lead. The remaining hours of darkness were spent in running bullets and in making needed preparation for the encounter they were

looking for on the approaching day. They judged from what they knew of the superior force of the enemy and from the activity already displayed that the struggle would be severe." In the morning they found the enemy had disappeared. "The Indians, not liking the preparations made to receive them, re-tired, leaving blood on the ground, but nothing else that would indicate their loss. But the Indians, not satisfied with this visit made another attempt to surprise this fort in the month of June. On one evening in the month of June," says Lieut. Van Campen, "just at the time when the women and girls were milking their cows, a sentinel called my attention to a movement in the bushes not far off, which I soon discovered to be a party of Indians making their way to the cattle yard. There was no time to be lost. I immediately selected ten of my sharpshooters and, under cover of a rise of ground, crept between them and the milkers. On ascending the ridge we found ourselves within pistol shot of our lurking foes. I fired first and killed the leader; this produced an instant panic among the party, and they all fled away like a flock of birds. A volley from my men did no further execution; it only made the woods echo with the tremendous roar of their rifles; it sounded such an unexpected alarm in the ears of the honest dairy women that they were still more terribly frightened than the Indians. They started upon their feet, screamed aloud and ran with all their might, fearful lest the enemy should be upon them. In the mean time the milk pails flew in every direction and the milk was scattered to the winds. The best runner got in first." Lieut. Van Campen appears to have made Fort Wheeler his headquarters this season when not engaged in scouting. After the Sullivan campaign, in the fall of 1779, when Van Campen returned to Fort Wheeler, his father living there—leaving there late in March, 1780.

Fort Wheeler, the traditions of the many descendants of the men who occupied the fort say, was not abandoned but held by hardy settlers, when not garrisoned by troops and that it is the only one of its date of the line in front of Fort Augusta that was not destroyed. Of course, I do not include McClure, Rice or Swartz, as they were built later. Near here lived Peter Meelick, who served as one of the committee of safety

for this Wyoming township from its institution until superseded by another system.

There is nothing to-day to indicate where the fort stood except the spring is there. Mr. William Creveling, who owns the property, says many years ago he ploughed up the fire place.

O. B. Melick, Esq., of Bloomsburg, says the place his grandfather, the Peter Meelick above named, and his father fixed upon as the site of Fort Wheeler is the same as that shown by Mr. Creveling. Mr. Theodore McDowell, since dead, showed the same site as the one he and his comrades when boys used to visit as the remains of Fort Wheeler. The grave yard, where the soldiers and others were buried, about thirty rods from the site, I regret to say, is not cared for. There is not a dissenting voice as to the site, but a unanimity rarely found.

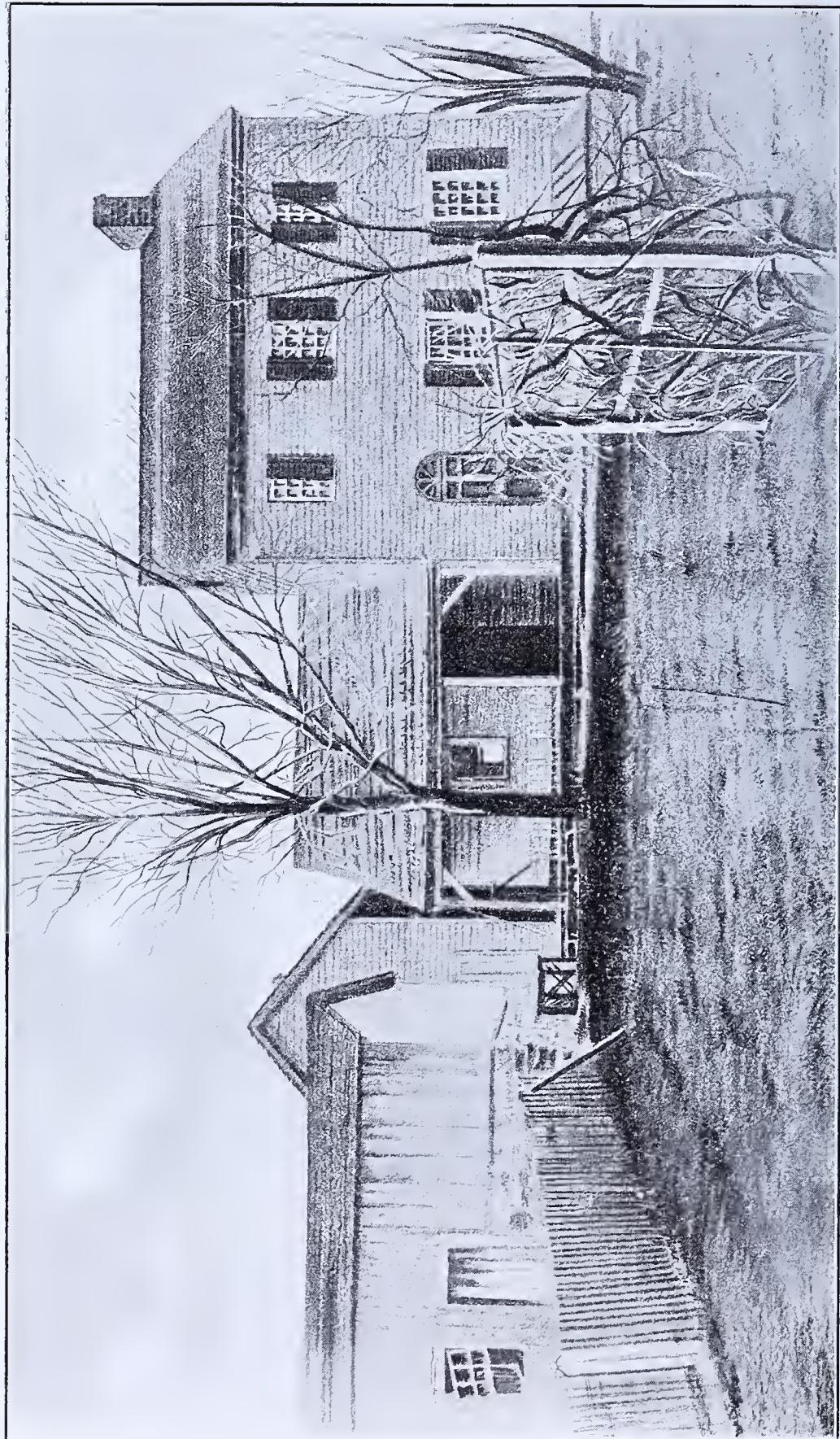
Mr. Isaiah Wheeler, on whose land the fort was built, and whose dwelling the stockades enclosed, was a settler who came here from the State of New Jersey, and some accounts say he died and was buried here. Col. Joseph Salmon, a man of prominence as a scout and of extraordinary courage in these times, when examples of courage were not rare, married one of his daughters. It is said an open manly rivalry existed between Van Campen and Salmon for her hand, when Salmon distanced the lieutenant and won the damsel.

Mr. Joseph Crawford, an old and respected citizen of Orangeville, says his father, John Crawford, was born in Fort Wheeler soon after its completion in 1778, being the second white child born in this vicinity.

McCLURE'S FORT.*

Col. Freeze says, the year 1777 and the next four or five following, were years of great activity and danger in the Indian fighting in and about what was originally Columbia county. The regular military authorities had done their best to protect the frontiers of the Pennsylvania settlements, but they had

*A marker was placed here on 10 Apr., 1907, by Fort McClure Chapter, D. A. R.



SITE OF FORT MCCLURE, TOWN OF BLOOMSBURG.

few officers and fewer men to spare from the Federal army, and therefore, the defense of the settlements fell upon the local heroes and heroines of the Forts of the Susquehanna.

A chain of forts, more or less protective had been constructed, reaching from the West Branch to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, comprising Fort Muncey, Fort Freeland, Fort Montgomery, Bosley's Mills, Fort Wheeler and Fort Jenkins. The great war path through the valley, known as "The Fishing Creek Path," started on the flats, near Bloomsburg, on the North Branch, up Fishing creek to Orangeville, on to near Long Pond, now called Ganoga Lake, thence across to Tunkhannock creek.* It was on this very path that Van Campen, the most prominent Indian fighter on the North Branch was captured, in 1780, and no man better than he knew the great necessities of the section.

The destruction of Fort Jenkins in 1780 had exposed the right flank of the protecting forts and the Indian marauders made wild work among our defenseless frontiers. On his (Van Campen's) return from captivity he assisted in organizing a new force, repairing the forts dismantled or abandoned, and also stockaded the residence of Mrs. James McClure, and the place was thereafter known as McClure's Fort. It is on the north bank of the North Branch of the river Susquehanna, and is reported to have occupied the exact site of the present dwelling house of the late Douglas Hughes, below Bloomsburg, about one mile above the mouth of Fishing creek. It was an accessible point and gave the command of the military line across the river valley. It became the headquarters for stores and expeditions, and was an important point so long as it was necessary to maintain fortifications on the river.

It does not seem to have ever been formally attacked, but there are traditions of lurking savages and hurried embankments upon boats and canoes and the protection of the wide Susquehanna.

How thrilling soever these adventures may have been they are now forgotten.

Note.—Col. Freeze is mistaken; the Indians with Van Campen and Pence, followed the path up the east branch of Fishing Creek, known as Huntingdon Creek, and in Huntington township, fired on Col. John Franklin's men, slightly wounding Capt. Ransom, as related by Moses Van Campen.

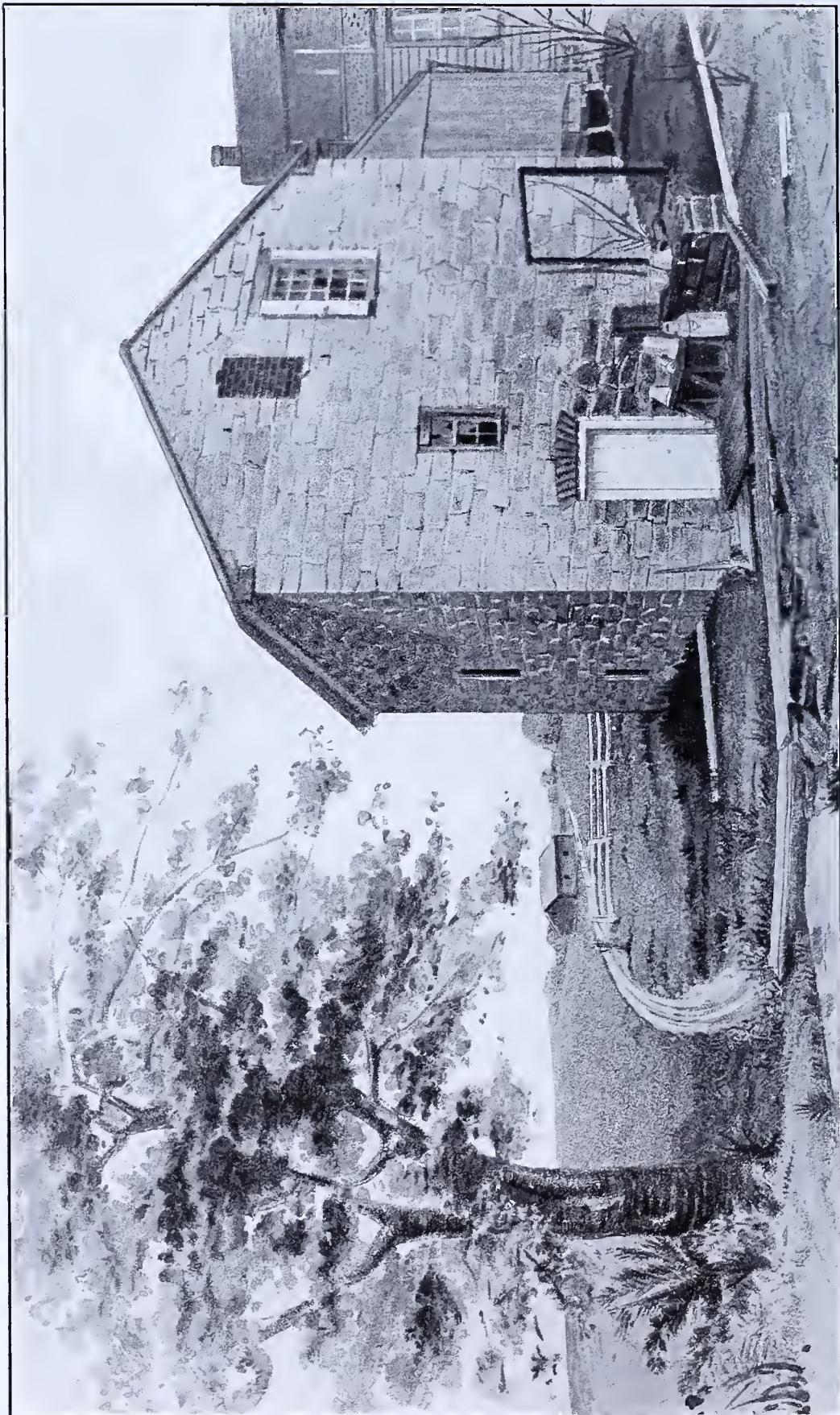
J. M. B.

"Time rolls his ceaseless course; the race of yore,
Who danced our infancy upon their knee,
And told our marvelling boyhood legends store
Of their strange ventures happ'd by land or sea,
How are they blotted from the things that be!

FORT BOSLEY, OR BOSLEY'S MILLS.

Fort Bosley was situated in the forks of the Chillisquaqua, at Washingtonville, Derry township, Montour county, and was the grist mill of a Mr. Bosley, who moved here from Maryland a few years before the Revolution, bringing his slaves with him. He built the mill, it is said, in 1773; it is supposed he fortified (stockaded) the mill in 1777; upon the Indians becoming troublesome it was garrisoned by troops and recognized by the military authorities as of importance. After the fall of Fort Freeland it became more so, holding the forks of the Chillisquaqua and defending the stream below it.

The Chillisquaqua Valley and its surroundings are among the most beautiful in the State. At Washingtonville, the main stream is formed by one considerable branch coming from the Muncy Hills, following through the rich lime stone lands to the south. The east branch here joins it, making a fine stream that then flows southwesterly to the river. This great scope of fine arable lands attracted settlers early, Bosley's Mills became a necessity, and, situated as it was, within the forks about sixty to eighty rods above the junction of the branches, on the east bank of the North Branch of these streams. It soon became widely known; roads and paths led to it as a central point, and on the Indians becoming troublesome and the mill fortified, it became a haven of refuge at which the wives and families could be placed in safety at alarms, while the husband and father scouted for intelligence of the foe or defended the fort. As Bosley's Mills do not appear to have had a heavy garrison of troops (twenty men at most) at any time, the garrison was most probably augmented by the near settlers, of which there was quite a number. It must have been



FORT RICE, AT MONTGOMERY'S, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

strong, as we have no account of any attack on the place, lying as it does below the great war path through or over the Muncy Hills, it must have been looked upon by the foe as strong.

Col. Hunter to Prest. Reed, dated Fort Augusta, June 26, 1779, says: "Your favor of ye 2d Inst. I received by Mr. Martin and I am sorry to acquaint you it was not in my power to send any of the Ranging Company to assist at Guarding the stores up here from Estherton, as what few men Capt. Kemplon had under his command was stationed at Bosley's Mills on Chilisquaqua." (See Penna. Archives, vol. vii, p. 510).

Lieut. Col. Weltner to Board of War, dated Northumberland, April 9, 1780, says: "I have this moment received an express from the West branch, about 12 miles from this Town that the Indians have killed and scalped one man and two children, took one woman prisoner, but she happily made her escape from them in the night. The country is very much alarmed, and likely to go to the flight as they cannot be supplied with provisions, ammunition or flints, as these commodities being so very scarce. I have manned three material outposts, viz: Fort Jenkins, Fort Montgomery and Bosley's Mills. It is out of my power to scatter my men any more, as I have scarcely as many in Town as will man 2 pieces of artillery."

The site of the old mill is recognized readily by the race and mill site and is on the land of Jesse Umstead, Jr., at the lower end of the built up town of to-day. The head race has been continued on across the road and utilizes the old dam site and head race for a modern mill.

FORT RICE.

Fort Rice, at Montgomery's, sometimes written of by one name by the military and other authorities and at another by the other until it was supposed to indicate two separate forts. It is located in Lewis township, Northumberland county, Pa.

In 1769 William Patterson patented seven hundred acres of land on which Fort Rice was situated. On account of its handsome appearance and the fertility of its soil he named it

Paradise. Meginness is correct in saying, "For rural beauty, fertility of soil and charming surroundings, with healthfulness, it is not excelled by any district in the United States, and the name Paradise was worthily bestowed." The country is gently rolling and under a high state of cultivation. Neat farm mansions with capacious barns are seen in all directions, and what adds to the beauty of the scene are the open groves of oak and other hard wood, free from underbrush, and a regularity almost equal to being planted by the hand of man, among which scores of gray squirrels may be seen sporting in the woods without fear of the pot hunters or poachers. Mr. Patterson exchanged this Paradise farm with John Montgomery, of Paxtang, in 1771, for his farm in that settlement. The descendants of John Montgomery still reside on these lands. The Montgomery family became widely known for their ability and integrity. At the time of the capture of Fort Freeland, July 28, 1779, John Montgomery living here, heard the firing; mounting two of his young sons on horses he sent them to the top of a hill to "learn the cause of the firing. On arriving at the brow of the hill overlooking the creek they discovered the fort on fire and a fight raging in the timber some distance below. They returned and reported what they had seen; he loaded up his family in a wagon, with what provision and clothing they could carry and hurriedly drove across the country to the cabin of William Davis. After informing him what was going on he gathered up his family and proceeded to Fort Augusta."—(Meginness).

The Indians burned Mr. Montgomery's house; he took his family to Paxtang, where they remained to the close of the war. The Indians burned the house and everything; in consequence of the fall of Fort Freeland it became necessary to fill its place by another. McClung's place, which, I understand, was between Freeland and the Montgomery farm, was first selected, but it was decided to be impracticable, when, finally the Montgomery farm was selected, and here Captain Rice, of Col. Weltner's German Regiment, erected it in the fall and winter of 1779 and 80. It was built around and enclosed the fine spring at the burned residence of John Montgomery, and remains to-day a lasting tribute to the excellency of the

work of Capt. Rice's Pennsylvania Germans. First, building a stockade for security they completed it, building it out of surface limestone. They occupied and defended it ably. The only attack made on the fort itself we have any record of occurred in the beginning of September, 1780. A letter from Col. Samuel Hunter, at Sunbury, Sept. 21, 1780, found in Vol. viii, p. 567, Penna. Archives, saying: "We were alarmed by a large party of the enemy making their appearance in our county on the 6th inst. They came first to a small fort that Col. Weltner's troops had erected on the headwaters of the Chilisquaque, called Fort Rice, about thirteen miles from Sunbury (17), when the German Regiment marched off the enemy attacked the fort about sundown and fired very smartly. The garrison returned the fire with spirit, which made them withdraw a little off, and in the night they began to set fire to a number of houses and stacks of grain which they consumed. In the meantime our militia had collected to the number of one hundred men under the command of Col. John Kelly, who marched to the relief of the Garrison, and arrived there next day. The people in the Garrison acquainted Col. Kelly that there must be two hundred and fifty or three Hundred of the Enimy, which he did not think prudent to engage without being Reinforced. The confusion this put the inhabitants in, it was not easy to collect a party equal to fight the savages. I immediately sent off an express to Col. Purdy on Juneate whom I heard was marching to the Frontiers of Cumberland County with the militia, he came as quick as possible to our assistance with one Hundred and ten of the militia and about Eighty Volunteers, which was no small Reinforcement to us. Genl. Potter Just coming home from camp at this critical time came up to Sunbury and took command of the party that went in Quest of the Enimy. But previous to his marching, discharge the Volunteers as he concluded by the information he had received from spies we had out that the enemy did not exceed one Hundred and fifty and that they had withdrawn from the inhabitants to some Remote place. General Potter, However, marched on to Muncy Hills, but was a little Baffled by the information of their route and did not come on their track till the 13th and followed on about 50 miles up fishing creek, the

road the enemy took, but finding they had got too far ahead returned here the 17th inst. The enemy got but one scalp and one prisoner (The Colonel did not know of their having committed the Sugarloaf Massacre when he wrote). We all concluded the enemy had gone off, but on the 18th there was a small party made their appearance on the West Branch about fourteen miles above this place, they killed one man and wounded another, and killed their horses they had in the plow, which plainly shows they have scattered into small parties to harass the inhabitants, which I am afraid will prevent the people from getting crops put in the ground this fall. When the German Regiment marched off from here I give orders for the Frontiers Companies to embody and keep one-fourth of the men constantly Reconnoitering. After garrisoning Fort Jenkins, Fort Rice, and Fort Schwartz with twenty men in each of them, this was the only method I could think of encouraging the people as we were left to our own exertions. Only about thirty of Capt. McCoys company of Volunteers from Cumberland County, until the 10th Inst., that two companies of militia came here from the same county in the whole about eighty men. When I received the intelligence of a large party of savages and tories coming against Fort Rice, I give orders to evacuate Fort Jenkins as I did not look upon it to be tenable, which is since burned by the Enemy, and would have shared the same had the men staid there on act. of the Buildings that were adjoining it, &c."

As to the numbers attacking Fort Rice, Genl. Potter (Vol. viii, p. 563), says: "Since I wrote the above I am informed by Capt. Robeson that a large body of the enemy crossed the Moncley Hills near one Evses and went up the Moncley Creek so that it is leekly (likely) that the number that was down amounted to 300 men—they carried off a large number of Cattle and Horses."

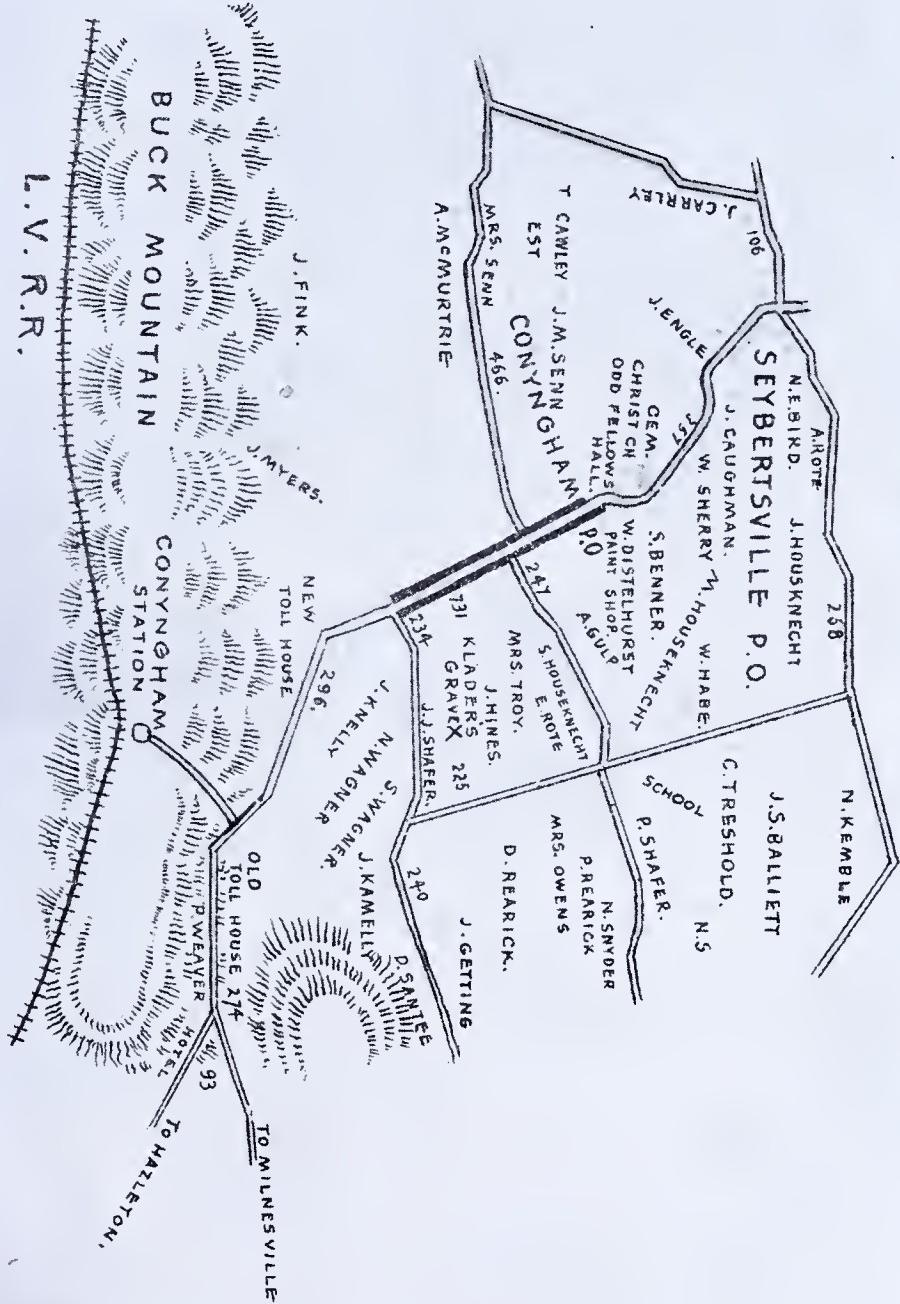
John Montgomery returned with his family on the return of peace. Finding the buildings of his farm destroyed and a good strong stone house supplying its place; he at once occupied the fort, which, with additions, made him a comfortable home for years. Capt. Rice leaving the country, Montgomery remained and it soon became known as Montgomery's fort. The old

actors in the bloody drama enacted in this region having passed away, Fort Rice was forgotten except as found in the old records, which placed it thirteen miles from Sunbury and on the head waters of the Chillisquaque—both erroneous. Fort Rice was lost as to site to the present generation. After considerable research I became satisfied Fort Rice and Montgomery must mean the same place.

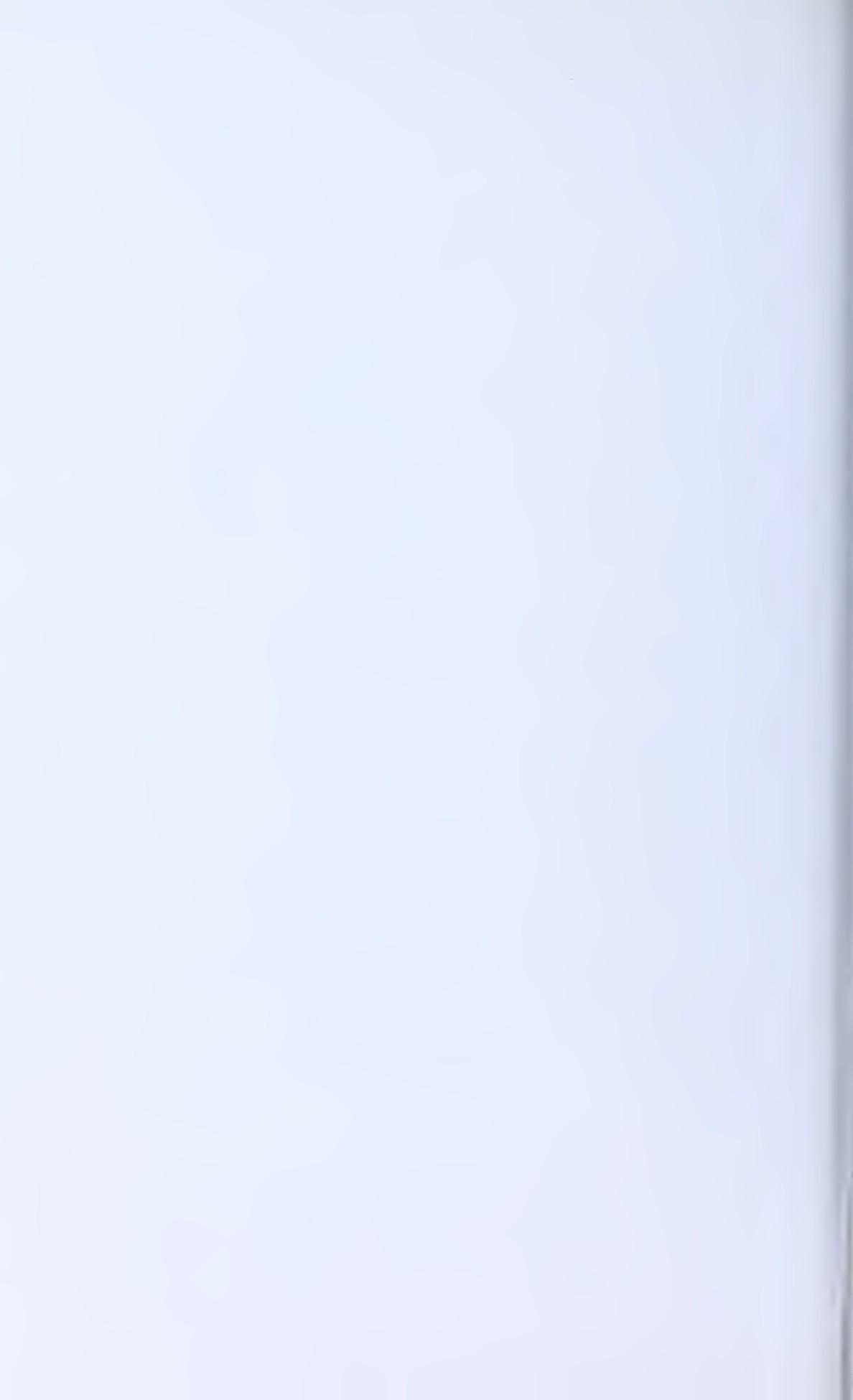
Hon. John Blair Linn, of Bellefonte, at this time sent me a newspaper cutting, recording an examination of the subject by J. F. Wolfinger, of Milton, in about 1885 (since dead). I have found his statement correct in the main and here present it: "Our ancestors and first settlers on the West and North branches of the Susquehanna River had two great runaway times from the Indians. The first took place in 1778 and the second one in 1779. * * * * John F. Montgomery must certainly have known how and why this stone building was built over his spring, but as he died in November, 1792, and left no writings with any person to show that the German Battalion had built it and had a fort and barracks standing close by his spring (falling into the error that there was a Fort Rice and a Fort Montgomery close together, he mistook the defences erected to protect the soldiers and their arms and commissary while building Fort Fice for the Fort Montgomery which Rice is). The knowledge of these facts was entirely unknown to the coming generations of people in this beautiful region of country called Paradise, and, hence, a great many different stories very naturally arose as to when the old stone building in question was built and by whom it was built and why it had small port holes in its walls and the like. July 13, 1885. On this day I visited this old Fort Montgomery or Rice ground, accompanied by my old friend, the Hon. David B. Montgomery, a grandson of the above John F. Montgomery, and who, I mean David B. M. has for many years resided about a hundred and fifty yards south of the spot. Spring House Buildings—A Grand relic. This building is 26x23 feet outside measurement and is two stories (and an Attic of 4 feet) high, being 22 feet high from the ground up to its square on the west side and on a part of its northern end, it is now used as, and forms in its lower story a splendid spring

house for keeping milk, cream, butter, meats and the like in a very nice and cool condition and it afforded me a good deal of pleasure to have a drink from its clear, cool and refreshing waters.

"The walls of the fort are two feet thick and are composed of rather small dull colored limestone, as no quarries were open at that early day to get stones of a large size and of a clear strong blue color. But its walls are still solid and in a very good condition, considering their age and the hasty manner in which Capt. Rice's German soldiers made them. The door to the spring was and still is in the south end of the building and it had when built in 1779 a wooden stairway that extended from the ground on its eastern side up to the second story, where there was another door for the purpose of storing away there for safe keeping such things as Capt. Rice and his men needed for their use and comfort. But this stairway is gone long ago and the doorway on the second story was also changed long ago into a window, but on the east side it had and still has two windows with twelve panes of glass in each window and all the windows were of the old-fashioned sort, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, but one or two of these smaller sized windows have been walled shut with bricks. The northern end of the second story (third story or attic) still has two small port holes made there, no doubt, to enable soldiers standing there to stick their guns through the holes and fire at any Indians that might come there with an evil design, but it is probable that every other side of the building had smaller port holes for this same purpose, but they are all gone now excepting the two just noticed. Mr. Henry Raup, who lives in a fine two-story brick house on the east side of the spring house, called my attention to the fact that a smooth-faced stone in the central part of the southern end wall and about eighty feet above the ground, contained on its face the letters W. R. that were so thinly cut into the stone as to make them after so long a time now have but a faint appearance. As W. and R. are the initials of Capt. William Rice, I now found the evidence strong enough to satisfy me that Fort Rice, Montgomery, you can call it now by either of those names just as you please, actually stood here and nowhere else, on the west side of the road



SCENE OF THE SUGARLOAF MASSACRE, 1780.





SITE OF FORT FREELAND, SHOWING SPRING AND OLD KITCHEN.

that runs in front of Raup's house up north to and beyond Turbotville. Some time after John F. Montgomery had returned from his runaway from the Indians, he built a stone addition to the northern end of the above described spring house (fort) building, an addition large enough to make a fine eating room for his family and work hands, and then to make things handy for the women he cut a hole through the wall of the fort and put a door there to go into the spring house for milk, butter, &c. This additional room was torn away long ago and the above doorway was walled up again but a portion of the plastering of this room still sticks to the northern wall of the old fort. Capt. Rice's old building aforesaid thus forms a grand and very interesting relic of our olden time building that every man in the county should be proud of and feel a great pleasure in visiting." I visited the place in 1894 with James I. Higbee, of Watsontown, and Mr. Yarrington, of the same place and secured a picture of probably the best preserved fort of its date in the State. I found it two stories and an attic of four feet or more at the square of the building, could recognize the old port holes in the walls of the second story. The old-fashioned chimney was in the northern end, the spring covered about half the space inside the walls of the lower story. We hung "Old Glory" out of one of the old port holes, I suppose the first time since the close of the Revolution. Capt. Rice's name was Frederick William Rice.

FORT FREELAND.

The sad history of this death trap is well and widely known, on Warrior run, about four miles east of Watsontown and one mile east of well-known Warrior Run church; it was stockaded in the fall of 1778 by Jacob Freeland and his neighbors, enclosing a large two-story log house of Jacob Freeland, as many of the descendants of the early settlers still live in this region and the bloody ending of the place has kept it well in remembrance. Jacob Freeland here built a mill in 1773 and 1774, having brought the iron from New Jer-

sey. Mr. Enoch Everitt, of Watsontown, now owns the fine farms on which it was located. A depression on the yard to the large brick farm house marks the cellar to the site of the old Freeland house. A fine spring of water near the house is still used by the farm house of to-day. In Vol. xii, Penna. Archives, p. 364, is found the recollections of Mary V. Derickson, born in the Fort Freeland, written in 1855, seventy-five years after the occurrence, but is remarkably clear. John Blair Linn, in his Annals of Buffalo Valley, and John F. Meginness, in his "Otzinachson," gives us full particulars, drawn largely from the Archives.

Mary V. Derickson writes: "Sir: In compliance with your request, I will give (so far as my memory will serve) all the account of the early settlers and occupants of Fort Freeland. The fort was situated on the Warrior run creek, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles above where it empties into the Susquehanna river. In the year 1772, Jacob Freeland, Samuel Gould, Peter Vincent, John Vincent and his son, Cornelius Vincent, and Timothy Williams, with their respective families cut their way through and settled within some two miles of where the fort was afterwards built. They were from Essex county, New Jersey. Jacob Freeland brought the irons for a grist mill, and in the years 1773 and 1774 built one on Warrior Run. There were several more families moved up from the same place, and they lived on friendly terms with the Indians until '77, when they began to be troublesome and to remove their own families, in the summer of '78, they had to leave the country, and when they returned in the fall they picketed (stockaded) around a large two-story log house (which had been built by Jacob Freeland for his family), enclosing half an acre of ground; the timbers were set close and were about twelve feet high; the gate was fastened by bars inside. Into this fort, or house the families of Jacob Freeland, Sen., and Jacob Freeland, Jr., John Little, Michael Freeland, John Vincent, Peter Vincent, George Pack, Cornelius Vincent, Moses Kirk, James Durham, Samuel Gould, Isaac Vincent and David Vincent, all gathered and lived there that winter. In November George Pack, son of George Pack, was born, and on the 20th May, George, son of Isaac Vincent, was born, on the 10th of February, 1779, I

was born. My father was Cornelius Vincent. In the spring of '79, the men planted corn but were occasionally surprised with the Indians, but nothing serious occurred until the 21st day of July, as some of them were at work in the corn field back of the fort, they were attacked by a party of Indians, about nine o'clock, A. M. and Isaac Vincent, Elias Freeland and Jacob Freeland, Jr., were killed and Benjamin Vincent and Michael Freeland were taken prisoners. Daniel Vincent was chased by them but he outran them and escaped by leaping a high log fence. When the Indians surprised them, Ben. Vincent (then ten years of age) hid in a furrow, but he thought he would be more secure by climbing a tree, as there was a woods near, but they saw him and took him a prisoner. He was ignorant of the fate of the others until about two o'clock P. M., when an Indian thrust a bloody scalp in his face and he knew it was his (and my) brother's Isaac's scalp. Nothing again occurred until the morning of the 29th about daybreak, as Jacob Freeland, Sen., was agoing out the gate he was shot and fell inside of the gate. The fort was surrounded by about three hundred British and Indians, commanded by Capt. McDonald. There were but 21 men in the fort and but little ammunition. Mary Kirk and Phoebe Vincent, commenced immediately and run all their spoons and plates into bullets; about nine o'clock there was a flag of truce raised, and John Little and John Vincent went out to capitulate, but could not agree. They had half an hour given to consult with those inside; at length they agreed that all who were able to bear arms should go as prisoners, and the old men and women and children set free, and the fort given up to plunder. They all left the fort by 12 o'clock P. M. Not one of them having eaten a bite that day and not a child was heard cry or ask for bread that day. They reached Northumberland, eighteen miles distant, that night and there drew their rations, the first they had that day. When Mrs. Kirk heard the terms on which they were set free she put female clothes on her son William, a lad of 16, and he escaped with the women. Mrs. Elizabeth Vincent was a cripple; she could not walk. Her husband John Vincent, went to Capt. McDonald and told him of her situation, and said if he had a horse that the Indians had taken

from his son Peter the week before that she could ride about daylight next morning. The horse came to them; he had carried his wife to the lower end of the meadow, where they lay and saw the fort burned, and it rained so hard that night that she lay mid side in the water; when the horse came he stripped the bark off a hickory tree and plainted a halter, set his wife on and led it to Northumberland, where there were wagons pressed to take them on down country.

After the surrender of the forts Capts. Boone and Daugherty arrived with thirty men; supposing the fort still holding out they made a dash across Warrior run, when they were surrounded. Capt. Hawkins Boone and Capt. Samuel Daugherty, with nearly half the force were killed; the remainder broke through their enemies and escaped. Thirteen scalps of this party were brought into the fort in a handkerchief. Soon after this the fort was set fire to and burned down. The killed of the garrison and Boone's party, from best information, to be arrived at amounted to about twenty men, but two such men as Boone and Daugherty in such times were of more value to such a community than many common men.

Thus ended Fort Freeland. Robert Covenhoven, the famous scout and Indian killer of the West Branch, had passed down ahead of this party of Tories and savages, giving notice of their approach, but it is said Fort Freeland did not get notice. Ammunition was hard to get, almost impossible sometimes to procure, which may account for Fort Freeland being so short that the women had to run up their spoon and "pewter" plates, but one would suppose, if there was any head to the garrison after the attack of a few days before, when their loss was three killed and two captured, he would have caused them to be better prepared for another attack.

Each succeeding generation on the Warrior run since the fall of Fort Freeland has pursued up the site of the place that no doubts exist in regard to it.

The effect of the fall of Fort Freeland was disastrous to this region, accompanied as it was with the death of Boone, Daugherty and their brave comrades, and the desertion of Boone's Mills as a post of defence. It entirely uncovered Fort Augusta to the inroads of the enemy, Bosley's Mills alone, with

its small garrison standing on the defensive on one flank liable to be overthrown when any considerable force of the enemy appeared before it. Colonel Hunter, holding his base with a force so feeble as to warrant a less courageous commander in calling in every man and gun for the protection of Augusta, as comparatively few persons remained to protect in his front, but holding what he had left. In November the German Battalion was sent him, counting about one hundred and twenty men, with which he secured his base, built Fort Rice and garrisoned it, and built Fort Swartz and also garrisoned it, as well as Fort Jenkins with thirty men,—with ten to fifteen militia at Bosley's Mills, and a few of the inhabitants to hold Wheeler, eighty to ninety men in all, besides his garrison of Augusta. At this date his left flank had been contracted from now Lock Haven to Milton, with his right weak but intact. Affairs did not improve much in this department to the close of the war in 1780. The right flanking fort was destroyed by the troops being withdrawn in an emergency, and some time elapsed before the flank was again protected by Fort McClue, at now Bloomsburg.

BOONE'S MILLS.

Boone's Fort was erected on Muddy run, a short distance from the West Branch of the Susquehanna, on the east bank. It was a grist mill stockaded and owned by Capt. Hawkins Boone (a cousin to the famous Daniel Boone), and, according to Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley, came originally from Exeter, Berks county. Soon after the consolidation of the 12th regiment, Pennsylvania Line, into the 3d and 6th, Capt. Boone, Capt. Brady and Capt. Daugherty were mustered out of service and sent, at the urgent request of the people of the West Branch to lead their defence. Boone stockaded his mill and was assisted by his neighbors and troops in defending it. A large, hardy, brave, generous man, he appears to have been highly respected by those knowing him. His fall at Fort Free-lan, in 1779, was a serious loss to the community, who looked to good results from his ability and experience; a confidence

that was abruptly terminated by his bloody, but soldierly death, attempting to rescue his fellow man.

Probably his loss was more of a public calamity than any man in the valley except his comrade in arms, Capt. John Brady.

In rebuilding the Kemmerer (Boone) mill, the men employed dug down to the old foundations of the Boone mills, showing the present mills occupying the same site. It is about midway between Milton and Watsontown. The Pennsylvania Archives, Linn's Annals and Meginness' Otzinachson all show his ability and courage and the loss to the community by his death, as well as his assistant, Capt. Daugherty. After Boone's death his fortifications are not heard of.*

FORT SWARTZ.

Fort Swartz was built on the east bank of the West Branch, at the old Ferry, about a mile above Milton, a log structure, named in honor of Lieut. Christian Godfried Swartz, of Col. Weltner's German Battalion, who stockaded and defended it. It was built after the destruction of the forts above it on the river. It covered the river and its small garrison did some scouting duty. It was one of the three forts left standing from the North Branch to the West in the spring of 1780, viz: Wheeler, Rice and Swartz. It does not appear to have ever been attacked but was a sturdy little sentinel to challenge and give notice of anything passing down the river towards Northumberland and Sunbury. After the German Battalion left, it was garrisoned by the militia, when defended by any other than citizens. (In the History of the Forts, Penna. Archives, vol. xii, Appendix, p. 461, is "All we find about this fort is in a letter from Genl. Potter, dated Sunbury, September 18, 1780, in which he says I discharged the Volunteers that came from Cumberland and as soon as we could get provisions, which

*The Indians taking part in this massacre were led by Hiokatoo, the Seneca Chief who was married to Mary Jemison, the Scotch-Irish girl who was captured by the Indians on Marsh Creek, Adams County, Pa., in 1758. She was taken first to Fort Duquesne, and then down the Ohio River, where she was married to an Indian named Shenanjee. This husband died, and with her little baby she went to the Genesee Valley, where she later married Hiokatoo, by whom she had a number of children. She is now buried in the beautiful Letchworth Park, New York, near the present town of Portage. A beautiful monument surmounted by a bronze statue of herself, now marks her grave. Consult, Seaver's "Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison," Seventh edition, 1910. (The eighth edition is now being prepared).

was the next morning, I marched the remainder, consisting of 170 men, upon the West branch to Fort Swarts. I then went to Col. Kelly, who lay at the mouth of White Deer creek with 80 men." On the 21st of September he again writes: "I gave orders to the frontier companys to embody and keep one-fourth of the men constantly reconnoitering, after garrisoning Fort Jenkins, Fort Rice and Fort Swarts, with 20 men in each of them." Day says Fort Swartz was one mile above Milton. Meginness says at the ferry, about one mile above Milton, a log structure garrisoned by and named for Major Christian Godfried Swartz, of Col. Weltner's regiment.

FORT BRADY.

Fort Brady was the dwelling house of Capt. John Brady, at Muncy, stockaded by digging a trench about four feet deep and setting logs side by side, filling in with earth and ramming down solid to hold the palisade in place. They were usually twelve feet high from the ground, with smaller timbers running transversely at the top, to which they were pinned, making a solid wall. Capt. Brady's house was a large one for the time; he had been a captain in the Scotch-Irish and German forces west of the Alleghenies under Col. Henry Bouquet in his expedition, which Dr. Egle tells us composed the Bouquet expeditions, and had received a grant of land with the other officers in payment for his services. He was a captain in the 12th Pennsylvania regiment in the Revolution and was wounded at the battle of the Brandywine. His son, John, a lad of fifteen, stood in the ranks with a rifle and was also wounded. Sam, his eldest son, was in another division and assisted to make the record of Parr's and Morgan's riflemen world famous. The West Branch, in its great zeal for the cause of the colonist, had almost denuded itself of fighting men for the Continental army. Consequently, on the breaking out of Indian hostilities a cry for help went up from these sparsely settled frontiers. Genl. Washington recognized the necessity without the ability to relieve them. He, however, did all in

his power by mustering out such officers as would be likely to organize such defence and restore confidence to these justly alarmed communities, distributing the men among other regiments. Capt. John Brady was one of these officers; he was mustered out soon after the battle of Brandywine, came home and in the fall of 1777 stockaded Fort Brady. He was active, energetic, honest, devoid of fear and kind. A man of prominence and a natural leader of men. Fort Brady at once became a place of refuge to the families within reach in times of peril and continued so until after the death of the valiant captain and the driving off of the inhabitants. Capt. Brady was killed by the Indians at Wolf run, above Muncy, April 11, 1779. Meginness, in his History of the West Branch, says: "One of the saddest incidents of these troublesome times was the assassination of Capt. John Brady by a concealed foe on the 11th of April, 1779. He was living with his family at his fort, as it was termed, at Muncy, and was taking an active part against the Indians. On this fatal day he made a trip up the river to Wallis' for the purpose of procuring supplies. He took a wagon and guard with him, and, after securing a quantity of provisions started to return in the afternoon. He was riding a fine mare and was some distance in the rear of the wagon. Peter Smith, the same unfortunate man who lost his family in the bloody massacre of the 10th of June, and on whose farm young James Brady was mortally wounded and scalped by the Indians on the 8th of August, was walking by his side. When within a short distance of his home, Brady suggested to Smith the propriety of his taking a different route from the one the wagon had gone, as it was shorter. They traveled together until they came to a small stream of water (Wolf run), where the other road came in. Brady observed: This would be a good place for Indians to hide; Smith replied in the affirmative, when three rifles cracked and Brady fell from his horse dead. As his frightened mare was about to run past Smith he caught her by the bridle and, springing on her back, was carried to Brady's Fort in a few minutes. The report of the rifles were plainly heard at the fort and caused great alarm. Several persons rushed out, Mrs. Brady among them, and, seeing Smith coming at full speed, anxiously enquired

where Capt. Brady was. It is related that Smith, in a high state of excitement, replied: "In Heaven or hell, or on his way to Tioga," meaning he was either killed or a prisoner by the Indians. The Indians in their haste did not scalp him, nor plunder him of his gold watch, some money and his commission, which he carried in a green bag suspended from his neck. His body was brought to the fort and soon after interred in the Muncy burying ground, some four miles from the fort (now Hall's station, P. & E. R. R.) over Muncy creek." His grave is suitably marked at Hall's, while a cenotaph in the present Muncy cemetery of thirty feet high, raised by J. M. M. Gernernd by dollar subscription, attests the lively interest still felt by the community in one who devoted himself to the protection of the valley when brave active men and good counselors were needed. Of his sons, Capt. Samuel Brady, a sharpshooter of Parr's and Morgan's rifles, fought on almost every battlefield of the Revolution, from Boston and Saratoga to Germantown, can speak of his deeds as a scout and Indian fighter Western and Northern Pennsylvania, which West Virginia and Ohio attest. To the Indian he became a terror, and he fully avenged the blood of his sire shed at Wolf run, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, that beautiful day in April, 1779, at the bloody fight of Brady's Bend, on the Allegheny, where, with his own hand, he slew his father's murderer and avenged his brother James, the "Young Captain of the Susquehanna," in a hundred other fights. Of his second son, James, killed by the Indians at the Loyal Sock, whose career bid fair to be as brilliant as his elder brother's, but unfortunately cut off at its commencement. John, who, when but a boy of fifteen, going with his father and oldest brother to the battlefield of the Brandywine to bring back the horses, finding a battle on hand, took a rifle and stepped into the ranks and did manful duty, and was wounded. He is said to have served with Jackson at New Orleans in the War of 1812. William Perry Brady served on the northern borders in the same war, and at Perry's victory at Lake Erie, when volunteers were called, was the first to step out.

Hon. John Blair Linn, at the dedication of the Brady monument in 1879, one hundred years after the death of John Brady, said: "To the valley his loss was well nigh irrepar-

able; death came to its defender, and 'Hell followed' hard after. In May, Buffalo Valley was overrun and the people left, on the 8th of July Smith's mills, at the mouth of the White Deer Creek were burned, and on the 17th Muncy valley was swept with the besom of destruction. Starrett's mills and all the principal houses in Muncy township burned, with Forts Muncy, Brady and Freeland, and Sunbury became the frontier."

And, in speaking of the fall of Capt. Evan Rice Brady at South Mountain, in the war of '62, said: "Four generations of the Bradys fought for this country, yet he was the first to fall in action." The site of Fort Brady adjoins the town of Muncy, on the south side of and near the built up portions of the town on lot owned by Mrs. Hayes. Until late years, a flag staff has stood, marking the site. Mr. J. M. M. Gerner, the well-known antiquarian of Muncy, keeps a good lookout for the site. No questions as to its genuineness.

FORT MUNCY.*

Fort Muncy is located about half a mile above Hall's station, immediately on the P. & E. R. R., and about four miles from Muncy, and was built by Col. Thomas Hartley in 1778, at the urgent solicitation of Samuel Wallis, Esq., who had erected a stone mansion here in 1769. It stood a few hundred yards in front of the famous Hall's house of 1769. It was designed to be the most important stronghold next to Augusta, and was situated midway between that place and the farthest settlement up the river; it was a rising piece of ground at the foot of which was a fine spring of water, a large elm tree now hangs over the spring. A covered way led from the fort to this natural fountain as a protection to those who went there for water. When the extension of the Philadelphia and Reading railroad was built to Williamsport, the elevation on which the fort stood was cut through. The excavation is quite deep and passengers cannot fail to notice it on

*Marked by D. A. R.

account of the view of the Hall residence on the left being suddenly shut off as the train dashes into the cut (in going up). Col. Hartley informs us that the bastions of the fort were built of fascines and clay and the curtains were protected by the stockades in which quarters for the garrison were placed.—(Maginness' *Otzinachson*, pages 484-5).

One would understand from the many accounts that Fort Muncy had been destroyed twice. In the Penna. Archives, (Vol. xii, appendix, p. 418). "The convoy arrived safely at Sunbury, leaving the entire line of farms along the West branch to the ravages of the Indians. They destroyed Fort Muncy, but did not penetrate Sunbury." Shortly after the big runaway Col. Brodhead was ordered up with his force of 100 or 150 men to rebuild Fort Muncy and guard the settlers while gathering their crops. After performing this service he left for Fort Pitt and Colonel Hartley, with a battalion succeeded him in 1778. Col. Ludwig Weltner, December 13th, 1779. I found Fort Muncy and Fort Jenkins, on the East branch, and with the magazine at Sunbury, to have been the only posts that were standing when he was ordered here from Wyoming.

"Col. Hunter, whom I consulted, was of the same opinion, the only difficulty was to fix on some place equally well adapted to cover the Frontier, as Fort Muncy was; Fort Muncy having been evacuated and destroyed." So Fort Muncy appears to have been destroyed the second time, as Lieut. Moses Van Campen, of Capt. Robinson's Rangers says, in the latter part of March, just at the opening of the campaign of 1782, the companies that had been stationed during the winter at Reading were ordered back by Congress to their respective stations; Lieut. Van Campen marched at the head of Capt. Robinson's company to Northumberland, where he was joined by Mr. Thomas Chambers, who had been recently commissioned ensign of the same company. Here he halted for a few days to allow his men rest, after which he was directed to march to a place called Muncy, and there rebuild a fort which had been destroyed by the Indians in the year '79. Having reached his station, he threw up a small blockhouse in which he placed his stores and immediately commenced rebuilding the fort, being joined shortly after by Capt. Robinson in company with several gentle-

men, among whom was a Mr. Culberston, who was anxious to find an escort up the West Branch of the Susquehanna into the neighborhood of Bald Eagle creek. Here his brother had been killed by the Indians, and being informed that some of his party had been buried and had thus escaped the violence of the enemy, he was desirous of making search to obtain it. Arrangements were made for Van Campen to go with him at the head of a small party of men as a guard. Lieut. Van Campen was captured while on this expedition and taken to Canada, where he remained some time, so we get no further information from him in regard to this rebuilding of Fort Muncy for the third time. Fort Muncy, if properly garrisoned, was an important position for the defense of the valley below it; here was a good place from which to support scouting parties, west and north, and from which passes of the Muncy hills to the eastward could be covered by strong scouting parties, but the country lacked men, and means to support them at this critical time. Near the site of Fort Muncy is the Indian Mound described by Mr. Gerner in his "Now and Then," and near the Hall's station is the grave of Capt. John Brady, with his faithful old soldier comrade, John Lebo, buried by his side. The spring still defines the location of the fort.

FORT MENNINGER.

Fort Menninger was erected at White Deer Mills, or at the time of building the Widow Smith's mills; it was built about eighty rods from the river, on the north bank of White Deer creek, covering the Widow Smith's mills, to which a gun barrel boring establishment was added in 1776, and is said to have turned out a good many of that much needed article. The fort was situated west of the mills forming the apex of an irregular triangle of which the mills formed one base and the small stone house, said to have been erected by the Widow Smith before the Revolution, which is not doubted, the other; its walls are two feet thick, and the building is in good condition, having a more modern addition to it at present. The fort and

mills were abandoned at the time of the Big Runaway in 1779, and the fort burned by the Indians July 8, 1779. In John B. Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley, pp. 239 and 240, we find: "In a petition to the Assembly of this year, 1785, by Catharine Smith, sets forth that she was left a widow with ten children with no estate to support this family except a location for three hundred acres of land, including the mouth of White Deer creek, whereon is a good mill seat, and a grist mill and saw mill being much wanted in this new country at that time, she was often solicited to erect said mills, which were of great advantage to the country, and the following summer built a boring mill, where a great number of gun barrels were bored for the continent, and a hemp mill. The Indian war soon after coming on, one of her sons, her greatest help, went into the army and, it is believed, was killed, as he never returned. The said mills soon became a frontier and, in July, 1779, the Indians burned the whole works. She returned to the ruins in 1783, and was again solicited to rebuild the grist and saw mills, which she has, with much difficulty, accomplished, and now ejectments are brought against her by Messrs. Claypool and Morris, and she, being now reduced to such low circumstances as renders her unable to support actions at law, and, therefore, prays relief, &c. The Legislature, of course, could grant no relief under the circumstances and the petition was dismissed." She is said to have gone to Philadelphia and back thirteen times on this business. Her house was where Doctor Ranonsky now (1874) lives, on the Henry High place, part of the old stone house being used as a kitchen. Rolly McCorley, who recollects the mill last built by her, said it was a small round log mill." A part of the foundation of this mill serves the same purpose in the fine modern mill of to-day owned by Captain David Bly, of Williamsport, who was born here and pointed out where, when a boy, he saw the remains of Fort Menninger removed from. Fort Menninger was built in the spring of 1778. Troops were stationed here a part of the time after its destruction. In November, 1779, fourteen men were stationed here, and most probably occupied the Widow Smith's stone house.

Gen. James Potter (in Penna. Archives, Vol. viii, p. 562),

under date of Sept. 18, 1780, says: "I marched the remainder, consisting of 170 men up the West Branch to Fort Swarts. I then went to Col. Kelly, who lay at the mouth of White Deer creek, with 80 men."

FORT ANTES.*

Fort Antes was erected by Lieut. Col. Henry Antes in 1778, about opposite Jersey Shore on the east side of Nippenose creek, and on the higher plateau overlooking it, and also the river. It was defended by Col. Antes, its builder, until ordered to vacate it by Col. Samuel Hunter, at the time the military authorities considered it unsafe to attempt to defend these forts.

Col. Hunter sent word to Col. Hepburn, then commanding at Fort Muncy to order all above him on the river to abandon the country and retire below. Meginness' Otzinachson says, "Col. Hepburn had some difficulty in getting a messenger to carry the order up to Col. Antes, so panic stricken were the people on account of the ravages of the Indians. At length, Robert Covenhoven and a young millwright in the employ of Andrew Culbertson, volunteered their services and started on the dangerous mission. They crossed the river and ascended Bald Eagle mountain and kept along the summit till they came to the gap opposite Antes' Fort. They then cautiously descended at the head of Nippenose Bottom and proceeded to the fort. It was in the evening and as they neared the fort the report of a rifle rang out upon their ears. A girl had gone outside to milk a cow, and an Indian lying in ambush fired upon her. The ball, fortunately, passed through her clothes and she escaped unhurt. The orders were passed on up to Horn's Fort and preparations made for the flight."

Fort Antes was a refuge for the Indian land or Fair Play men, as well as for those on the south side of the river. Col. Antes was a man of prominence in Northumberland county, in civil as well as military life. He was a justice of the peace and twice sheriff of Northumberland county. He was buried in a small grave yard near the fort he defended ably and

*Marked by D. A. R.

abandoned with great reluctance at the command of his superior officer. Near Fort Antes we were shown the scalping knife, old flint lock pistol and pocket compass of the famous scout, guide and Indian fighter of the West Branch, Robert Covenhoven. The knife has nine notches filed in the back, to represent the number of Indians it has scalped.

Meginness says, "The most important defensive work, after leaving Fort Muncy and traveling westward by the river about twenty-five miles was what was known among the early settlers at Antes' Fort, because it was built by Col. John Henry Antes. It was located on a high bluff overlooking the river and Indian land to the west, at the head of Long Island, in what is now Nippenose township, Lycoming county. Although every trace of the fort has long since disappeared, and the ground on which it stood is plowed and cultivated annually, its name is perpetuated by the little village and station on the Philadelphia and Erie railroad, about a mile eastward, called Antes Fort."

The builder of this stockade, which played an important part during the Indian troubles preceding the Big Runaway, was one of the earliest pioneers to effect a permanent settlement here. It is believed that he was induced to locate lands and settle here by Conrad Weiser, and that he came as early as 1772. He picked out a mill site near the mouth of the creek which still bears his name, erected a primitive dwelling place and settled. At that time the surroundings must have been exceedingly wild. The creek, which is the outlet for the waters of Nippenose Valley, flows through a canon in the Bald Eagle mountain which, at this day, possesses much of its native wilderness. Behind him rose the mountain, covered from base to summit with its dark evergreen foliage of pine and hemlock, whilst a swamp, with almost impenetrable thickets of briars, tangled vines and underbrush, came up to within a few yards of where he built his cabin.

Perhaps as early as 1773 he commenced the erection of a grist mill. It was the most advanced improvement of its kind up the river, and proved a great boon to the settlers for miles beyond. To show the straightened circumstances of the inhabitants it may be mentioned that while the work of building

the mill was going on coarse flour was made by grinding wheat and corn in a large iron coffee mill, and the bran was removed by a hair sieve. Tradition says that one person was kept turning the mill all the time to keep a supply of flour for the sustenance of the workmen.

It cannot be positively stated when the stockade was built, but it must have been in the summer of 1777, when the Indians became demonstrative and troublesome on the frontier. The site selected for the fort was on the hill overlooking the mill, which was within rifle shot. It was constructed according to the usual plan, by sinking vertically heavy timbers in a trench dug four or five feet deep, when the earth was filled in around them.

These stockades were from ten to twelve feet high, and notched at the top for musketry. No record has been left to show the extent of the enclosure, but it must have covered fully a quarter of an acre, as a militia company was stationed there for several months. Whether the fort was ever supplied with small cannon or not is unknown, but a tradition has existed that it was, because a cannon ball was once found near the river bank, under the hill. It might have been carried there by some collector of Revolutionary relics. But as Fort Muncey had one or two, it is not improbable that one of these was dragged up to Antes' Fort to menace the savages when they appeared on the opposite side of the river.

Being active, vigilant and well informed for his time, John Henry Antes was appointed a justice of the peace for this part of Northumberland county on the 29th of July, 1775, by the court then held at Fort Augusta. He filled the office until the breaking out of Indian hostilities. On the 24th of January, 1776, he was appointed captain of a company of fifty-eight militiamen in the Second battalion under Col. James Potter, for the defence of the frontier, and he commanded a company in Col. William Plunket's regiment when he made his ill-timed raid on the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming.

After returning from the "raid" up the North Branch, he was commissioned a captain of foot in the Second battalion of Associators, April 19, 1776. In a little more than a year he was commissioned lieutenant colonel (May, 1777) of the Fourth

battalion of the militia of Northumberland county, by the Supreme Executive Council, sitting at Philadelphia. His commission was beautifully written on parchment and signed by Thomas Wharton, Jr., president, and Timothy Matlack, secretary. It is still preserved by his descendants as a precious relic. On the 30th of July, 1777, he took the oath of allegiance and straightway entered on a more active career in the defence of the frontier against the savages, who were daily growing more bold and aggressive. It was about this time that he had a garrison at Antes' Fort and kept a vigilant outlook for the foe, who could come within sight of the fortification on their own land. Scouting parties were frequently sent out for the purpose of keeping communication open with Fort Muncy, and to watch the great Indian path running up Lycoming creek, down which scalping parties frequently came to ravage the settlements.

The winter of 1777-78 was rendered distressing by the frequent inroads of the savages, and it was necessary to observe the greatest vigilance to guard against surprise. On the 23d of December a man was tomahawked and scalped near the mouth of Pine creek, almost within sight of the fort; and on the 1st of January another met the same fate further up the river. This month Colonel Antes visited Fort Augusta to consult with Colonel Hunter as to what had best be done. The result of the conference was that three classes of Col. Cookson Long's battalion were ordered to report to Colonel Antes. The men composing these commands mostly lived on the West Branch and were good riflemen. The inhabitants, in view of the increasing danger, did not deem it prudent to allow any more militia to leave the country to join Washington's army, and so informed Colonel Hunter.

The scarcity of arms and ammunition was another drawback to a vigorous defence. Colonel Hunter was constantly clamoring for arms, but the authorities were so hard pressed that they could not meet his demands. The British were making a supreme effort both in the front and rear of Washington. Indians and Tories were directed to descend on the frontiers of Northumberland county, from Fort Niagara to destroy the settlements and show no mercy to men, women and children.

Colonel Antes had command of the frontier forces, with headquarters at his stockade, and ranging parties were kept constantly in the field. Colonel Hunter stated that Colonel Antes was the only field officer he was allowed, and he found it almost impossible to defend the extensive frontier with the small force at his command.

A body of Indians numbering eleven were discovered skulking in the woods above the Great Island, and as it was evident that they were bent on mischief, they were promptly pursued by a portion of Colonel Antes' command. As a light snow had fallen they were easily tracked and soon overtaken. A slight skirmish ensued, when two Indians were killed. This caused the remaining nine to quickly take to the woods and escape. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of the scouting parties, small bands of Indians would suddenly appear in unlooked for places and do much damage.

The inhabitants complained that if no militia were stationed above Fort Muncey they would be forced to abandon their homes. This made it more responsible for Colonel Antes, and he was kept on the alert night and day. His stockade fort was the centre of military operations for months, and its value as a defensive point cannot be overestimated in those perilous times.

In June, 1777, an exciting and tragic affair occurred within sight of Fort Antes, which shows the constant danger to which the occupants were subjected. It was on a Sunday morning, when four men, Zephaniah Miller, Abel Cady, James Armstrong and Isaac Bouster, accompanied by two women, left the fort and crossed the river in canoes to the Indian land for the purpose of milking several cows which were pasturing there. The four men went along as a guard. One of the cows wore a bell but they found that she was further back from the shore than the others. Cady, Armstrong and Miller thoughtlessly started to drive her in to be milked. It never occurred to them that Indians might be lurking in the bushes and that the cow might be kept back as a decoy. Soon after entering the bushes they were fired upon by the concealed foe, and Miller and Cady fell, severely wounded. With the agility of cats they were pounced upon by the Indians, and scalped,

when they as quickly disappeared in the thickets. Armstrong was wounded in the back of the head, but succeeded in getting away. When the shots were fired, Bouster and the women, who were in the rear, ran to the river bank and concealed themselves.

The sudden firing alarmed the garrison at the fort, but a number of militiamen, friends of the party attacked, seized their guns and hurried across the river. Colonel Antes stoutly remonstrated against their going, fearing that it might be a decoy to draw the force away, when the fort would be assailed from the rear, but the men were so anxious to get a shot at the skulking savages that they could not be restrained, although aware that it was a breach of military discipline.

When the rescuing party reached the shore they soon found Cady and Miller where they fell, scalped, weltering in their blood, and presenting a horrible spectacle. Cady was still breathing, but unable to speak. He was picked up and carried to the river bank, where his wife, who was one of the milking party, met him. He reached out his hand to her as a sign of recognition and almost immediately expired. Armstrong was taken to the fort, where he lingered in great agony till Monday night following, when he died.

The loss of these three men, through the wily methods of the savages, caused a feeling of sadness among those collected in the fort, and showed them very plainly that their safety depended on vigilance. The pursuing party moved swiftly and soon came in sight of the Indians who, on seeing that they were discovered, turned and fired, but did no execution. They then dashed into a swamp which then existed under what is now the hill on which the Jersey Shore cemetery is situated. Deeming it unsafe to enter the tangled thickets of the swamp, the pursuing party returned. They fired several times at the retreating foe and thought they did some execution, as marks of blood were seen on their trail as if they had dragged away their killed or wounded.

One of the strange characters who was a frequent visitor to Antes Fort in those gloomy days was "Job Challoway," a friendly Indian of the Delaware tribe. He had been converted by the Moravians and remained steadfast in the faith. Hav-

ing associated much with the whites he became very friendly, and by many good acts won their confidence and respect. He was much employed as a scout by the military authorities and his fidelity was frequently proven by dangerous missions to gain information of the movement of the savages. He had a wide acquaintance among the Indians, as well as a thorough knowledge of the country, its mountains, streams and paths, and, therefore, was enabled to acquire information that proved of great value to the whites. At times he was suspected by the Indians of giving information, but through his artlessness and keenness of perception, he always managed to disabuse their minds of suspicion and escaped when others would have failed. In a word, he was a first class Indian detective, whose sense of gratitude never allowed him to prove recreant to his trust, and those who had befriended him, which was something remarkable in the nature and character of an aborigine. Through life he proved himself a "good Indian," and when he died near Fort Erie, Canada, September 22, 1792, he received Christian burial at the hands of his Moravian friends. He had learned to speak English well and understood several Indian dialects. He was the first to apprise the whites that the Indians were preparing to descend on the valley in force, and warned them to be prepared to resist the invaders.

Some interesting anecdotes illustrative of the character of this remarkable Indian, have been preserved, one of which may be related in this connection. One day, when the times were perilous, he was visiting at Antes Fort. As he was moving about outside the stockade, and ever on the alert for danger, he discovered a sentinel leaning against a tree asleep. Slipping up behind the tree he quickly threw his arms around it, and, grasping the sentinel, held him so that he could not see who had hold of him. The sentinel was badly frightened at his predicament and struggled to release himself, but in vain. At last he discovered that it was Job who had him pinioned, when he begged him not to tell Colonel Antes, who might punish him severely for such a grave offense. Job promised not to report him, but reminded him that if it had been an enemy that seized him, he might have been killed. "Yes," replied the sentinel, "I might have been caught by an Indian and killed

before I knew who my assailant was." "It was an Indian that caught you," replied Job, with a grin, "but he was your friend."

This affair so much amused Job that he would burst into a fit of laughter whenever he thought of it. His frequent outbursts of merriment finally attracted the attention of Colonel Antes, and he asked what was the cause of it, but he refused to tell for a long time. At last he informed the Colonel that something serious had happened to one of his men, but he had pledged his word not to tell on him. But Job intimated to the Colonel that he might detect the guilty man by his countenance when the company was on parade. The Colonel scrutinized the countenance of his men sharply when they were paraded, which caused the guilty man to confess what occurred to him. The circumstance and the manner of its revealment through the suggestion of the Indian, so amused him that he did not punish the man, but admonished him not to be caught that way again.

In the early summer of 1778 another affair of an entirely different character occurred at the fort, which shows the prowling nature of the savages and how close they would venture to get a shot at a white person and possibly secure a scalp.

When Colonel Hunter sent word to the commanding officer at Fort Muney that it would be necessary for the inhabitants living above the Muney hills to abandon their homes and rendezvous at Fort Augusta, if they valued their lives, and despatched messengers with the warning to Antes Fort and Horn's Fort, some trouble was experienced in finding messengers who were willing to take the risk of traveling twenty-five miles up the valley, which was then infested by savages. Finally, Robert Covenhoven, the daring scout, and a young man employed at Culbertson's mill, volunteered to undertake the dangerous mission. The name of the young man, unfortunately for the benefit of history, has not been preserved, but the probabilities are that he did not go, because Covenhoven preferred, when on a dangerous mission, to go alone. We are led to this conclusion by the statement that Covenhoven started at once and stayed that night with a man named Andrew Armstrong, who had settled at a big spring a short distance east of

the present village of Linden. This was about sixteen miles west of Fort Muncey and, therefore, a good stage for the first part of the journey. It is of record that he warned Armstrong of the impending danger and advised him to leave. He refused, and, in a few days afterwards, was taken prisoner, carried into captivity and never heard of again.

The next day Covenhoven did not take the risk of traveling up the valley to Antes Fort, but, crossing the river, ascended Bald Eagle mountain, and traveled along the level plateau on the summit. He knew that the Indians were not likely to be found there, as they preferred lying in ambush along the path in the valley to surprise incautious travelers. Then, again, he could look down into the valley and discover signs of Indians, if any were about. The only point of danger was in descending to cross one or two canons which intervened before debouching near the fort. He made the journey successfully, and, in the evening as he was cautiously creeping through the bushes and when within a few hundred yards of the fort, he was startled by the sharp report of a rifle.

His first impression was that he had been discovered and fired upon by an Indian concealed in the bushes, but finding himself uninjured he made a dash for the fort, which he reached in safety and delivered the message of Colonel Hunter to Colonel Antes to evacuate the place within a week.

Investigation showed that the shot had been fired by an Indian at a young woman who had gone outside the fort to milk a cow. The Indian had stealthily crawled up until he got in range and fired. The young woman was badly frightened, as she had made a narrow escape. The bullet passed through the folds of her dress without touching her person. Milking cows in those days outside of a fort was a dangerous experiment, and several narrow escapes are recorded.

As soon as the shot was fired a body of armed men rushed out of the fort and scoured the surrounding neighborhood for some distance, but the venturesome redskin could not be found. He had probably taken refuge in the swamp, about a quarter of a mile southwest of the fort—a favorite hiding place with the Indians.

It does not appear that Covenhoven continued to Horn's fort

—another messenger evidently having conveyed the news there —as we are informed that he immediately returned to Fort Muncy. The brief record of the times does not tell us how he returned, but as an Indian lurked in nearly every thicket, we are left to infer that he made his way back by the mountain route, as it was the safest. In a few days afterwards we hear of him removing his wife to Fort Augusta for safety, and then returning to assist the panic stricken inhabitants in their flight down the river in what was known as the Big Runaway.

In less than a month after the flight armed bodies of men were hurried up the valley from Fort Augusta and posted at Fort Muncy, whence scouting parties were sent out to see what damage had been done. They found the cabins and barns of the settlers burned and their crops greatly damaged. In about a month many settlers were induced to return and gather what they could of their crops under the protection of armed men.

An advance scouting party hurried up the river as far as Antes Fort. They found the mill and outbuildings burned and the embers yet smoking, showing that the savages had just been there before them. The air was tainted with the aroma of roasting wheat, and everything destructible attested the work of vandals. Antes Fort, however, was still tenable; the savages were unable to burn the stout oaken timbers which formed the stockade, and they were not disposed to undertake the hard labor of cutting them down or pulling them out of the earth, where they had been so firmly implanted. Everything else that could be destroyed was rendered useless.

Colonel Antes and family fled with the rest of the fugitives in obedience to the orders of Colonel Hunter, but he was among the first to return to look after his property. It does not appear that any militia were stationed at the fort again for any length of time, although it is probable that it was made a rallying point until all danger was over. On the restoration of peace it was allowed to fall into decay, and it soon became a ruin, which for many years was pointed out by the old settlers

as a spot of great historic interest, on account of its association with the thrilling days of the Revolutionary period.

Colonel Antes, soon after the return of peace rebuilt his mill and for years it was the only one in that section of the valley to supply the settlers with flour, who came with their grists as far away as thirty or forty miles, and in some instances further. A mill still stands on the site to-day, although it is the third since the first.

This remarkable man, who played such a conspicuous part in the early history of the valley in both a military and civil capacity, was born October 8, 1736, near Pottstown, Montgomery county. His ancestors came from Crefeld on the Rhine, and in this country they occupied high positions in the Dutch Reformed church. His parents had eleven children, all of whom were ardent patriots and the males were distinguished for their military services in Revolutionary times.

Cononel Antes was chosen sheriff of Northumberland county in 1782, and commissioned on the 18th of October. He was re-elected in 1783, and served a second term. His first wife—Anna Maria Paulin—died in March, 1767, leaving five children. By his second wife, Sophia Snyder, he had eight children. Colonel Antes had an elder brother, Philip Frederick, who married Barbara Tyson in 1755. Their youngest daughter, Catharine, married Simon Snyder about 1796. He became Governor of Pennsylvania in 1808, and served until 1817—three terms.

The Colonel was an active and busy man. He acquired considerable land on Antes creek and made many improvements. He died May 13, 1820, aged 83 years, 9 months and 5·days, and was buried in the graveyard near his famous fortification. This burial ground was started by those who were killed by the Indians. Here Donaldson (see sketch of Horn's fort), McMichael and Fleming were buried, and here Cady, Miller and Armstrong were laid at rest. Since that time—one hundred and seventeen years ago—scores of old and young have found a place of sepulture in its sacred soil, and burials are still made there.

No stone marks the grave of the old hero and patriot, Col. John Henry Antes, although the spot is pointed out by some

of his descendants where he was laid three-quarters of a century ago. Considering what he did in a military capacity alone, the trials he passed through, the hardships he endured and the foundation he assisted in laying for the higher civilization which followed him, the time has arrived for the erection of a suitable monument to perpetuate his name and fame. Marble, granite, brass and bronze testimonials have been reared over the graves of those who did less for posterity; here lies one who is eminently deserving of an appropriate block of granite, indicative of his rugged character and sublime patriotism. Shall it be done or must his memory be allowed to perish?

FORT HORN.*

Fort Horn was erected on a high flat extending out to the river and commanding a good view of the river up and down, as well as the north side of the river; is about midway between Pine and McElhattan Stations on the P. & E. R. R., west of Fort Antes. It was a place of refuge for those hardy settlers on the Indian lands on the north side of the river, as well as the residents on the Pennsylvania lands on which it was built. The river lands on the north side were outside the purchase of 1768, from the Lycoming creek up the river westward. These settlers were adventurous, hardy, brave. When I say they were mostly Scotch-Irish it will be understood they were also law abiding. As they were outside the limits of the laws of the Province, they had formed a code of their own and administered it impartially. In troublous times now upon these communities they all stood shoulder to shoulder, proving the saying that blood is thicker than water.

A few soldiers are said to have been stationed here and the settlers on both sides of the river joined them in scouting duty, sending word to those below of approaching danger; several light skirmishes took place between the men of the fort and the Indians, in which several lives were lost. On an alarm, the inhabitants of the north side placed their families in

*Monument erected here by Col. H. W. Shoemaker in 1912.

canoes and paddled to Antes, Horn and Reid's forts; when danger passed over their families would return.

Accompanied by John F. Meginnes, the historian, J. H. MacMinn, a great-grandson of Col. Antes, and quite an antiquarian, we visited the sites of these upper West Branch forts. A Mr. Quiggle, of Pine, accompanied us to Fort Horn. The old gentleman pointed out to us the depression where, in his younger days, had stood up the remains of the stockades. The P. & E. R. R. at this point has cut away about one-half the ground enclosed by the fort.

This stockaded fortification was situated on a commanding point of land on the West Branch of the Susquehanna river, in what is now the township of Wayne, Clinton county, one mile west of the post village of Pine. At this point the river describes a great bend, affording a commanding view for about one mile up and down the stream from the elevation or point on which Samuel Horn chose to erect his stockade. Looking across the river to the north, which, at this point flows to the east, a magnificent view of the rich, alluvial valley is afforded; in the rear, not more than one-fourth of a mile away, is the dark and sombre range of the Bald Eagle mountain, varying in altitude from five to seven hundred feet.

At the time Samuel Horn settled here the river was the Indian boundary line, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1768, therefore, he was on the northern boundary of the Province of Pennsylvania. From the point where he built his cabin he could look over the Indian possessions for miles and plainly see the cabins of a dozen or more sturdy Scotch-Irish squatters on the "forbidden land." The tract on which Horn settled was warranted in the name of John L. Webster in 1769. Since that time it has passed through a number of hands, and is now owned by a Mr. Quiggle, whose ancestors were among the early settlers in this part of Wayne township.

Horn, when the Indians became threatening in 1777, with the assistance of his neighbors, enclosed his primitive log dwelling with stockades, and it became a rallying point as well as a haven of safety, in the perilous times which followed. The line of stockades can be pretty clearly traced to this day by the depression in the ground and the vegetation and under-

brush. The enclosure probably embraced a quarter of an acre, thereby affording ample room for a number of families. A small stream of pure mountain water ran along the western side of the enclosure, and it is probable that there was a way constructed so that it could be reached from within with safety from the prowling foe. When the Philadelphia and Erie railroad was built the line cut through the northern end of what has been the stockaded enclosure, and the discolored earth showed very plainly where the timber had decayed.

Horn's Fort and the others of the upper West Branch were recognized by the authorities as defensive positions, and most of them, if not all, furnished with troops, either militia or Continental, when troops could be procured for that purpose; when not garrisoned by militia, these forts on this flank, were held by the inhabitants of the Province of the south side of the river, assisted by their neighbors of the Indian lands of the north side.

Colonel Antes was furnished militia to strengthen Antes Fort whenever Colonel Hunter, the commander of Northumberland county, could procure them. Moses Van Campen tells us Colonel Kelly's regiment of militia garrisoned Fort Reid, at now Lock Haven, a few miles above Horn's, the most of the summer of 1777.

Tradition says that Horn's was a defensive work of no mean importance at that time, and was of great value to the pioneers who had pushed their way up the river in the advance guard, as it were. There was but one defensive work (Reid's) a few miles west, and as it was on the extreme limits of the frontier there a company of county militia was stationed for some time. Its location was admirably chosen. In all that region no more eligible position could have been formed. Standing on its ramparts, the eye swept the river right and left and the Indian lands to the north, for several miles. As the current bore immediately under its lea an Indian canoe could scarcely have glided past in the night without having been detected by a vigilant sentinel.

One of the most remarkable incidents of Revolutionary times—an incident which stands, so far as known, without its counterpart in the history of the struggle of any people for

liberty and independence, occurred within sight of Horn's fort, but across the river on the Indian land. This was what is known as the "Pine Creek Declaration of Independence." The question of the colonies throwing off the yoke of Great Britain and setting up business for themselves, had been much discussed, both in and out of Congress. The hardy Scotch-Irish settlers on both sides of the river, in the vicinity of Horn's, bore little love for the mother country. The majority of them had been forced to leave their native land to seek a home where they would be free from religious oppression—where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They were all patriots in the broadest sense of the term, and a loyalist or tory would not have been tolerated in their midst. They yearned for independence, and when the discussion of the subject waxed warm they resolved on calling a public meeting to give formal expression to their views. Accordingly, on the 4th day of July, 1776, the meeting, assembled on the Pine creek plains and a resolution was passed, declaring themselves free and independent of Great Britain. The remarkable feature of this meeting was that the Pine creek resolution was passed on the same day that a similar resolution was passed by the Continental Congress sitting in Philadelphia, more than two hundred miles away, and between whom there could be no communication for concert of action. It was, indeed, a remarkable coincidence—remarkable in the fact that the Continental Congress and the squatter sovereigns on the West Branch should declare for freedom and independence about the same time.

It is regretted that no written record of the meeting was preserved, showing who the officers were and giving the names of all those present. All that is known is what has been handed down by tradition. The following names of the participants have been preserved: Thomas, Francis and John Clark, Alexander Donaldson, William Campbell, Alexander Hamilton, John Jackson, Adam Carson, Henry McCracken.* Adam DeWitt, Robert Love, and Hugh Nichols. The meeting might have been held at the cabins of either John Jackson or Alexander Hamilton, as both were representative and patriotic men of the period. Several of these men afterwards perished

*Great-grandfather of Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken of the University of New York.
Geo. P. Donehoo.

at the hands of the savages; others fought in the Revolutionary army and assisted in achieving the independence which they had resolved the country should have.

The majority of these men lived across the river from the fort on the Indian land, and they all received patents for the land they had pre-empted after the treaty and purchase of 1784, in consideration of their loyalty, patriotism and devotion to the struggling colonies. The name of Samuel Horn is not found among those that have been handed down to us, but it may be safely inferred that the man who was sufficiently patriotic to build a stockade fort for the protection of the neighborhood in which these men lived, was a sympathizer, if not a participant, in the Pine creek movement for independence.

There is nothing on record to show that the fort was ever supplied with small cannon. Its only armament was muskets and rifles in the hands of the hardy settlers when they had collected there in times of danger. That the savages regarded it with displeasure, and sought more than one opportunity to attack the occupants, there is abundant proof. They prowled about in small bands or laid concealed in the surrounding thickets ready to shoot down and scalp any thoughtless occupant who might venture a few hundred yards from the enclosure. Among the thrilling escapes that have been preserved is that of the young woman named Ann Carson, just before the flight known in history as the Big Runaway. She ventured out of the fort one day and was fired upon by a concealed savage. The bullet cut through the folds of her dress, making fourteen holes in its flight, but left her uninjured. About the same time another young woman named Jane Anesley, while engaged in milking a cow one evening outside the enclosure, was fired at by a lurking Indian several times. One bullet passed through her dress, grazing her body so closely that she felt the stinging sensation so severely that she was sure she was shot.

At the time Colonel Hunter sent up word from Fort Augusta for the settlers to abandon the valley and flee to places of safety down the river, as he was informed that a large body of savages was preparing to descend from the Seneca country to devastate the valley and wipe out the settlements, that fear-

less scout and intrepid soldier, Robert Covenhoven, bore the unwelcome news from Fort Muncy to Antes Fort and had a messenger despatched from the latter place to warn the inmates of Fort Horn that they must fly if they valued their lives. The meagre records inform us that all the settlers within a radius of several miles were collected at Horn's and that a great state of excitement prevailed. Those living on the Indian lands across the river were gathered at the fort, anxiously awaiting news from below. Judging from the extent of the settlements at the time; a hundred or more fugitives must have been collected there.

The order to evacuate the fort was received with feelings of alarm, well nigh bordering on despair. The frenzied settlers at once set about making preparations to abandon their humble homes, their growing crops—for it was in early June—and fly. Many of them buried chinaware and other household effects that they could not well carry with them in places that they could recognize if they were ever permitted to return.

Soon after receiving Colonel Hunter's message four men, Robert Fleming, Robert Donaldson, James McMichael and John Hamilton started down the river in canoes for Antes Fort to secure a flat in which to transport their families below. They were squatters on the Indian land across the river from Horn's and they knew that the savages had a grudge against them for trespassing on their territory, and that they would fare badly if they fell in their hands. The dread of impending danger had driven them across the river with their families to seek the protection of the fort.

They reached Antes Fort in safety, engaged a flat and started on their return. But the eye of the wily savage was on them. They had pushed their canoes up through the Pine creek riffles, when they pushed over to the south side of the river for the purpose of resting and to await for other parties who were following them with the flat. At this point the mountain comes down almost to the edge of the river, and at that time it presented an exceedingly wild and forbidding appearance. As they were about to land, and not suspecting danger, they were suddenly fired on by a small band of savages concealed in the bushes. Donaldson jumped out of his canoe, rushed up the

bank and cried to the others, "Come on, boys." Hamilton saw the Indians rise up, and at the same time noticed the blood spurting from a wound in Donaldson's back as he was trying to reload his gun. He soon fell from exhaustion and died. Fleming and McMichael were also killed. Hamilton, who was untouched, gave his canoe a powerful shove into the stream and, jumping into the water fell flat on the other side. Then, holding the canoe with one hand between the Indians and himself, he managed to paddle across the river with the other. Several bullets flew around his frail craft, but he escaped without a scratch. When he landed his woolen clothes were so heavy, from being saturated with water, as to impede his flight. He, therefore, stripped himself of everything but his shirt and ran swiftly up the river. His route was by the Indian path to the Great Island. He ran for life. Fear lent wings to his flight. The flutter of a bird stimulated him to increase his speed, and if a bush came in his way he cleared it with a bound. In this way he ran for nearly three miles, passing the place where his father had settled, until he came opposite Horn's Fort, when he was discovered and a canoe was sent to rescue him.

The men in the flat being behind and hearing the firing and, divining the cause, hurriedly pushed to the north shore, below the mouth of Pine creek, which they hurriedly forded, and ran up the path which Hamilton had so swiftly traveled. James Jackson, who was one of the party on the flat, found a horse pasturing on the Pine creek clearing which he caught, mounted and rode up to the point opposite Horn's fort, when he was discovered and brought over in a canoe. The other men made their way to the fort and escaped.

An armed body of men, as soon as the news was received at Horn's, made their way down to the place of ambuscade. Here the dead and scalped bodies of Donaldson, McMichael and Fleming were found, but the Indians had departed. They knew that they would be punished and hurried away as quickly as possible. The rescuing party secured the three dead bodies of their neighbors and carried them to Antes Fort, where they were buried in the little graveyard which had been started outside the enclosure. Nearly all of these men left families,

and the cruel manner in which they had been slain caused great excitement at the fort, as well as intense grief on the part of their wives and children. It was a sad day at Horn's. But no time was to be lost. Activity was the demand of the hour. The savages were emerging from the forests on every hand bent on murder and pillage, and the settlers collected at the fort saw that if they were to escape their relentless fury they must fly at once.

The same day the bloody affair occurred at Pine creek, a party of men were driving a lot of cattle down the river from the vicinity of Great Island—the thickest part of the settlement on the Indian land—when they were fired on by a small body of skulking savages, almost in sight of Fort Horn. The whites, who were well armed, returned the fire, when an Indian was observed to fall and was quickly removed by his companions. This mishap seemed to strike terror into the ranks of the survivors and they fled precipitately into the forest, abandoning a lot of plunder, consisting largely of blankets, which fell into the hands of the whites. A member of the cattle party named Samuel Fleming, was shot through the shoulder and severely wounded. The Fleming family was one of the earliest to settle in this neighborhood, and as the head thereof had several sons, it is probable that Samuel was a brother of Robert, who was killed in the ambuscade at Pine Creek.

The firing was heard at Horn's and added to the alarm of the women and children assembled there, which only subsided when they found the party approaching on the other side of the river with their cattle. Fleming was ferried over to the fort, where he had his wound dressed. The cattle drivers continued on down the river in search of a place of greater security for their stock.

Such were some of the incidents preceding the Big Runaway in the latter part of June, 1778, when all of that part of the valley of the West Branch, west of the Muncy hills, was abandoned by the white settlers to escape the fury of the savages. The stockade forts, like the humble log cabins, were dismantled and burned, so far as the remorseless foe was capable of carrying out their intentions.

A description of the Big Runaway, which has no parallel

in frontier history, is not out of place in this connection. The best account is found in Sherman Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 451. Mr. Day obtained it from the lips of Covenhoven himself in 1842, more than fifty years ago, when the thrilling incidents were comparatively fresh in his mind. After delivering the order of Colonel Hunter to the commander of Antes Fort, and seeing that the message was conveyed to Horn's, Covenhoven hastily returned to Fort Muncy and removed his wife to Sunbury for safety. He then started up the river in a keel boat for the purpose of securing his scanty household furniture and to aid the panic stricken inhabitants to escape. Day reports his story in these thrilling words:

"As he was rounding a point above Derrstown (now Lewisburg) he met the whole convoy from all the forts above (Muncy, Antes, Horn's and Reid's) and such a sight he never saw in his life. Boats, canoes, hog troughs, rafts hastily made of dry sticks—every sort of floating article had been put in requisition and were crowded with women and children and 'plunder'—there were several hundred people in all. Whenever any obstruction occurred at a shoal or riffle, the women would leap out and put their shoulders, not, indeed, to the wheel, but to the flat boat or raft, and launch it again into deep water. The men of the settlement came down in single file on each side of the river to guard the women and children. The whole convoy arrived safely at Sunbury, leaving the entire line of farms along the West Branch to the ravages of the Indians. They did not penetrate in any force near Sunbury, their attention having been soon after diverted to the memorable descent on Wyoming. * * * After Covenhoven had got his bedding and furniture in his boat (at Loyalsock, and was proceeding down the river just below Fort Menninger (at the mouth of White Deer creek), he saw a woman on the shore fleeing from an Indian. She jumped down the river bank and fell, perhaps, wounded by his gun. The Indian scalped her, but in his haste neglected to tomahawk her. She survived the scalping, was picked up by the men from the fort (Freeland) and lived on Warrior run until about the year 1840. Her name was Mrs. Durham."

Strange as it may seem, nothing has been preserved to show who Samuel Horn was, whence he came or whither he went after abandoning his fort. Neither do the records show that he ever warranted any land in that vicinity. That he had a family is reasonably certain, else it is not likely he would have gone to the trouble and expense of building a stockade around his cabin for protection and the protection of his neighbors, who made it a rallying point in time of great danger. All that has been preserved about him is what has been handed down in the form of tradition. It is probable that he never returned after the Big Runaway, but settled in some of the lower counties. His name, however, has been perpetuated in connection with the fort, and, although one hundred and sixteen years have rolled away since he hurriedly bade it adieu forever, the site where it stood is still proudly pointed out by the people in the neighborhood, who hold his name in grateful remembrance.

This report would be incomplete if no further reference was made to the fearless scout—Robert Covenhoven—who bore the last message up the river warning the settlers to fly to Fort Augusta to escape the wrath of the red-handed Ishmaelites who were bearing down on them from the north incited to commit the most atrocious deeds by the promise of British gold.

Who was Robert Covenhoven? He was of Hollandish descent, and came with his father's family from Monmouth county, New Jersey, where he was born December 7, 1755, and settled near the mouth of Loyalsock creek in 1772. A number of relatives accompanied them. Our subject—the name has since been corrupted in Crownover—was first employed as a hunter and axeman by the surveyors, and early became acquainted with the paths of the wilderness and inured to the dangers and hardships of pioneer life. This knowledge and service eminently fitted him to perform the duties of a scout, and as he was fearless, strong and sagacious and well acquainted with the wiles of the Indian, he became very successful in his dangerous calling.

On the breaking out of the Revolution he joined Washington's army and participated in the battles of Trenton and

Princeton. In the spring of 1777 he was sent to his home on the West Branch to aid in protecting the frontiers, and few men in those stirring times endured greater hardships or had more hairbreadth escapes. He married Miss Mercy Kelsey Cutter (also a native of New Jersey), February 22, 1778, so that it will be seen that she was little more than a bride at the time of the Big Runaway.

To give a history of his life in full would require the space of a moderate sized volume. He was the principal guide for Colonel Hartley when he made his famous expedition up Lycoming creek in September, 1778, by direction of Congress for the purpose of chastising the Indians at Tioga Point (now Athens), and was the first man to apply the torch to the wigwam of Queen Esther at the Point.

He had a brother killed in a fight with Indians on Loyal sick, near where his father settled, and had another taken prisoner. He was himself chased for some distance along the creek, dodging up and down the bank alternately, that his savage pursuers might get no aim at him. Doubtless, his swiftness of foot and power of endurance saved him. He escaped to Fort Muncy and gave an account of the fight. On the close of the war he purchased a farm in Level Corner, Lycoming county, almost in sight of Antes Fort, and settled down to the quiet pursuits of agriculture.

He had a family of five sons and three daughters, all of whom are deceased. His wife died November 27, 1843, aged 88 years, 10 months and 8 days, and was buried in a cemetery on what is now West Fourth street, Williamsport. Her grave has been obliterated by a church, which stands on the spot where it was made.

When the veteran grew old and was borne down by the weight of years, he went to stay with a daughter who lived near Northumberland. There he died October 29, 1846, at the ripe and mellow age of 90 years, 10 months and 22 days, and was laid at rest in the old Presbyterian graveyard in the borough of Northumberland. A plain marble headstone marks his grave, and the inscription, now almost illegible, tells who he was and what he did to help achieve our independence. For years the old burial ground where his ashes repose has

been a common, and cattle graze on its green sward in summer time, pigs root among fallen tombstones and listless vandals amuse themselves by defacing memorial tablets reared by loving hands to perpetuate the name of a father or mother. The old patriot left a request in his will to be buried by the side of his wife, but his executor failed to carry it out, and from appearances his humble grave will soon be obliterated, the corroding tooth of time will soon destroy his plain marble tablet, and his numerous descendants will no longer be able to tell where his bones were laid.

FORT REID AT LOCK HAVEN.*

Fort Reid was the most westerly of the line of defences thrown out in advance of Fort Augusta, for the purpose of covering that place and as a rallying place for the inhabitants and the scouts when hard pressed. The Continental army had drawn largely upon the young active men of the region, leaving those less fit for active service at home to cope with an enemy, the most active and wily in border warfare of this kind in the world.

In this forest country, with the inhabitants isolated by the size of their land claims, he could lay in wait, concealed for weeks if necessary, to await an opportunity to strike the settler when off his guard or in a situation in which he could offer least effective opposition. Not hampered with baggage, never troubled about keeping open his communications, as he could glide through where a fox might pass, and as noiselessly; armed by his master with the best of arms the time afforded, while the pioneers could scarcely procure ammunition enough to keep his family in meat; the Indian was bountifully furnished from the ample storehouses of the English. One naturally wonders how, with all the disadvantages against him, the settler held out so long; his staying qualities were wonderful; with these strengthened houses inadequately garrisoned as the only refuge for his family, he was a man who elicits our admiration.

*This site was marked by the Col. Hugh White Chapter, D. A. R., 29 July, 1899.

Reid's Fort was the dwelling house of Mr. William Reid, stockaded in the spring of 1777; its location is on Water or River street, in the built up part of the town east of the mouth of the Bald Eagle canal. Judge Mayer and others have kept up an interest in its site. Visiting the site, Capt. R. S. Barker and myself called upon William Quigley and his wife, who were said to be the oldest residents of the place, he being ninety years; we found the pair bright, intelligent people. He recollects the remains of Fort Reid and so did Mrs. Quigley. As their location is acquiesced in by Judge Mayer and the others, we give it.

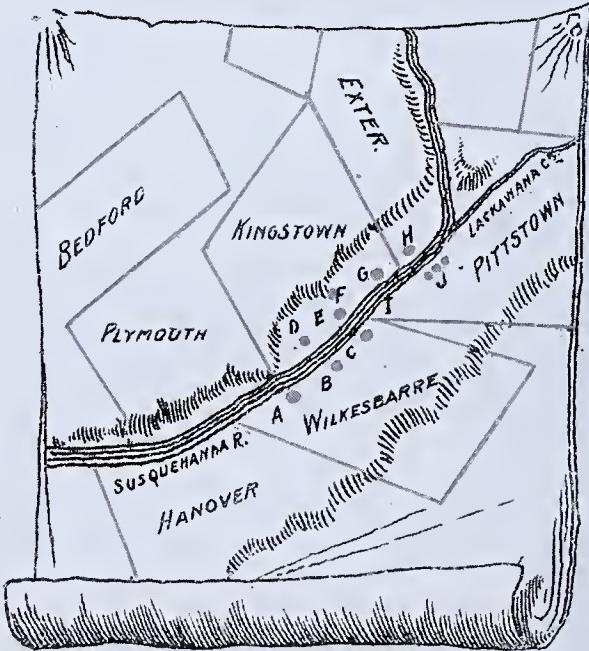
A large Indian mound existed at this place on the river bank, described as high as a two-story house, surrounded by a circle of small ones. In digging the Bald Eagle canal they cut away the western half of this mound, exhumeing quantities of human bones and stone implements. The banks of the canal were said to be whitened therewith for years after. Immediately to the east of the mounds and close thereto stood Reid's fort, traces of which could be seen after 1820. This gives us the exact site within, say thirty feet, of the chimney of the Reid house and brings us within the stockades.

As mentioned before it was the left flanking defence of the series and was vacated by order of Col. Hunter, who had command of these forts, and garrisoned when he had troops, but the principal defence fell upon the settlers of the regions they protected. The Indians seldom attacked these places with any persistency unless accompanied by whites. It was an important point to garrison, covering the river on both sides and the lower Bald Eagle valley, which, when well done by the assistance of Horn, Antes and Muney, protected the whole of the region between the Bald Eagle and the Susquehanna down to White Deer creek.

Moses Van Campen, then orderly sergeant of Captain Gaskins' company of Colonel John Kelly's regiment of Northumberland county militia, says the regiment was stationed here at Fort Reid during its six months' service in the summer of 1777. As he calls it Fort Reid it must have been fortified at that time, as the position was on the extreme outer limits of the settlements and much exposed. This is, without doubt,

correct. Scouting duty was performed by the regiment and guarding the inhabitants was performed vigilantly. Here, in the West Branch, is located at the mouth of the Bald Eagle creek, the "Big Island," comprising a few hundred acres and very fertile. This place attracted settlers early, while on each side of the river the lands were attractive and a considerable settlement existed in the vicinity of the fort at this time. Here Van Campen had his wrestling match with the champion of the Indian land men, or those settlers on the north side of the river, in which Northumberland's activity and muscle prevailed. Here the Bald Eagle valley terminates. The fort, when manned as it should be, protected the lower part of the valley. The Rev. Mr. Fithian, of the Presbyterian church, visited this place before the Revolution, going with Miss Jenny Reed and another young woman whortleberrying on the Bald Eagle mountain. On returning from the expedition they came part of the way by the river; their canoeman was unfortunate and overset the canoe, spilling out the girls and whortleberries. The water was not deep; the girls squalled lustily at first, but, finding themselves unhurt, they proceeded to chastise the canoeman by "skeeting" water over him with their tin cups until the poor fellow was effectually drenched, when, still indignant, they waded to the shore to their friends, who were there enjoying the scene.

The foregoing includes all the forts built as a defence against the Indians prior to 1783 I find in my jurisdiction, and they are fifteen in number.



POSITION OF THE WYOMING FORTS.

- A. SITE OF FORT DURKEE.
- B. WYOMING OR WILKES BARRE FORT.
- C. FORT OGDEN.
- D. VILLAGE OF KINGSTON.
- E. FORTY FORT.
- F. THE BATTLE GROUND.
- G. WINTERMOOT'S FORT.
- H. FORT JENKINS.
- I. MONOCASY ISLAND.
- J. THE THREE PITTSSTOWN STOCKADES.

THE FRONTIER FORTS
WITHIN THE
WYOMING VALLEY REGION
BY SHELDON REYNOLDS, M. A.

President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society



IN MEMORIAM.

The article following this introductory note was written by Mr. Sheldon Reynolds during a long illness which ended in his death at Saranac Lake, N. Y., on the 8th of February, 1895. It was dictated in part by him to his brother, Col. G. M. Reynolds, and was finished almost with the life of its author. To those whose privilege it was to know Mr. Reynolds, his story of the troubled times of the last century is fraught with peculiar and almost painful interest. The manful and heroic effort be made to end his task against the heavy odds of his physical weakness and fast advancing disease, and his final accomplishment of his labors, were most characteristic of his spirit and tenacity of purpose. How well the work was done the article speaks for itself, and no one could know from its perusal that the hand which wrote it could at the last scarce clasp a pen, and that the calm and judicial tone which pervades the account of the early trials and hardships of our forefathers was the expression of one whose life was fast ebbing away and who felt himself urged by the most pressing necessity to complete a work which he knew too well to delay at all would be to leave unended.

Mr. Reynolds was of New England stock, his ancestors, coming from Litchfield, Conn., were among the first of the original settlers in the Wyoming Valley, and one of the name laid down his life in defense of his home and kindred with the many other heroes whose blood stained the fair fields of the valley on the fatal third of July, 1778.

Mr. Reynolds was a graduate of Yale University in the class of 1867. After his graduation he was called to the bar

and for a short time practiced law. His mind was eminently judicial and logical, and had he cared for fame as a lawyer he had all the equipment of careful training and natural aptitude which would soon have brought him distinguished success in his profession.

But his tastes lay not in this direction. The study of history and archaeology fascinated him and he especially delighted in the elucidation of the local traditions and history with which this region overflows. To fit himself for this form of study, he trained his mind in the most rigid and exacting school of modern historical research, and followed the foremost examples of critical methods in this branch of literature; and now, when all these years of careful preparation were passed and the field he had labored in was ripe for fruitage, he was taken from us and we have left but the memory of his patient, zealous work, the benefit and charm of which have been denied us except in the few short articles which came from his pen.

His was a noble character, full of love for truth, winning and lovable. Companionable in the highest degree to the intimate few who knew that beyond the reserve and quiet pose of manner lay a spirit full of life and enthusiasm, a mind stored with a fund of knowledge and general information, and that an hour spent in his company was sure to bring one both pleasure and profit. Only those who knew him thus can appreciate to its full meaning the loss to a community of a citizen with such broad aims, noble impulses and unselfish desire and willingness to labor for the advancement of every worthy enterprise; and only those who knew him thus can understand how deep-seated is the sadness and the personal bereavement that comes to one whose years of comradeship with him had cemented a friendship that only death could break.



FRONTIER FORTS IN THE WYOMING VALLEY.

Forts erected prior to 1783 as a defence against the Indians within the territory bounded east by the Delaware river, south by the forty-first degree north latitude, on the north by the State line and west by the extreme western boundary of Luzerne county and a line drawn thence at an equal distance west of the Susquehanna river to the New York State line.*

The territory inclosed within these boundaries comprises a large part of that municipal division known in early times as the town and county of Westmoreland, then under the political jurisdiction of Connecticut. It will be remembered that by the words of the Connecticut charter her western boundary was the "South Sea," and in pursuance of her right thus stated in her charter, the colony made claim to lands lying between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude west of the Delaware river. Of these claims the one that was urged with most vigor and persistence, and resisted with equal resolution, was made on behalf of the Susquehanna Company, for the lands on the Susquehanna, bought of the Indians of the Six Nations, at Albany, in 1754. This purchase included the lands of Wyoming on the Susquehanna, and was the first step on the part of the Connecticut people and their associates, members of the Susquehanna Company, towards the settlement of Wyoming. Actual settlement of the region was not undertaken, however, until 1762. In the following year an end was put to the undertaking by an attack

*The authorities consulted in the preparation of this article are Chapman's, Miner's, Peck's and Stone's Histories of Wyoming; Pearce's Annals of Luzerne County, Proceedings and Collections of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Matthew's History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, and Pennsylvania Archives. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Hon. C. I. A. Chapman and Hon. James S. Slocum.

made upon the settlement by the Indians living in the neighborhood and the massacre of about twenty of the settlers. Further attempts were given up until the year 1769, when the first permanent settlement was made. Prior to this event these conflicting claims had been the subject of argument and negotiation; but with strong representatives of each party upon the ground and thus brought face to face—as between them—arguments ceased, and a resort to force was adopted, although under the guise of civil process. These methods were quickly followed by acts of violence, and civil authority was lost sight of amid the sound of arms and the exciting incidents of open warfare.

The late Governor Hoyt, in his able review of these claims in his "Syllabus of the Controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania," says:

"Some years ago, in the course of professional employment, I had occasion to arrange some data embraced in the following brief. They consisted mainly of charters, deeds and dates and were intended for professional use. They were too meagre for the present purpose. They should embrace a wider range of facts, their relations and appropriate deductions from them. The controversy herein attempted to be set forth, one hundred years ago was raging with great fierceness, evoked strong partisanship, and was urged, on both sides, by the highest skill of statesmen and lawyers. In its origin it was a controversy over the political jurisdiction and right of soil in a tract of country containing more than five millions of acres of land, claimed by Pennsylvania and Connecticut, as embraced, respectively, in their charter grants. It involved the lives of hundreds, was the ruin of thousands, and cost the State millions. It wore out one entire generation. It was righteously settled in the end. We can now afford to look at it without bias or bitter feeling."

This controversy was an event in the history of Wyoming which cast its baneful influences over every activity that contributed to the progress and growth of the settlement; it affected the inhabitants in all their material relations. Any successes achieved by them were wrought out despite of it, and their failures and misfortunes were of a character more

disheartening and lasting by reason of this ever present menace.

It was thought proper to thus briefly mention this controversy arising out of these conflicting claims, owing to its great and continuing influence upon the settlement, as well as its intimate relation to the history of several of the forts, which served at intervals, both as a defence against the Indians and as a means of enforcing the claims of the several parties.

FORT DURKEE* AND OTHER DEFENCES.

In April, 1769, soon after their arrival in the disputed territory, the Connecticut people set about the building of a fort for their better protection. They chose a site now within the limits of the city of Wilkes-Barre, on the river banks between the present streets, South and Ross. Here they built of hewn logs a strong block house surrounded by a rampart and intrenchment. It was protected on two sides by natural barriers, having on one side the Susquehanna river, and on the other, the southwest, side, a morass with a brook flowing through it and emptying into the river near by the fort at a place called Fish's Eddy. The size of the enclosure is not known, but it was probably of one-half an acre in extent, as any place of shelter in time of danger of less space would be of little use. The fort was looked upon as a strong military defence, both from its manner of construction and the natural advantages of its position. Near to it were built also twenty or more log houses, each provided with loop holes through which to deliver the fire in case of a sudden attack. It was named Fort Durkee in honor of Capt. John Durkee, one of the leaders of the Yankee forces, and who had seen service in the late war with France, and afterwards, as a colonel of the Connecticut line on the continental establishment, served with merit throughout the Revolutionary war. While this fort was erected as a defence against the Indians, and doubtless served that purpose, there is no evidence that it ever sustained an attack from that quarter. It was, however, one of the

*The site of Fort Durkee was marked by the Wyoming Valley Chapter, D. A. R., 14 June, 1899.

strongholds that played a very important part in the contest with the Proprietary government over the disputed jurisdiction and title to the Wyoming lands, known as the first Pennamite war, beginning in 1769 and continuing two years. Shortly after this period the name of the fort disappears from the records; whether it was dismantled or suffered to fall into decay is not known. Miner's history of Wyoming, page 265, makes a last reference to it in these words: "The whole army (Gen. Sullivan's) was encamped on the river flats below Wilkes-Barre, a portion of them occupying old Fort Durkee." (June 23, 1779). If the fort was at that time in a condition to serve any useful purpose, it is difficult to understand why the people of the town were at such pains to build in 1776 a fort for their protection on the Public Square, inasmuch as Durkee was a much stronger place and quite as convenient, or how a work of this importance escaped destruction at the hands of the enemy after the battle of Wyoming. The brook mentioned above as forming one of the safeguards of the fort, has long since disappeared. One branch of it had its rise near the place known as the Five Points, and the other branch in the Court house square; the later flowed in a southerly direction, emptying into a marsh at a point near the Lehigh Valley railroad. The stream leaving the marsh crossed Main street near Wood street, and took a northerly course to Academy and River streets, where it was spanned by a bridge, thence it flowed into the river at Fish's Eddy. There has been some question in respect to the location of this fort. The principal evidence in favor of the site as stated is twofold: the land on the southwest side of the stream and morass was low land, subject to overflow upon every considerable rise of the river, and therefore of a nature wholly unsuited for a work of the kind. Hon. Charles Miner, whose recollection of events happening prior to the beginning of this century was clear, says in effect, that Durkee was located sixty rods southwest of Fort Wyoming, and that the remains of the latter fort were in a tolerable state of preservation in the year 1800.* The site of the latter fort is well known and the distance of sixty

*History of Wyoming, p. 126.

rods in the direction indicated, fixes the location of Durkee as given above.

Fort Wyoming was located on the river common, about eight rods southwest of the junction of Northampton and River streets in the city of Wilkes-Barre. It was built in January, 1771, by Capt. Amos Ogden, the able leader of the Proprietary forces, and one hundred men under his command. The purpose of its erection was the reduction of Fort Durkee, the stronghold of the Yankees, and like Durkee it became an important factor in carrying forward to an issue the controversy alluded to. In 1771 it fell into the hands of the Connecticut people. It was not built, as is apparent from the statement just made, as a defence against the Indians; but seems to have been used for that purpose in 1772 and 1773 and later. It was this fort doubtless that is mentioned in the records of those years, as "the fort in Wilkes-Barre" where constant guard was required to be kept. After this time, it passes out of notice; no account has come down to us of the manner of its destruction or other disposition. It is reasonable to suppose that it was not standing in 1776, as the people would have made use of it instead of building a fort in that time of need. This fort gave its name to a successor built on the same site in 1778, and which became an important post during the period of the war.

Mill Creek Fort was situated on the river bank on the north side of the brook of the same name, which now forms the northern boundary line of the city of Wilkes-Barre. It was built in the year 1772, after the cessation of hostilities between the Connecticut settler and the Pennamite. It occupied the site of the Pennamite stronghold known as Ogden's Fort, named in honor of Capt. Ogden, which had been captured and burned in 1770. The position was a strong one: standing on the high bank of the river, protected on two sides by the river and the brook. It was designed to guard and control the mills upon that stream, as well as to furnish a safe retreat to the people of the neighborhood. The necessity of the times seems to have been pressing, for we are informed that the settlers in and about Wilkes-Barre moved into the fort the same year, taking their household goods and other

personal effects along with them. Huts were erected along the inner walls of the fort which provided sufficient room for all who came. The community continued to occupy the fort as a dwelling place for a considerable period, and until the alarm, from whatever source it came, had subsided. This place was the scene of the first settlement by the Connecticut people, as well as of the tragedy of 1763. The improvements, consisting of a log house and a few small cabins, were erected here. Upon the return of the settlers in the year 1769, they made their way thither in hopes of finding a place of shelter and defence. The improvements, however, had fallen into the hands of the Pennamites who were secured in a strongly fortified block house, known as Ogden's Fort, and prepared to resist any steps looking to a settlement. This historic spot is now covered in part by a culm heap of the Lehigh Valley Coal company. The tracks of the Lehigh Valley railroad cross it in one direction, while a bridge of the Wilkes-Barre and Eastern spans it in another. The pumping station and mains of the Wilkes-Barre Water company and the mains of an oil pipe line complete the occupation.

The Redoubt was the name given to a rocky spur that projected at right angles across the river common from the main hill about ten rods above Union street. Its precipitous sides reached nearly to the edge of the river bank. Standing some seventy feet above the water it was a prominent land-mark, and an advantageous position in the local military operations. On the occasion of the siege of Fort Wyoming in 1771 a gun was mounted here by the Yankees; and though no execution seems to have been done, the practice was doubtless of benefit. Again, in 1784, during the second Pennamite war, a like use was made of this eminence by the Connecticut people. They took possession of the Redoubt, which lay between the fort and the grist mills on Mill creek that were also in the hands of the Pennamites, and thereby cut off the supplies of the fort; all the houses standing between the fort and the Redoubt were burned so that there might be no obstruction to the fire directed upon the garrison. Other uses were doubtless made of this strong position in time of need, though no account of them has been recorded. A tradition that there

was a guard stationed there with a mounted gun to defend the passage of the river, the writer has been unable to verify; but it is so probable that there seems little doubt of its truth. It will be remembered that the river was the one highway north and south, and the Indians of the Six Nations made use of it on many occasions to reach the vicinity of Wyoming. After the year 1778, in most of their raids upon Wyoming and the settlements along the Blue Mountains, the savages were borne as far south as Wyoming upon the river floods. Any body of men occupying the Redoubt could effectually prevent the passage of this point by canoes, and compel the invading party to leave the river and made a wide detour in order to reach their destination. However well the Redoubt was situated for the uses mentioned, its location in respect to the march of modern improvements was quite unfortunate; it seems to have been planted directly in its path. The North Branch canal, by a sweeping turn at this point, sheared off two of the rocky faces of the barrier. The extension of River street cut a deep channel through it in another direction, severing it from the main hill. The Lehigh Valley railroad, successor to the canal, to obtain room for its tracks, took off another portion; and the city deported the remainder, bringing it to the level of the rest of the common and down to the city grade. The name, however, has always adhered to it, and although no vestige of the eminence remains, the "Redoubt" is a familiar name that still marks the spot.

Nothing can be found showing that these several fortifications were ever subject to attack in any warfare with the Indians; though they undoubtedly fall within the sense of the designation "forts erected as a defence against the Indians, etc." In the years 1772 and 1773 a general feeling of alarm and apprehension pervaded the Wyoming settlement; the people lived in forts; they went about their daily work with arms in their hands; they strictly enforced the law in respect to military duty, and required guard mount in each township. This condition of affairs was probably owing to two causes. The isolated and exposed position of the settlement made it liable to attack and at the same time deprived it of the hope of assistance from any quarter. The warlike Six Nations

were their neighbors on the north, and, although they professed to be friendly, the knowledge of their treacherous character and the recollection of the massacre in 1763, the act of Indians claiming to be friendly, were still fresh in the minds of the settlers. Secondly, the likelihood of a renewal of the hostilities with the Proprietary government was nowise remote; the withdrawal of their men from the disputed territory since August, 1771, held out no assurance of future inactivity. The settlers were liable to attacks from either source without warning, and they made the best disposition of the means at hand for their protection. At a meeting of the proprietors in November, 1772, it was ordered that every man who holds a settling right shall provide himself with a good firelock and ammunition according to the laws of Connecticut, "by the first Monday of December next, and then to appear complete in arms at ye fort, in Wilkes-Barre, at twelve o'clock on said day for drilling as ye law directs." It was further provided that each township shall elect a muster officer and inspector and they shall choose two sergeants and a clerk. The inhabitants shall meet every fourteen days armed and equipped, and in case of alarms or appearance of an enemy, they shall stand for the defence of the town without further orders. In October, 1772, it was ordered "that every man of the settlers shall do their duty both for guarding and scouting or lose their settling right." The requirement of keeping guard night and day in the fortified places applied to all the townships, under the penalty, in case of failure or neglect, of losing their settling rights; it was in force in 1772 and 1773, and probably longer. At this time also a stockade was built in Plymouth, the location of which is not now known, a block house was erected in Hanover, and the fort in Kingston, known as Forty-Fort was put in a state of repair. In addition to these nearly every dwelling house was loop-holed and made a place of defence. A community so well prepared and alert probably escaped an open attack solely by reason of their readiness to repel it; and the forts that never sustained an assault owed their immunity to the same cause.

The town of Westmoreland was established by Act of the Connecticut Legislature in 1774; it comprised the territory

lying between the forty-first and forty-second degrees north latitude, the Delaware river and a line fifteen miles west of the Susquehanna river.* In 1776 the same authority erected the county of Westmoreland with boundaries coincident with the town of the same name. With the exception of a few small settlements on the Delaware river, Wyoming was the only inhabited portion of the town of Westmoreland. Wyoming was the name of an Indian village, situated within the present limits of the city of Wilkes-Barre, and was inhabited at the time of the first attempt by the Connecticut people to effect a settlement of the place in 1762. This name was applied to the lands of the Susquehanna Company's purchase of 1754; and at a later period was used in a more restricted application and designated what were known as the settling townships and a few adjoining them. The settling townships were those assigned to the earliest settlers, and were named Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, Plymouth, Kingston and Pittston; these, together with Exeter and Newport townships, which were surveyed soon after the others, comprised all the land within the Wyoming Valley. The establishment of the town of Westmoreland produced among the settlers a feeling of security, and a belief that the powerful aid and protection of the mother colony would now be extended to Wyoming. Much progress had already been made in the arduous work of establishing the settlements, notwithstanding the warfare that had been waged for nearly three years, and the season of alarms and anxiety that followed. This official act gave a new impetus to the undertaking and added nerve and energy to the efforts of the workers upon the ground. In the few years that intervened between the time of their arrival and the battle of Wyoming in 1778, when the settlement was cut off, the Connecticut settler had established in this distant wilderness a vigorous, orderly and prosperous colony. Townships were surveyed in accordance with uniform methods of a carefully ordered land office, and the lands allotted to those entitled to them. Highways were laid out and improved; the land much of it a wilderness, was brought under a state of cultivation and productiveness; courts of justice were established and

*Miner, page 153.

law and order prevailed; school houses were built in the several districts and free schools opened; provision was made for the preaching of the gospel, and for the support of the ministry and the schools three shares in each township were set aside, amounting to about one thousand acres of land. It must be admitted that this herein barely outlined undertaking was of vast proportions and beset by many difficulties, and its accomplishment in so brief a time and under such adverse circumstances speaks highly of the character, resolution and perseverance of the people who wrought it out. The dispute between the colonies and the mother country had already reached open rupture, Lexington and Bunker Hill possessed a deeper significance for these people than for others. It aroused their patriotism and united them in the cause of the colonies; but it carried with it, moreover, a menace that filled them with the most serious apprehensions. No one knew better than they the temper and disposition of the Six Nations on their northern border. A war with Great Britain meant an invasion of their homes by a savage enemy. The upper boundary of Westmoreland reached beyond the southern limit of the Indian country, and included several of the Indians towns. Among these was Tioga Point, at the junction of the Tioga branch with the Susquehanna; it was an important place and served as a rendezvous for the savages by reason of its accessibility from numerous towns and villages, and later became a base of attack upon Wyoming. Many of their paths and trails likewise lay within the boundaries of Westmoreland. They were near neighbors, therefore; and from their southernmost towns could readily reach the heart of Wyoming during any rise in the river, within twenty-four hours, by simply floating in their canoes with the river's current. In case of attack their approach was likely to be silent and swift and under cover of the night. Furthermore, Wyoming was an outpost whose isolation was complete. The distance to the nearest settlement on the Delaware was seventy miles, and a wilderness traversed by a few trails only, intervened. Sunbury was her nearest neighbor on the south, and was at an equal distance. In the face of these conditions the following quoted resolutions meant to these settlers something more than the simple expression of their adherence to the cause.

"At a meeting of ye proprietors and settlers of ye town of Westmoreland, legally warned and held in Westmoreland, August 1st, 1775, Mr. John Jenkins was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day. Voted that this town does now vote that they will strictly observe and follow ye rules and regulations of Ye Honorable Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia."

"Resolved by this town, that they are willing to make any accommodations with ye Pennsylvania party that shall conduce to the best good of ye whole, not infringing on the property of any person, and come in common cause of Liberty in ye defence of America, and that we will amicably give them ye offer of joining in ye proposal as soon as may be." The meeting adjourned to August 8th, and then "Voted as this town has but of late been incorporated and invested with the privileges of the law, both civil and military, and now in a capacity of acting in conjunction with our neighboring towns within this and other colonies, in opposing ye late measures adopted by Parliament to enslave America. Also this town having taken into consideration the late plan adopted by Parliament of enforcing their several oppressive and unconstitutional acts, of depriving us of our property, and of binding us in all cases without exception whether we consent or not, is considered by us highly injurious to American or English freedom; therefore do consent to and acquiesce in the late proceedings and advice of the Continental Congress, and do rejoice that those measures are adopted, and so universally received throughout the Continent; and in conformity to the Eleventh article of association, we do now appoint a Committee to attentively observe the conduct of all persons within this town, touching the rules and regulations prescribed by the Honorable Continental Congress, and will unanimously join our brethren in America in the common cause of defending our liberty."

Many incidents in the following winter and spring confirmed the fears of the settlers touching the disposition of the Six Nations toward them; the Indians living near the settlements became insolent in their behavior; some of them departed from the Valley and others, believed to be spies, took

their places; hostile acts were committed by them in the neighborhood of Wyoming, the responsibility for which they not only denied, but on the other hand urged complaints against the settlers. The menace thus grew until its imminent character led the people to apply for aid to the colony of Connecticut, knowing themselves to be unable to withstand so powerful an enemy. Failing in their appeal to the mother colony, the circumstances of their case were laid before the Congress. In the meantime they took their condition under their own consideration at a town meeting, and adopted such measures as lay within their power to provide for the safety of the several settlements within the town of Westmoreland.

The town meeting referred to was "legally warned and held in Westmoreland, Wilkes-Barre district, August ye 24th, 1776. Col. Butler was chosen moderator for ye work of ye day.

"Voted, it is the opinion of this meeting that it now becomes necessary for ye inhabitants of this town to erect suitable fort or forts, as a defence against our common enemy."

"August 28th, 1776, this meeting is opened and held by adjournment."

"Voted, ye three field officers of ye regiment of this town be appointed as a committee to view the most suitable places for building forts for ye defence of said town, and determine on some particular spot or place or places in each district for the purpose, and mark out the same."

"Voted, that the above-said committee do recommend it to the people in each part as shall be set off by them to belong to any fort, to proceed forthwith in building said fort, etc., without either fee or reward from ye said town."

The committee, under the powers given to it by the above vote, began its labors by a study of the needs of each township; and the most advantageous sites for works of defence were carefully examined. In some of the townships there were stockades or fortified places, erected at the time of the early settlement a few years before, though since then suffered to fall into decay. These, wherever it was deemed to be practicable, were ordered to be put in a good state of repair, and the best posture of defence of which the circumstances would admit. Forty-Fort in Kingston township, and Pittston Fort

in the township of the same name, two of the most important locations, as events proved, were accordingly enlarged and strengthened. In other townships where there were no forts in such a state of repair as to be useful in the present emergency, suitable sites were chosen by the committee and the proposed works marked upon the ground. Sites were fixed upon in Wilkes-Barre, Plymouth and Exeter for the building of forts, and for blockhouses in lower Pittston and Hanover.

The regiment, the three field officers of which were a committee to locate the forts, was the Twenty-fourth regiment of Connecticut militia created soon after the establishment of the town of Westmoreland, nominally for the defence of the town. Inasmuch as the officers were residents, and the men enlisted from among the inhabitants of the place, and were required to arm and equip themselves, it cannot be claimed that this organization added much if anything, to the military strength of a community wherein every man had been accustomed to arm himself and do military duty whenever and as long as circumstances required. It was made up of nine companies; but it is doubtful if the number of men was equal to half the usual number of a company. The recruiting of other companies, especially the two Independent Companies, thereafter mentioned took from the ranks of the regiment a large number of its best men. It was six of the nine companies of this regiment, together with a few raw recruits, that fought the battle of Wyoming, and at that time the roster of these companies showed a strength of about two hundred and thirty men. The strength of the whole regiment was probably less than three hundred and fifty. In answer to the appeal for aid, Congress on the 23d August, 1776, "Resolved, that two companies on the Continental establishment, be raised in the town of Westmoreland, and stationed in proper places for the defence of the inhabitants of said town, and parts adjacent, till further orders of Congress; the commissioned officers of said two companies, to be immediately appointed by Congress."

"That the pay of the men, to be raised as aforesaid, commence when they are armed and mustered, and that they be

liable to serve in any party of the United States, when ordered by Congress."

The commissioned officers were duly appointed by Congress, and in less than sixty days the companies were recruited to the number of eighty-four men each. They were known as the "two Independent Companies of Westmoreland." The promise and expectation that these companies should be stationed in "proper places for the defence of the inhabitants" of Westmoreland were quickly defeated by the overwhelming necessity that confronted Congress. The battle of White Plains was fought October 25th, 1775, followed by the retreat of Washington; other disasters occurred in quick succession. Philadelphia was threatened by the enemy and December 12th, Congress resolved to adjourn to Baltimore. On the same day they ordered the two Independent Companies of Westmoreland "to join Gen. Washington with all possible expedition." The consequences of this action on the people of Wyoming are so obvious that they scarcely need recounting; the chief strength of the community was taken away; the burdens of their situation were more than doubled, and the dangers that surrounded them were increased. In the same degree that this action was disastrous to Wyoming, was it of advantage and encouragement to its enemies. It furnished new motives for an invasion and removed many of the difficulties surrounding such an undertaking. Congress was acquainted with the defenceless condition of Wyoming and the dangers that threatened her; and was well aware what evils were likely to befall the settlement in consequence of the removal of these troops. The motives that prompted this action on the part of Congress and her refusal to allow the companies to return even when the destruction of Wyoming seemed certain, has been a subject of much speculation. It seems clear, however, that in the mind of Congress the probable cutting off of this frontier settlement was an affair of less consequence than the possible weakening of the army by detaching even two companies in the face of the enemy. It was a question of policy into which no sentiments of justice and humanity seem to have entered. In connection with this subject it may be proper to refer to the num-

ber of men supplied by Wyoming to the army. In the summer of 1776 Captain Wisner enlisted twenty or more men for the Continental service, and about ten men were enlisted by a Captain Strong. Immediately afterward the one hundred and sixty-eight men of the "two Independent Companies of Westmoreland" were likewise mustered, as has been stated, making about two hundred men in the service. In Miner's History of Wyoming, page 206, the number of these troops is reckoned in 1777—reduced by a year's hard service—at one hundred and sixty. The quota of Connecticut is there estimated at two thousand one hundred and fifty men; the quota of Wyoming would have been twenty-one men. Allowing her only one hundred and sixty men in the service, she therefore sent to the war nearly eight times her just number. But as has been well said, in the situation that prevailed at Wyoming, "every man might justly be regarded as on duty continually. Every man might have been considered as enlisted for and during the whole war. There was no peace, no security at Wyoming."*

Deprived of most of her able-bodied men in the manner above shown, the usual labors of the farm, sowing and harvesting necessary for the sustenance of the people, the guard mount day and night and the continuous duty of scouting called for the strenuous exertions of all; and the arduous undertaking of building the several forts, decided upon by the committee of the field officers of the regiment, could not be carried forward with the despatch the circumstances demanded. Still, such progress was made as the discharge of the many other duties permitted. Some of the forts were finished in the following summer, 1777, others were suffered to wait for another year. All, however, were completed in time to serve the purposes of their erection; and before July, 1778, were ready for their garrisons. Some of the garrisons, as in Plymouth, Wilkes-Barre and perhaps other forts, were composed of the aged men, exempt by law from duty; others were of the militia of the Twenty-fourth regiment, as in Forty-Fort and Pittston.

*Memorial to Congress, Wyoming Sufferers, etc. Miner, App. 78.

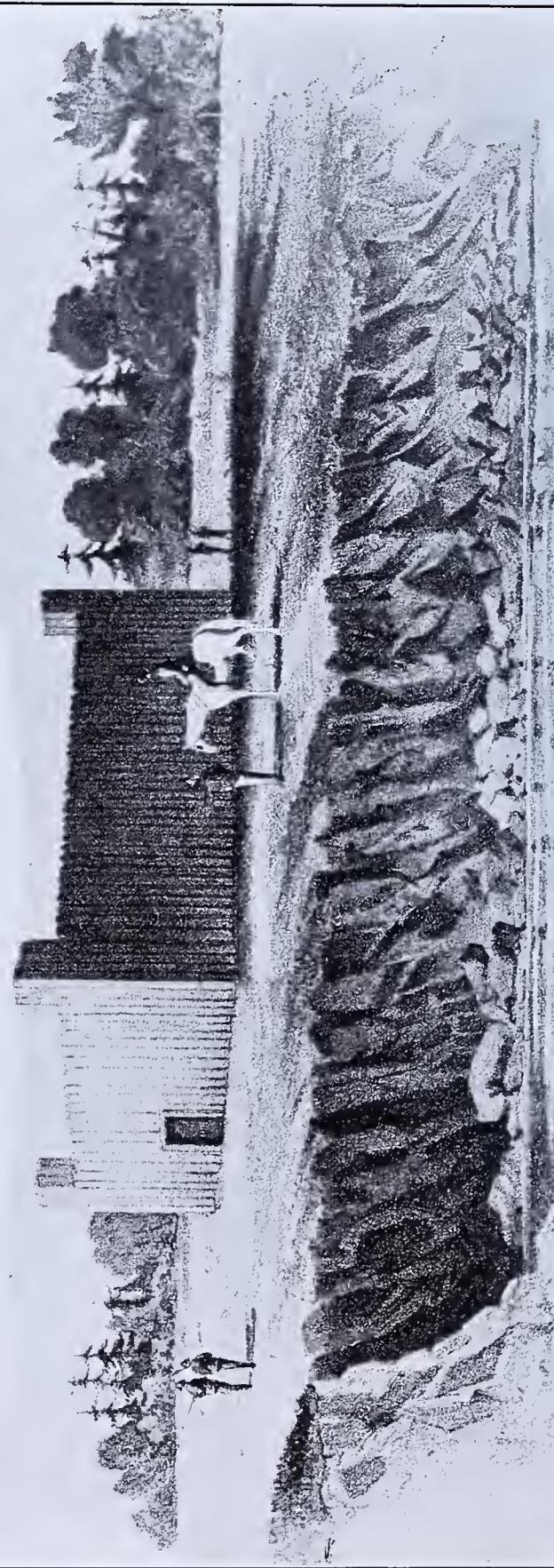
FORTY FORT.[†]

The site of this stronghold is in the borough of the same name on the southerly side of the line of the junction of River street with Fort street. Standing on the high western bank it was admirably situated to command the river at this point. It derived its name from the forty pioneers who, having been sent forward from Connecticut in 1769 by the Susquehanna Company to take possession of the land in its behalf, were rewarded for their services by a grant of the township of Kingston, and from this circumstance known likewise as the township of the Forty, and the Forty town, within which the fort was located. The building of the fort was begun in the year 1770, and served as a place of security in time of danger and alarm; at a later period it seems to have been partly destroyed, or at least left in a condition not fitted for guarding as the law of the time required, for we learn that in 1772 and 1773 the Kingston men were ordered to mount guard in the fort at Wilkes-Barre until they shall build fortifications of their own.* In 1777, under direction of the committee it was partly rebuilt, adding much to its strength, as well as its dimensions. Opinions differ as to its size, the better authority seems to be that it enclosed an acre or more of ground; indeed, recent excavations disclosed the remains of the timbers in place, extending in one direction two hundred and twenty feet, indicating in connection with other circumstances an inclosure of at least an acre. The walls of this fort were of logs, the material generally used in such defences; these were set upright in a trench five feet in depth, extending twelve feet above the surface of the ground, and were sharpened at the tops. The joints or crevices between the upright logs were protected by another tier of logs planted and secured in like manner, thus forming a double wall. Barracks or huts were built along the walls within the fort for the shelter of the occupants; the roof of these buildings serving as a platform from which the garrison could defend the works; and the space in the centre, surrounded by the barracks, was used as a parade. The inclosure was rectangu-

[†]This site was marked by the Wyoming Valley Chapter, D. A. R., 19 Oct., 1900.

*Westmoreland Records.

FORTY FORT, WYOMING, IN 1778



lar in shape, having a gateway opening towards the north, another towards the south, and small sentry towers at the four corners rising a few feet above the walls. A strong flowing spring at the margin of the river, below the structure, supplied water to the fort; access to the spring was rendered safe by means of a sunken passageway, having the top protected by timber work, leading down from the fort. A water supply was always one of the controlling influences in the location of a work of this character. This was true in the case of the several forts in Wyoming; some contained within their walls running water, others had springs near at hand as in the present instance.

During the last days of June, 1778, when it became known that the enemy in great force was approaching Wyoming, the inhabitants generally sought the protection afforded by the several forts. Probably the largest number gathered at Forty-Fort, owing to its larger dimensions and promise of greater security. The militia likewise mustered at this point, marching from their several stations when the alarm was given, having first detached a few of their number to add to the garrisons of the other forts.

Meantime the enemy, numbering about eleven hundred men, under command of Major John Butler,* had descended the Susquehanna river in boats and landed a few miles above Wyoming. The enemy's force were made up of two hundred British Provincials, and a like number of Tories, and about seven hundred Indians, chiefly Senecas and Cayugas. From the point of landing they marched by a route at a distance from the river and reached their destination on the night of July 1st, and camped on the mountain near the head of the Valley, four miles north of Forty-Fort. After having gained some small successes in the capture of two stockaded forts, they sent a flag, July 2d, to Forty-Fort, demanding the surrender of the several forts in the Valley together with all Continental stores. This demand was refused, and preparations were made to attack the enemy. Every available man was assembled at the fort, and the chief command given by common consent to Col. Zebulon Butler, a Continental officer

*Hist. Address, by Steuben Jenkins, Miner's Hist., Wyoming, p. 217.

at home on furlough. The force gathered at Forty-Fort numbered less than four hundred, made up of six companies of militia, the train bands, and old men and boys, "chiefly the undisciplined, the youthful, and the aged, spared by inefficiency from the distant ranks of the Republic." Scouts reported the enemy driving off cattle, plundering in the vicinity and preparing to leave the Valley. Of the number of the enemy they could give no information; it was, however, believed to be much smaller than in fact it was. These circumstances perhaps precipitated the battle. Deceived both in the number and purpose of the enemy, our men marched on the afternoon of July 3, 1778, to engage them in battle. After a march of three miles they formed in line of battle, presenting a front of some five hundred yards; in this order they advanced toward the enemy over ground covered with scrub-oaks and pitch pine, not high enough to obstruct the vision, but well adapted to form a cover for the Indians. The right of our line resting on a hill not far from the river was commanded by Col. Butler supported by Major John Garrett; the left stretching toward a marsh to the northwest, was under command of Col. Denison and Lieut. Col. Dorrance. The enemy's left wing, composed of British provincials, was commanded by Major John Butler; next to them, and forming the centre were the Tories under Captains Pawling and Hopkins, on the right were the Indians. The enemy's right rested upon a marsh, and behind the thick foliage of its undergrowth there lay concealed a large number of Indian warriors. At the word of command our men advanced and delivered a rapid fire with steadiness, which was returned by the enemy who slowly fell back before our advancing column. Advancing thus for the distance of a mile our line found themselves in a cleared space of several acres where, unprotected by any undergrowth, they were exposed to galling fire from the British who were shielded by a kind of breastwork formed in part by a log fence running across the upper part of the clearing. The advance was checked, and at this moment the horde of Indians rushed from the swamp and in overwhelming numbers, with war whoop and brandishing of spears, fell upon our left, attacking it in flank and rear. Confusion ensued, or-

ders were misunderstood or could not be executed. The left wing was forced back toward the right, the column was broken, and the day lost. Lieut. Col. Dorrance fell mortally wounded, Major John Garrett was killed; "every captain fell at his position in the line, and there the men lay like sheaves of wheat after the harvesters." In the flight from the field the men began moving off in squads firing at their pursuers, until decimated by fire and borne down by numbers, they fled as best they might. Some reached Forty-Fort, other fled to the river, and a few of these succeeded in crossing and reaching Wilkes-Barre. Those who were taken were either killed outright or reserved for death by torture the following evening. Our loss is variously estimated at from one hundred and sixty to two hundred. Major John Butler, the commander of the enemy, says two hundred and twenty-seven scalps were taken. The loss of the enemy is unknown, but it is believed to have been from forty to eighty. Such was the battle of Wyoming, very briefly and imperfectly told.

Col. Denison escaped from the field and assumed command at Forty-Fort. On the following day, the 4th of July, a second demand was made by the enemy for its surrender. There was no means at hand for further resistance, and the terms offered being looked upon as favorable as could be expected under the circumstances, the fort was given up in accordance with the following articles:

Westmoreland, July 4, 1778.

"Capitulation made and completed between Major John Butler, on behalf of His Majesty King George the Third, and Col. Nathan Denison, of the United States of America.

Art. 1. That the inhabitants of the settlement lay down their arms and the garrisons be demolished.

2d. That the inhabitants are to occupy their farms peaceably and the lives of the inhabitants preserved entire and unhurt.

3d. That the Continental stores be delivered up.

4th. That Major Butler will use his utmost influence that the private property of the inhabitants shall be preserved entire to them.

5th. That the prisoners in Forty-Fort be delivered up, and

that Samuel Finch, now in Major Butler's possession, be delivered up also.

6th. That the property taken from the people called Tories, up the river, be made good; and they to remain in peaceable possession of their farms, unmolested in a free trade, in and throughout this State, as far as lies in my power.

7th. That the inhabitants, that Col. Denison now capitulates for, together with himself, do not take up arms during the present contest."

These articles having been duly executed the fort was immediately surrendered.

The victorious columns of the enemy were seen marching toward the fort. On the left were the British Provincials and Tories in columns of four, led by Major Butler; on the right were their painted savage allies, disposed in like order. With banners flying, to the music of the fife and drum, and with all the pomp and circumstance of war which so heterogeneous a mass could assume, they approached the fort. At a signal the gates were thrown open. Butler and his followers marched in by the north gate, while the Indians, led by their chiefs, entered by the south gate. All the arms of the fort, stacked in the centre of the parade, were given up to Major Butler who at once presented them to the savages, saying "they were a present from the Yankees," and then turning to Col. Denison, remarked, "That as Wyoming was a frontier, it was wrong for any part of the inhabitants to leave their own settlements and enter into the Continental army abroad; that such a number having done so, was the cause of the invasion, and that it would never have been attempted if the men had remained at home." Col. Franklin, who heard the declaration, added, "I was of the same opinion."

The people had taken with them into the fort many of their household goods and personal belongings; these now became a prey to the cupidity of the savages, who, unrestrained by any authority, went about the fort robbing the inmates of whatever they possessed, even to the clothes they wore. From robbing the people in the fort they soon passed to the plunder and devastation of the whole valley, burning and destroying wherever they went. Many of the people living in Wilkes-

Barre and the settlements below Forty-Fort, had already begun their flight through the wilderness toward the Delaware and to Sunbury by the way of the river. The flight now became general and continued in terror and panic until nearly all had gone. A few remained in their cabins in the forts for a fortnight or more, detained by illness or by the lack of means of getting away.

Notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation this fort was not demolished, and a few years afterwards was put in repair and garrisoned for a short time.

WINTERMOOT'S FORT.

Wintermoot's Fort was situated in Exeter township, between Wyoming avenue, in the present borough of Sturmerville, and the Susquehanna, about eighty rods from the river. It consisted of a stockade surrounding a dwelling house, and was built prior to the time of holding the town meeting, August, 1776, by the Wintermoots, a numerous family who had lived in that neighborhood for some time. They had fallen under the suspicion of their neighbors by reason of various circumstances, which led to the belief that the family were Tories and in communication with the enemy. The building of the fort had not been sanctioned by any one in authority and this circumstance deepened the distrust with which they were looked upon; though no facts were at hand that might confirm the suspicions or serve as grounds to support charges against them. This state of affairs, however, was enough to put the inhabitants on their guard, and led to the action of the town meeting of August, 1776, which required that all forts should be located by the committee, in order that thereafter, no one who was under suspicion should be permitted to build a fort. The fort was under command of Lieut. Elisha Scovell; and at the approach of the enemy it sheltered a few families of the neighborhood. At the command to surrender a feeble show of resistance was made, but all serious efforts of defence were opposed by the Wintermoots who said that Major But-

ler, the commander of the enemy, would find a welcome there.*

On the evening of July 1, the enemy encamped on the mountain nearly opposite this fort and within two miles of it. Parties of the enemy passed in and out of the fort during the night; the next morning the gates were thrown open and possession given up. It is probable that the enemy here learned the number and disposition of our forces; our defensive works, locations and the quantity of plunder that would fall to the lot of his savage ally. This fort became the headquarters of Major Butler. The capitulation was made on the following terms:

“Wintermoot’s Fort, July 1, 1778.

“Art. 1st. That Lieut. Elisha Scovell surrender the fort, with all the stores, arms and ammunition that are in said fort, as well public as private, to Major John Butler.

2d. That the garrison shall not bear arms during the present contest, and Major Butler promises the men, women and children shall not be hurt, either by Indians or rangers.”

On the 3d of July at about the time our troops were forming their line of battle, the fort was set on fire and consumed. No motive has been assigned for the act; whether it was by design or accident is not known. It seems probable that Major Butler studied to have it appear that the Wintermoots were looked upon by him as belonging to our side; it might be of service to them in the future. This view would account for the unnecessary formality of articles of capitulation in the surrender of their fort and also for its destruction. The Wintermoots joined the enemy and in their company withdrew from the Valley a few days later,† and received the reward due them for their treachery. Col. Zebulon Butler, in his report of the battle refers to this fort in the following words: “In the meantime (July 1-3) the enemy had got possession of two forts, one of which we had reason to believe was designed for them, though they burnt both.” All the authorities concur in the belief that the Wintermoots were in secret communication with the enemy, and that the fort was built with

*Miner, 218.

†Stone’s History, Wyoming, 201.

the ultimate purpose of giving it up to them and to aid and abet their cause.

JENKINS' FORT.*

This site was fixed by the committee before mentioned under resolution of the town meeting of August, 1776; and the building was begun soon after that date. Being in the neighborhood of Wintermoot's Fort it was looked upon as a counter-check to that structure—and this may have been the reason it was so speedily finished. It was situated in Exeter township, within the present limits of the borough of West Pittston, about ten or twelve rods northeast of the Pittston Ferry bridge. Standing upon the top of the high bank, and overlooking the river, the place was subject to the encroachment of the current. Through the lapse of years a large part of the bluff has been washed away, and a considerable part of the site now the river's bed.

The structure was a stockade built around and in connection with the dwelling house of John Jenkins, hence its name. The stockade part was built in the usual manner by planting upright timbers in a trench of proper depth; these uprights were sharpened at the tops, and in this case, owing to their small size doubtless, "were fastened together by pins of wood and stiffened with two rows of timbers put on horizontally and pinned to the uprights inside, thus stiffening and uniting the whole into a substantial structure." Several families were gathered within this inclosure on the evening of July 1st for the protection it seemed to promise. Immediately after the surrender of Wintermoot's Fort a detachment of the enemy under command of Captain Caldwell of the Royal Greens was sent to reduce this place. The garrison consisted of but eight available men, and no effectual resistance being possible, surrendered the fort under the following terms:

Fort Jenkins Fort, July 1, 1778.

"Between Major John Butler, on behalf of his Majesty King George the Third, and John Jenkins.

*This site was marked by the Dial Rock Chapter, D. A. R., 12 Oct. 1900.

"Art. 1st. That the fort with all the stores, arms and ammunition be delivered up immediately.

2d. That Major John Butler shall preserve to them, intire, the lives of the men, women and children."

Like Wintermoot's Fort, it was burned during the battle, two days later.

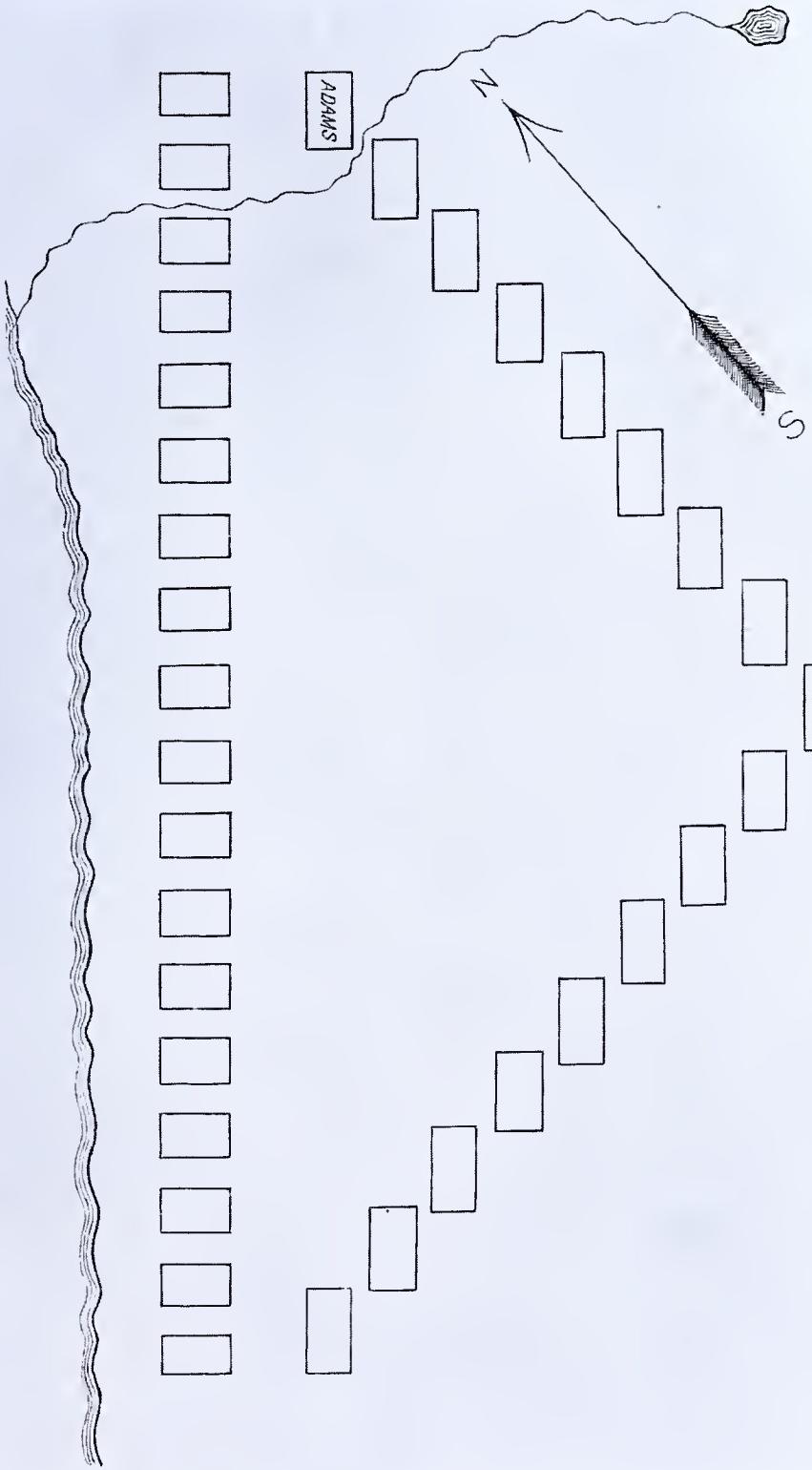
PITTSTON FORT.†

Pittston Fort was situated in the township of the same name on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, now within the limits of the city of Pittston, between Main street and the river, on land occupied in part by the lumber yard and buildings of J. E. Patterson & Co. It is nearly opposite the site of Jenkins' Fort. The original defensive works that occupied this space were built under the authority of the proprietors. At a meeting of the proprietors and settlers, held in Wilkes-Barre, May 20, 1772, it was voted: "That ye Proprietors belonging to ye Town of Pittston have ye Liberty to go into their Town, and there to forty-fie and keep in a body near together, and Guard by themselves until further Notice from this Committee."* In accordance with this vote the proprietors of the township laid out the lot mentioned, for the purposes of a fort. Each proprietor seems to have had the right of building a house upon the lot suited for defence in case of attack, and following a general plan in respect to size and location, which, when completed would form a fortification of quite large dimensions, and that might withstand the assaults of a large force. The fort was composed of thirty-five houses of uniform size, built of logs, the houses "standing in the form of a pyramid or triangle, the base of which was formed by the river; each one being placed three feet within the other, on the upper side, so that the rear of every successive house could be defended from the preceding one. There was a space between the houses which formed the base and those which formed the sides of the pyramid, with a large gateway which was flanked with pickets at each end. The houses on the

†The Report of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1905-6, notes the marking of this site by the Dial Rock Chapter.

*Westmoreland Records.

PITTSSTON FORT ON SUSQUEHANNA AT PITTSSTON.





upper side faced toward the river, and those on the river side faced toward the hill or the inclosed area. Those that were next to the river were constructed so as to guard against an attack from the Indians creeping along the bank. The house at the apex of the triangle was situated on the highest ground and overlooked not only the fort but the river and surrounding country; on the top of this house was a promenade for sentries. The houses were so constructed as to communicate from the one to the other in the upper story. Along the north corner there was stream of water from which the inhabitants of the fort received their supply.”*

There is some doubt as to the time the fort was finished in accordance with this plan. It was begun in 1772 as before stated; in 1774 several of its houses were finished. The triangle, however, was not completed until 1779, or perhaps later. It is certain the fort was finished in the manner described soon after 1779, and remained in use a number of years. In 1778 the people of the neighborhood were sheltered in three blockhouses surrounded by a stockade built in the usual way—this being a portion only of the fort with the stockade added as a temporary defence. By this disposition it would be capable of being defended by a smaller garrison, and also furnish enough room during the emergency.

All the families living in Pittston and its neighborhood were assembled within this enclosure during the battle of Wyoming. The garrison consisted of about forty men under the command of Captain Jeremiah Blanchard, and comprised one of the companies of the 24th regiment that did not take part in the battle. The responsibility of protecting the women and children under their charge outweighed every other consideration. It is said also that Major Butler immediately upon his arrival gave orders for the collection and guarding of all craft upon the river thereabouts, making communication with the opposite bank impossible. From their station in the fort the people could see the enemy on the other side, and were witnesses to the battle and flight from the field, as well as to the unspeakable methods of torture practiced on the prisoners the night following the battle. On the 4th of July the fort

*Proc. & Coll. Wyoming Hist. & Geolog. Society. 11. 78.

was surrendered on the same terms granted to the other forts, an assurance of the safety of the lives of the occupants. The Indians placed a mark of black paint on the faces of the prisoners, in order that they might be known and saved from harm, as the savages asserted; and telling them further, in case they went outside the fort, each should carry a piece of white cloth for like purpose. The scenes that were enacted at Forty-Fort were repeated here; the savages plundered the people of all they possessed. As soon as possible after the surrender most of the inmates of the fort fled to the settlement on the Delaware, and made their way thence to their former homes in New England. A few, however, as happened at Forty-Fort, detained by sickness or other causes, remained in the fort two weeks after the battle, subjected to the constant terror and molestation of the hordes of savages that infested every place. After the fort was deserted it was partly burnt by the vagrant Indians; but within two years thereafter it was restored and the plan before described was carried out, making an extensive and strong defensive work. The houses of the fort being the dwellings of the proprietors, the garrison therefore comprised most of the inhabitants of the township. The fort remained standing until some years after the close of the war when the buildings were removed and the fort lot became a common, and was used for several years as a public parade.

WILKES-BARRE FORT.

Wilkes-Barre Fort was located in the public square, Wilkes-Barre, and occupied the ground now in part covered by the court house. It was built in pursuance of the vote of the town meeting of August 24, 1776, though owing to circumstances before narrated it was not finished until 1778. The court house and jail of Westmoreland county were also located here, and this place seems to have been selected for the building of the fort with the view of protecting these buildings by enclosing them within its walls. The walls were of a double row of logs set upright in a trench, in the same manner as

those of Forty-Fort were constructed, and reached to the height of sixteen feet above the ground. The structure contained an area of about one-half an acre, and was in the form of a parallelogram, with flanking towers at the angles, and was provided with a single gateway opening toward the river, northwest. The sides were pierced with loop-holes to enable the garrison to deliver its fire without exposure; and one four-pound gun was mounted on the rampart, but, inasmuch as there happened to be no suitable ammunition, it served as an alarm gun only. Barracks or huts were built along the walls within the works, which, together with the room afforded by the public buildings, were sufficient to shelter the occupants. The work was surrounded by a ditch. The water supply was taken from a spring either within the enclosure or near at hand.

A large number of women and children were crowded into this shelter on the eve of the battle, with but a handful of men for their protection. The necessity of a large garrison was not so pressing in this case, perhaps, as in some others, owing to the muster of the militia at Forty-Fort, three miles north, on the opposite side of the river, and directly in the line of the advance movement of the enemy. A few of the survivors of the battle made their escape to the Wilkes-Barre fort, bringing word of the battle. During the night plans were made for flight; and on the morning of the 4th many of the occupants of the fort set out, empty-handed, on their long and perilous journey through the wilderness. On the same day the savages were in possession of the fort; there seems to have been no formal surrender, as the articles of capitulation of Forty-Fort included this also. During the day the fort was abandoned, and a band of savages seeking plunder entered it and set it on fire, reducing to ashes both the fort and the public buildings.

SHAWNEE FORT.

Shawnee Fort was built under authority of the town meeting heretofore mentioned. It was situated south of Plymouth in the township of the same name, on the southeast side of a

roadway leading to Shawnee flats and called the Flats road. It occupied a slight rise of ground to which it gave the name Garrison Hill.

It was a stockade fort, the dimensions of which are not now known. A garrison composed of old men was stationed here before and during the battle. The women and children of the neighborhood were assembled here at that time. Soon after the result of the battle became known to the occupants of this stockade the exodus began as in the case of the other forts; some made their way down the river, while others, crossing the river, joined other fugitives in the journey through the wilderness. At this time the fort was partly destroyed by fire. The following fall it was repaired and garrisoned by a small company of men during the winter. They served as a protection to such property as had not been destroyed by the savages the preceding summer. During the winter the fort was attacked by roving bands of savages, who were, however, beaten off with no loss of life on the part of the garrison. The site of the structure was on the river flats and subject to overflow at the period of great river-floods. This fact was unknown at the time the fort was built, as no flood of extraordinary rise had occurred since the settlement of the region. In 1784, however, there was an ice flood, the like of which has never been known since, and among the many buildings that were swept away were the remains of Shawnee Fort.

There were also blockhouses that served as places of refuge in times of danger, situated in places at a distance from the forts already described, and where the necessity of a larger work was not great.

STEWART'S BLOCKHOUSE.

The Stewart blockhouse was situated in Hanover township, a few rods from the bank of the Susquehanna river, on a slight rise of ground, on lot No. 3, First Division. It was built by Capt. Lazarus Stewart in the year 1771, and is said to have been the first building in the township. It was built of logs and was one and a half stories high. It contained

STEWART'S BLOCKHOUSE



four rooms on the first floor and ample space in the floor above for convenience of its defenders. The part above the second floor projected beyond the walls of the first story; this overshoot, as it was called, enabled the occupants of the house to protect the walls from assault of an attacking party, in a manner as effective as from flanking towers. A number of families were gathered there for protection on the third and fourth of July, 1778. After the battle, they, in common with all the inhabitants, departed from the Valley. This blockhouse was occupied by the people of Hanover upon their return, and afterward, until peace was proclaimed; it afforded a safe retreat for the families of the place in time of alarm. A band of Indians made an attack upon it in June, 1781. The house was defended with great spirit, the women taking an active part in the defence. The attacking party was repulsed with some loss and were pursued by a detachment sent from the fort at Wilkes-Barre.

There was also a blockhouse in this township situated some distance south of Stewart's on lot seventeen or eighteen (and occupied as a dwelling by Roswell Franklin); its exact location is not known; it served a useful purpose during the revolutionary period, in the protection it afforded in time of danger.* It was several times the object of attack by the savages, and in April, 1782, Franklin's wife and several of the younger children were carried away.

A third blockhouse was situated in the present limits of Plains township, called Rosencrans' blockhouse. On the approach of the enemy prior to the battle of Wyoming, the inhabitants of the neighborhood gathered at this house. Owing to the weakness of the work and the lack of means of defence, it was deemed unsafe to remain there, and accordingly the people sought other places of refuge, part of them crossed the river to Forty-Fort and others betook themselves to the protection of Wilkes-Barre Fort.

The blockhouse mentioned in Col. Butler's letter to Gen. Hand of the 23d March, 1779, as situated on the opposite side of the river from Wilkes-Barre, may have been the one he erected during the first Pennamite war, 1771, and was one of the sev-

*Plumb's History of Hanover.

eral fortified places from which Fort Wyoming, then in possession of the Pennamites, was successfully assailed. It was situated on the bank of the river nearly opposite the foot of Northampton street, where Fort Wyoming was situated, and the only definite reference to it, except as above, is contained in an unpublished letter to Col. Butler, dated Sunbury, February 21, 1779, from Capt. Geo. Bush.

"Your favor of the 19th inst. is before me.....I am sorry for poor Buck's misfortune and the others that suffered with him. The men in the blockhouse behaved bravely indeed. I am happy to hear they defeated the damned yellow dogs and hope in the next summer we will make them severely answer for their past offences."

Miner speaks of the death of Lieut. Buck but gives no date nor mentions the blockhouse.

There is no record of the number of the people who were gathered within the forts and blockhouses. One intelligent witness who was in Forty-Fort, says of that place "the settlers generally moved into the fort, it was crowded full." From the circumstances it is reasonable to conclude that the other forts were also crowded full.

The population of the valley may be ascertained by taking the original list of taxables in the central townships for 1777, and multiplying by six. This figure is selected in making the calculation, because of its general use at that day for similar estimates under like conditions.

Kingston had 92 taxables, by six is.....	552
Wilkes-Barre had 99 taxables, by six is.....	594
Pittston (and Exeter) had 99 taxables, by six is.....	594
Plymouth had 113 taxables, by six is.....	678
Hanover had 82 taxables, by six is.....	492
<hr/>	
A total of	2,910
<hr/>	

Deducting two hundred absent in the Continental Army, and three hundred who fell in the massacre, we have 2,410 non-combatants in the Valley.

Much of the greater part of the residents of Plymouth, and probably all of Hanover sought shelter in their own block-

houses. All the others, more than fourteen hundred, gathered into the three forts at Wilkes-Barre, Forty-Fort and Pittston. Of these, from the evidence adduced, it is believed there were seven hundred in Forty-Fort, four hundred in Wilkes-Barre and three hundred in Pittston.

In ascertaining the number of fugitives after the disaster, it is necessary to include the people of the outlying townships, Capouse, Huntingdon and Salem, who seemed so far removed from danger that they did not seek the forts, but joined in the exodus, thus swelling the total to over three thousand.

Wyoming Valley, as has been said, was an isolated community in the country of a savage enemy. Two ranges of mountains lay between the Susquehanna and the Delaware. The nearest is the Pocono, and on the south side of Wyoming it is a plateau rising a thousand feet above the Valley, the greater part of which is still a dense forest filled with swamps. The sufferings of those who fled through this region baffles description. Most of the fugitives turning from the desolated Valley lunged into the wilderness, wandering in the marshes as chance or fear directed, without clothing, or food or guide, seeking their way to the Delaware and thence to Connecticut. So great a number perished from hunger and exhaustion, that these swamps have ever since been called the "Shades of Death."

*"Their flight was a scene of wide spread and harrowing sorrow. Their dispersion being in an hour of the wildest terror, the people were scattered, singly, in pairs, and in groups, as chance separated them or threw them together in that sad hour of peril and distress. Let the mind picture to itself a single group, flying from the valley to the mountain on the east, and climbing the steep ascent—hurrying onward, filled with terror, despair and sorrow—the affrighted mother whose husband has fallen—an infant on her bosom, a child by the hand, an aged parent slowly climbing the rugged steep behind them; hunger presses them severely; in the rustling of every leaf they hear the approaching savage, a deep and dreary wilderness is before them, the valley all in flames behind."

*W. A. Wilcox, address Wyoming Com. Assn., 2d July, 1887.

About one-third went by canoes and rafts to Sunbury. Mr. Wm. Maclay, to the council of Pennsylvania, 12th July, 1778, says, "I left Sunbury Wednesday last. I never in my life saw such scenes of distress. The river and roads leading down it, were covered with men, women and children, flying for their lives."

FORT WALLENPAUPACK.

In Palmyra township, Pike county, the Connecticut settlers erected a palisaded fort about the year 1774 as a defence against the Indians. The settlement and fort were on the "Manor of Wallenpaupack," being tract 98 in Palmyra, in Wayne and Pike counties. "This fort which was probably somewhat primitive in its construction, was a field containing about an acre, surrounded by a trench, into which upright pieces of hewed timber were firmly fixed. The spot was selected from the circumstance of its containing a living spring. The fort was erected on the eastern side of the Sterling road, almost immediately opposite the point where the road leading through Salem, over Cobb's mountain, and along the Lackawanna to the Wyoming settlements, called the "Old Wyoming road," branches off from the Sterling road. It is six miles southwest from the hamlet now marked on the maps as Wilsonville. Within the inclosed space was a blockhouse, also built of squared pieces of hewed timber, upon the top of which was a sentry box, made bullet proof. There was, beside, a guard house standing just east of the blockhouse. The defences were so constructed that rifle ball fired from the high ground on the east into the fort, would strike the palisades on the opposite side above a man's head. After the rumors of the Indian troubles on the Susquehanna, the settlers constantly spent the night in the fort."*

On the afternoon of July 4th, 1778, the news of the Wyoming tragedy of the previous day reached the settlement of Wallenpaupack, and before sunset the terrified inhabitants were fleeing toward the Delaware and thence made their way to

their former homes. The settlement was entirely deserted. Sometime in the winter of 1778-79 the fort was destroyed by the Indians.

The settlements along the Delaware in what is now Pike county had built "forts" as they were called, but in reality their preparations for defence consisted in simple stockades around several of the stronger dwelling houses. One of these was at Dingman's; one at Capt. Johannes Van Etten's, three or four miles above Dingman's; another, "Fort Decker," about three miles below Dingman's, on Hornbeck creek; and still another was "Fort Brink," where John and Garrett Brink lived, two or three miles above the Bushkill. Emanuel Gunschalus (Gonzales) lived at the Bushkill, and his house, too, was placed in as good condition for defence as was possible.

As a matter of interest it is mentioned, that the "Manor of Wallenpaupack" was surveyed October 14, 1751, upon warrant dated November 25th, 1748, "for the use of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania," and as if in marked defiance of the proprietaries, this body of men selected it for their settlement. It was within the limits of the Delaware Company's purchase and founded under the authority of that company, though its communications and associations were always more with Wyoming; and when the county of Westmoreland was erected the "Manor" was included and brought within its jurisdiction.

On the banks of the Delaware river at a point near the mouth of a stream known as Caulkins creek, in Damascus township, Wayne county, a blockhouse was built by Simeon Caulkins, Moses Thomas and others, in the year 1755. The site is on tract No. 178 in Damascus, surveyed to John Lande. It was the pioneer settlement made by Connecticut people in Pennsylvania, and was made by the Delaware Company, and by them named Cushutunk, after an Indian village lately existing at that place. In 1763 it contained about thirty log houses, a grist mill and a saw mill besides the blockhouse. In November of that year it was attacked by Indians from Wyoming, and of the three men present, one was killed and another wounded, before they could reach the fort, but it was successfully defended by the third, named Witters, who with

*W. J. Woodward, M. 467.

the women and children kept the savages at bay until aid reached them from Minisink.

Bands of Indians and Tories twice raided the settlement in 1777, killing several people, destroying the crops, burning the dwellings and driving off the patriots.

Cushutunk was a peculiarly exposed locality during the war; it lay furthest north of all the settlements, upon the path down which the Indians came to strike the Minisink region, and in addition to this it suffered from internal dissension between patriots and Tories and between holders of lands under opposing titles.

Quinlan, in the History of Wayne County, says: "The Tories appropriated the abandoned property of their former Whig neighbors, and an almost constant local war prevailed between the two parties, and intermixed with its asperities were occasional murders."

FORT SULLIVAN.*

Fort Sullivan was situated in the present borough of Athens near the public square. At this point the two rivers, Susquehanna and Tioga, approach within two hundred yards of each other, and again diverging form a junction two or more miles below. The intervening plain was known as Tioga Point. Gen. Sullivan with his army encamped at this place in August, 1779, awaiting the arrival of Gen. Clinton, who with his command was there to join the expedition against the six nations. Gen. Sullivan directed the building of a fort on the narrow neck of land mentioned, for the protection of the stores and the boats that had been used to transport the supplies for the army from Wilkes-Barre, and which would be needed on the return; and to provide a base of supplies for the army while in the Indian country.

"Four strong blockhouses set in angles of a parallelogram served as bastions of the work; the two opposite ones—diagonally—resting on the bank of each river, and the other two midway between and at a distance of about one hundred yards from each other. The curtain was made by setting

*Boulders and bronze tablets were erected here by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1902. Ed.

logs endwise into the ground. The whole being surrounded by a ditch, making a work of ample strength for the place."** Two hundred and fifty men were detached as a garrison under command of Col. Israel Shreve of the Second New Jersey Regiment. The surplus stores were left here and the invalids, equal in numbers to the garrison. Col. Shreve was charged with the duty besides maintaining the post, of receiving and providing for all the sick and disabled that might be sent back, and of keeping communication open to Wyoming. The army on its return march reached Tioga Point September 29th, and after a rest of four days, resumed its way to Wilkes-Barre. Before setting out from Tioga Point on October 3, 1779, the fort was, by order of the commander, demolished in order that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

FORT WYOMING.†

On the 4th of August, 1778, a month after the battle, Col. Zebulon Butler, ordered to the command of this post by the Board of War, returned to Wyoming with Captain Spaulding's Company, being the two Independent Westmoreland Companies now reduced to seventy-eight officers and men, and Capt. Smith's militia of thirty-four officers and men, and finding the Wilkes-Barre fort destroyed, and no other defensive work capable of sheltering his men, and the region still infested by Indians, immediately took measures to maintain his position. He took possession of a log house on South Main street, near the Pickering or Ross house and set up around it a strong paling, built of posts set into the ground about three feet and standing ten or twelve feet high, provided with loop holes for firing. This served as quarters for the small force until they could rebuild Fort Wyoming. The presence of this company in the valley gave some sense of security to the returning fugitives, a number of whom joined with the soldiers in the work of building the fort.

*Rev. David Craft's address at the Centennial of the Battle of Newtown.
†Site marked by Wyoming Valley Chapter, D. A. R., 14 June, 1899.

The fort was built of logs, on the site of the old Fort Wyoming on the river bank about ten rods below the junction of Northampton and River streets. Two parallel walls seven feet high and four feet apart were placed horizontally and framed to each other at proper distances; the space between the two was filled with well tamped earth. The walls were protected by a ditch, and beyond the ditch tops of trees with branches carefully sharpened were set in the ground, forming a kind of Cheval de frise. Within the enclosure a low platform was erected along the walls on all sides, standing upon which the men were able to deliver their fire over the top. A single four pound gun was mounted in the works and in order to insure its greatest efficiency in time of need, embrasures were made in each of the walls, thus enabling the defenders by changing the location of the piece to turn its fire in any direction. The walls were rounded at the corners so as to flank on all sides, and a gate opened toward the west; access to a copious spring at the margin of the river was had by a protected way; the inclosure contained about half an acre of land and barracks were provided for the garrison. The fort was enlarged and strengthened afterwards. The garrison was increased as appears by the return of 1st September, 1778, by Captain Bush and company of eighty-five men and Lieut. Gore's company of eight, and was thereby enabled to send a company of men, the Wyoming Volunteers, to the West Branch to reinforce the battallions under Col. Hartley, of the Penna. line, in his expedition to Sheshequin, in September, 1778, to destroy the Indian settlement, which had served as a base of supplies for the savages in their frequent attacks on Wyoming. The expedition having accomplished its purpose returned to Sunbury by way of Wyoming, when the garrison was increased by the Wyoming Company and a small detail from Col. Hartley's regiment, making in all about one hundred and forty men on 3d October, 1778; included in this number were the remnants of a company under Lieut. Gore, and Capt. Smith's militia. This expedition marched three hundred miles in two weeks, devastated Queen Esther's country, and defeated the Indians in several skirmishes. In Col. Hartley's report

he speaks in high terms of the conduct of Capt. Spaulding and the men under him from Fort Wyoming.

Soon after this, about the first of November, the Indians came down in force, destroying the settlements and investing Wyoming, taking prisoners from below Nescopeck, whereupon Col. Hartley advanced from Fort Jenkins, which was situated in the river about thirty-five miles below Wilkes-Barre, with its garrison, to the relief of Wyoming, and with this diversion in his favor, Col. Butler was able to sustain his position and repulse the enemy with his command alone.

In Col. Hartley's report to Ex. Council, dated Sunbury, 9th November, 1778, he says:

"The enemy within these ten days have come down in force and invested Wyoming. They have burnt and destroyed all the settlements on the North East Branch as far as Nescopeck. Fort Jenkins, where we have a small garrison, has supported itself for the present. About seventy Indians were seen twenty-two miles from here yesterday advancing towards the forks of the Chillisquaque; they took some prisoners. With the small force we have we are endeavoring to make a stand. Had one or two regiments been sent to Wyoming, as I requested, these calamities would now probably not have happened. Should the enemy take that fort, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey will then too late think of its importance. I am drawing some little force together and tomorrow will endeavor to attack the Indians on the Chillisquaque, and make a movement toward Fishing Creek, which will probably be of use to the people of Wyoming."

And in an unpublished letter to Col. Butler from Fort Jenkins under date of 14th November, 1778:

"Dear Sir: I understand our friends from Chemung have paid you a visit. The West Branch is strong and safe. The troops from the main army are certainly on their march, I presume you have heard of their approach. I am advancing with horse, foot, provisions and artillery. I shall move early to-morrow, if there are any of the gentry on the way we shall make them know us. My men are in the highest spirits. Let me know of your situation by to-morrow night, we shall probably be about Wapwallopen: I move slow and if any of the

lads show their noses they will be hurted. I have the best marksmen and the best powder I ever saw.

I am, Sir, your most

Obdt. humble Servt.,

THOS. HARTLEY,

Lieut. Coll. Zeb. Butler.

Coll. Commt."

And again three days later:

"Fort Jenkins, Nov. 17, 3 o'clock in the morning, 1778.

"Dear Sir: I just now received yours of the 16th inst. I am happy to find the savages have returned and that the communication is once more open between us. Your accounts are pleasing concerning the strength of your garrison.

Hearing of your distress I collected all the force I could and was determined to relieve you if it was in my power. We have made much parade, our advanced body was at Wapwallopen, our main body with the flour and ammunition at Nescopeck to-night: still firing our field piece, swivels, etc., as we moved forward, the Tories thought us numerous.

I adopted this mode of advancing, because my letter to you which I sent by Carr fell into the enemy's hands. In this, among other things, I informed you that Congress had directed Genl. Washington to send on a body to break up the settlements at Chemung and protect the frontiers of Pennsylvania, New York, etc., and that I was ordered to hold myself in readiness to co-operate with those troops and was preparing for the same, and also gave you notice to do the like.

You will receive fifteen axes, a number of carpenter tools, ammunition, etc., forty-two barrels of flour, three barrels of whiskey, two barrels of biscuit; you shall have more as soon as I can send the same. Capt. Bush with a party conveys these stores as far as Wapwallopen, or the whole way if necessary.

Some men of Major Eichelberger's Company and one of Capt. Thornbury's Company, goes and is to be stationed at Wyoming. Capt. Thornbury's and Mr. Eichelberger's Company, but you will send the remainder of my men by Capt. Bush, unless there should be some new alarm.

I have wrote pressingly to Congress and Board of War for a

regiment to be sent to garrison Wyoming, and that my regiment should be stationed here, and at the West Branch, and I have no doubt but this will be complied with.

You may keep the swivel which is on the big boat. You will please let Mr. Lemon come down, Mr. Ensign Thornburg relieves him.

My compliments to all friends and am with much esteem

Your most obdt.

Humble servt.,

THOS. HARTLEY,

To Lieut. Coll. Zeb. Butler,

Coll. Commd'g.

Comm'd'g.

"If you are reinforced with the regiment and would make a movement toward Tanckanock with two hundred men, I should imagine the enemy would be almost intimidated enough to leave Chemung, as they believe an expedition will be carried against them."

Yours etc., T. H."

During the winter and spring several attacks were made upon the part of the Indians and in March, 1779, a strong body of savages and Tories made a determined attack on the fort; three hundred painted warriors marching in the form of a semi-circle approached as if to carry it by storm: after a sharp engagement they were repulsed. The garrison being too weak to do more than hold possession of the fort, the enemy, though defeated in their main purpose, succeeded in destroying much property and carrying off a number of horses and cattle. Col. Butler in an unpublished letter to Gen. Hand thus describes the scenes occurring late in March, 1779:

Garrison, Wyoming, March 23d, 1779.

"Honored Sir:

The intent of this is to inform you of a late affair at this post. On the 21st inst. there appeared a number of Indians on the flats opposite the fort, who had taken one old man before they appeared on the flats and were in pursuit after another, who the people in the blockhouse relieved by advanc-

ing upon them; but our people were soon obliged to retreat seeing a superior number, though a very hot fire on both sides. The enemy immediately ran about the flats collecting horses and cattle. I ordered a party over, who with those stationed in the blockhouse made about forty, and two subaltern officers, who pushed upon them with such bravery that they retreated through the flats with a constant fire on both sides till they came to woods, when our men discovered two large bodies over a little creek, suppose the whole to be upwards of two hundred; our men retreated slowly, firing, which prevented their pushing Indian like, and got back to the blockhouse well through a heavy fire. The Indians immediately went in pursuit of horses and cattle again, our men in small parties pursuing and firing upon them, but notwithstanding the activity of our troops, after severe skirmishing for two hours and a half the enemy carried off sixty head of horned cattle, twenty horses, and shot my riding horse, they could not catch him, and burned five barns that were partly full of grain and hay and ten houses that the inhabitants had deserted, shot a number of hogs and sheep that they left lying. We had not one man killed, taken or wounded except the old man first mentioned, though a considerable number of our men had bullets through their clothes and hats. Lieut. Pettigrew, a brave officer of Col. Hartley's regiment had his ramrod shot all to pieces in his hand. It is aggravating to see the savage wretches drive off cattle, horses, burning and destroying and we not able to attack them out of the fort. I have sent by the express, who will hand this to Capt. Pattison, to be forwarded to you a particular account of the affair and a particular state of this place to his Excellency Genl. Washington. I mention they have taken off cattle, horses, etc., they have got them out of our reach, but we have no reason to think they have left the place as a number of fires were discovered on the side of the mountain last night.

Can only say I have the honor

to be your honors

Most obt. humble

Servt.

ZEBN. BUTLER.

N. B. Of horses and cattle that were taken in the late ac-

tion are seven continental horses and eight continental cattle,
which were beef.

Z. B."

"Sir:

What happened at the close of this letter will justify my apprehensions of the enemy's not being gone. One o'clock after a large party were discovered on this side the river advancing toward the fort, they surrounded the fort on all sides, firing very briskly, while others were collecting cattle and horses. I sent out about forty men and a small piece and drove them back to a thick wood across a marsh where the enemy made a stand; the skirmishing held till sunset. At this time the enemy were driving off cattle and horses, they got fifty-one head of horned cattle and ten horses, burned three barns partly full of hay and grain and two dwelling houses. We lost no men killed or taken, we had two wounded but 'tis hoped not mortally. 24th and 25th March being extremely stormy we heard not much about them. 26th we discovered large smokes rising about four miles down the river on the other side, where we had a guard in a blockhouse to guard a mill. 27th two men from the blockhouse inform us all is well, except three barns partly filled with grain and hay and two houses with some quantity of provisions were burned. At the time of the burning our people discovered a considerable number running about, but none have been seen this day yet, it is now twelve o'clock. I have sent this same account to Genl. Washington and Board of War.

28th. Nothing happened since the above account, only we now believe we discover their smokes. From our last discoveries I rather think the enemy were near three hundred.

I am your honors
Most obt. Humble
Servt.,
ZEBN. BUTLER.

"Genl. Hand.

Immediately after the attack here mentioned, early in April, the garrison was strengthened by the arrival of a German regiment of about three hundred men, and Col. Butler was enabled to drive the enemy from the valley, though it still lurked

in the neighborhood. On the 20th day of April, 1779, Major Powell with a battalion of two hundred men reached the fort. This body, as well as the German regiment, had been ordered to Wyoming to await Gen. Sullivan's army and were to form part of the force that was designed to march against the Six Nations Indians. Gen. Sullivan arrived with his command June 23d, and after a time spent in preparing for the campaign and providing a fleet of batteaux as a transport train, he set out on the 31st July, leaving a garrison in the fort during his absence. He returned on 7th October after a campaign of so great success as to have broken entirely the power of the Six Nations, having devastated their country and destroyed their villages. He left for Easton on 10th October, 1779.

It was thought prudent to have a strong garrison at this post and accordingly it was increased to three hundred men: Soon after, however, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Northumberland county seconded by the recommendation of Gen. Hand, one hundred and fifty men of the Wyoming contingent were ordered by the Board of War to be sent to Fort Augusta to strengthen that post; the detachment belonged to the German regiment and marched from Wyoming, October 29, 1779, leaving the garrison too feeble to do more than maintain that post, there being but one hundred and ten men left there, composed of Spaulding's Company, Capt. Schott's and a few others. The duties devolving upon the commanding officer by the circumstances of the situation made it necessary for him to afford protection to the returning inhabitants: to guard the approaches to the Valley, and exercise a surveillance over an extended country. With the men and means at hand it was impossible to make this frontier the bulwark and shield of defence it had formerly been to the country lying to the south and east, and predatory bands of savages were able to pass Wyoming at the points indicated and attack the settlements in the neighborhood of the Blue Mountains. During the spring and summer of 1780 many war parties passing down the Susquehanna river in the vicinity of Wyoming and thence moving by a circuitous route to avoid this post, penetrated the region mentioned and committed serious depredations. Owing to the frequency of these attacks and the ser-

ious consequences attending them, it became necessary to provide a defence for the country south of the Blue Mountains, which was fast assuming the character of a frontier: and a chain of forts and blockhouses was built and garrisoned, stretching from the Delaware to the Schuylkill.

Col. Butler continued in command until the controversy concerning the Connecticut title again became prominent. The State of Pennsylvania considering that she was supplying provisions to what was practically a hostile camp, stopped the shipment of stores in October, 1780, and the situation was critical until Congress, on 12th December, ordered the supplies to be forwarded and directed Genl. Washington to relieve the post by troops from the Continental army, not from Pennsylvania or Connecticut. Whereupon he appointed Capt. Mitchell with a detachment of the Jersey line to the Garrison, who relieved Col. Butler and his troops on the 22d of February, 1781, and continued in this position until the spring of 1783, when great complaint having been made of lack of discipline, his force was withdrawn, and two companies of Rangers under Captains Robinson and Schrawder were stationed there, under the plea of needed protection against the savages. They changed the name to Fort Dickinson in honor of the President of the Supreme Executive Council. Meanwhile the expediency of continuing the garrison had been referred to Genl. Washington but he did not feel at liberty to withdraw it without the express direction of Congress. Soon after the conclusion of peace with England the Company of Capt. Robinson was recalled. Capt. Schrawder, however, remained, and on 29th October, 1783, Capt. Christie arrived with his company and the two companies were quartered upon the inhabitants. The soldiery, having no enemy to engage, either Indian, Tory or British, became rude, licentious and insolent, and were used almost exclusively for the oppression of the Connecticut settlers, in hope of driving them to acts of violence which could be construed into resistance to the State government. Goaded by persecution, dispossessed of their crops and lands, harassed to desperation, the settlers determined upon open war, and on 27th July 1784, under command of Capt. John Franklin, they besieged the fort, but after a vigorous attack in which

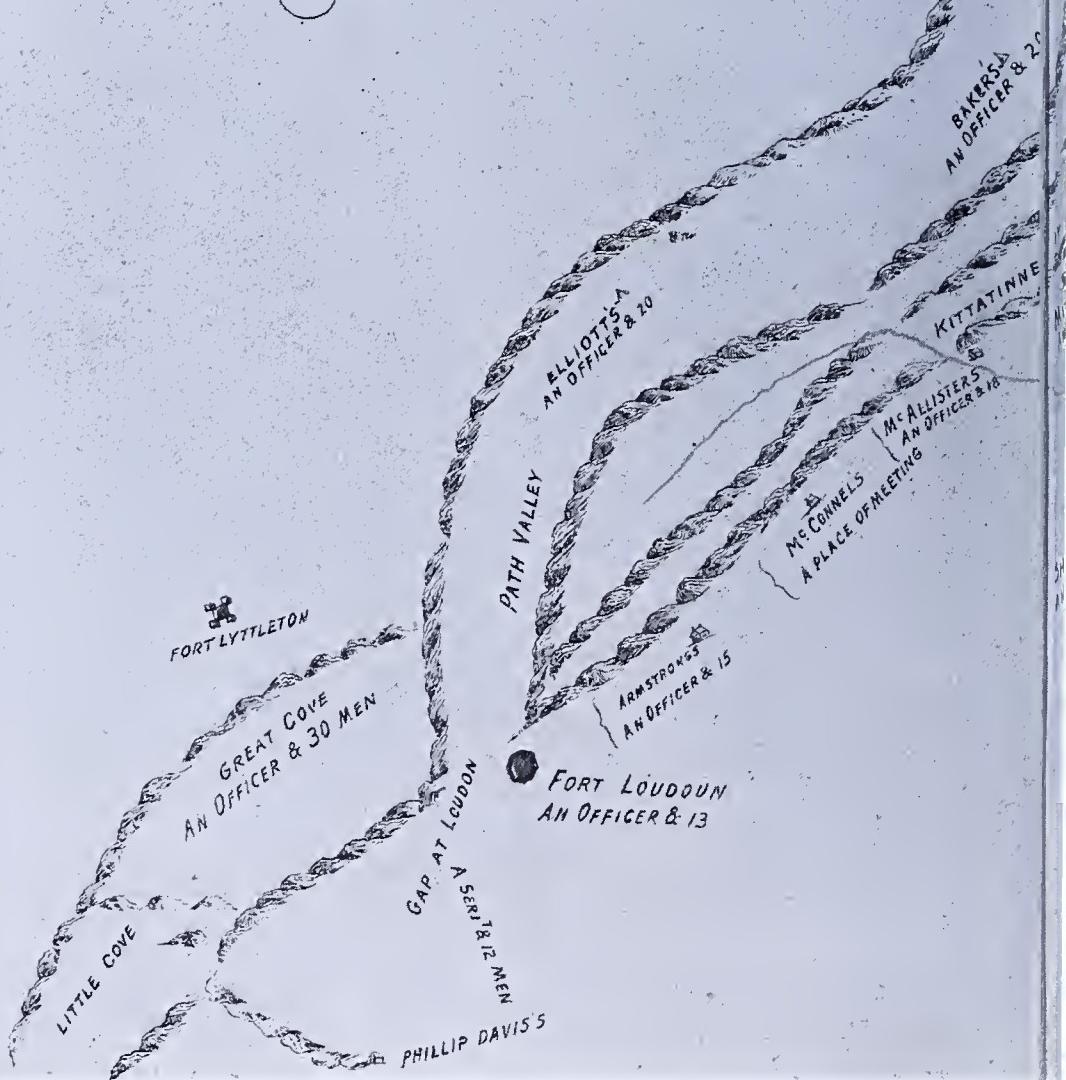
a number of lives were lost they were repulsed; and on the 29th, Commissioners arrived with authority to repress hostilities. The Connecticut people submitted readily, but the garrison refused and defied their power; negotiation failed, and treachery to the Yankees and their arrest and imprisonment followed; escaping from their jailers they again invested the fort on the 30th September, but were forced to abandon the siege with severe loss. Finally, the settlers having suffered innumerable hardships, outraged public opinion compelled the authorities to recall the troops, and they evacuated the fort on Saturday 27th, and the Yankees destroyed it on Tuesday, 30th November, 1784.

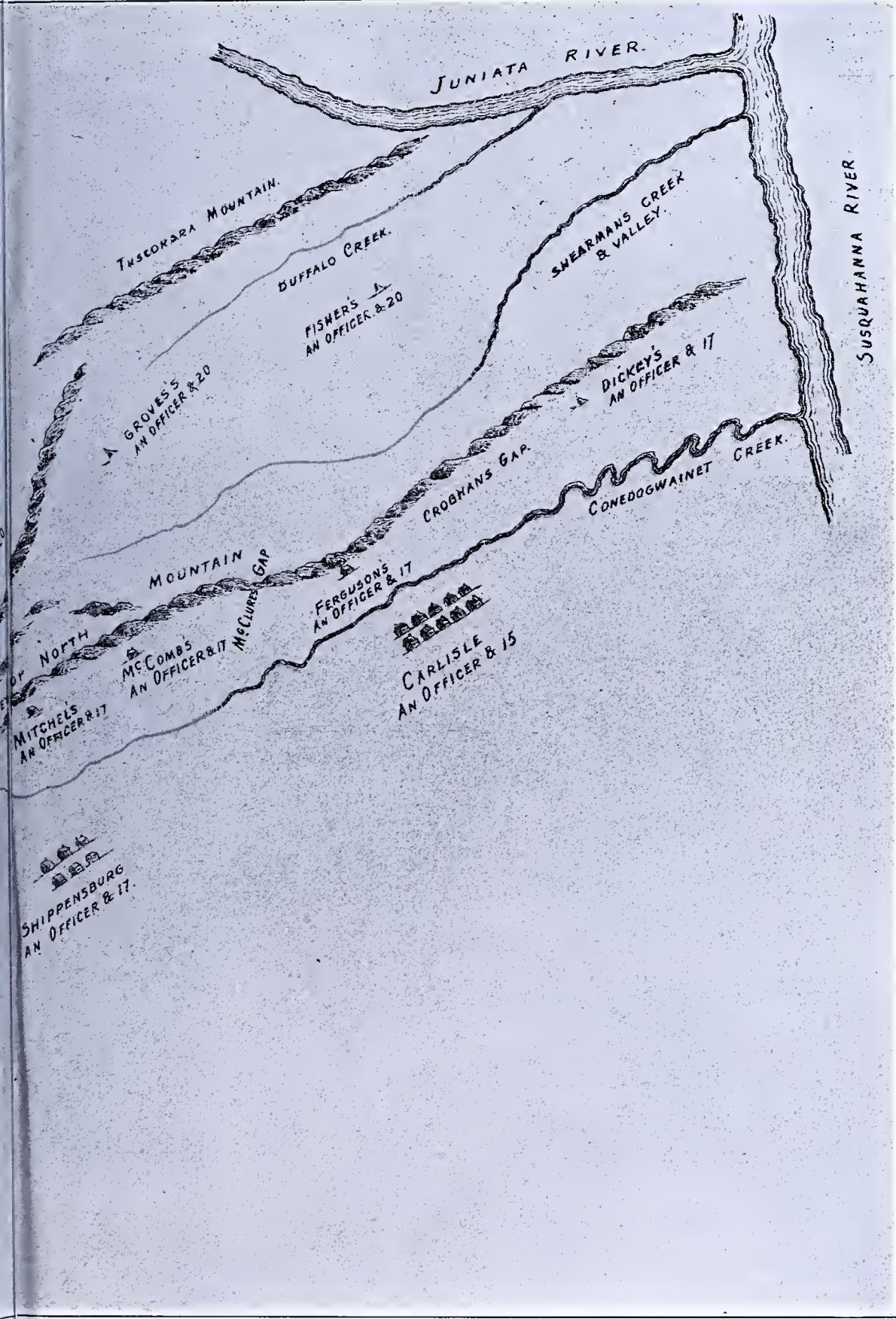
There are no ruins or remains of any of these forts, but it is recommended that suitable memorials be placed to mark the location of the following:

- Wilkes-Barre Fort, in city of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- Forty-Fort, in borough of Forty-Fort, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- Jenkins Fort, in borough of West Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- Pittston Fort, in city of Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- Shawnee Fort, in Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- Fort Wallenpaupack, in Palmyra township, Pike Co., Pa.
- Damascus blockhouse, in Damascus township, Wayne Co., Pa.
- Fort Sullivan, in Athens, Bradford Co., Pa.
- Fort Wyoming, in city of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

DISPOSITION
of the
Pennsylvania Troops
in the Western District.
for the Winter Season

1764





THE FRONTIER FORTS
IN THE
Cumberland and Juniata Valleys
BY
JAY GILFILLAN WEISER



THE FRONTIER FORTS IN THE CUMBERLAND AND JUNIATA VALLEYS.

It is impossible for the writer to specify the many persons to whom he was under obligations for courtesies and assistance rendered him in gathering material in this compilation.

There are some, however, to whom he is especially indebted for favors and he takes this means to express his thanks to William S. Horner, Esq., Chambersburg, Pa.; M. S. Lytle, Esq., Huntingdon, Pa.; Dr. T. H. Wintrode, Huntingdon county; Dr. C. N. Hickok, Everett, Pa.; George C. Frysinger, Esq., Lewistown, Pa.; Hon. Fred K. Kurtz, Centre Hall, Pa.; and John C. Wagner, Shippensburg, Pa. Also to his friend William K. Miller, Esq., of Salem, Snyder county, Pa., for valuable and efficient aid in its preparation.

JAY GILFILLAN WEISER.

INTRODUCTORY.

To Hon. John M. Buckalew:

Sir: I have the honor herewith to submit to you, as Chairman of the Commission established by authority of Act of Assembly, for the purpose of locating and marking the various forts erected as a means of defense against the Indians by the early settlers of this Commonwealth, prior to the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, my individual report upon the history of such of these fortifications as I have found, by careful and diligent research, to have been located within the period of time prescribed in the act, under which we are now discharging our duties in this particular, in the territory allotted to me by your commission.

I was duly commissioned by your direction, through the instructions received from Mr. Sheldon Reynolds, Secretary of the Commission to undertake the preparation of the history of the forts confined within the following described territory:

"The district bounded north by the 41st degree of latitude; east by the West Branch and the main river Susquehanna; west by the Allegheny mountains and south by Mason & Dixon's line. The territory thus allotted to me embraces sixteen counties of this Commonwealth, being in their alphabetical order as follows: Adams, Bedford, Blair, Centre, Clearfield, Cumberland, Dauphin (partially), Franklin, Fulton, Huntingdon, Juniata, Mifflin, Perry, Snyder, Union and York.

I have found from all sources in my investigations in this connection, a total of forty-five forts, which at one time or the other were located within the limits of the above mentioned district, and were used by the early settlers, traders, travelers, soldiers and frontiersmen, as a means of defense against the Indians. The collection of data necessary to establish by historical proof, which in my judgment it is quite proper to interject, in order to enforce the integrity of the work undertaken, that forts were erected and maintained by the pioneers, has occupied much time, imposed considerable labor and has not in every case been as satisfactory as the writer would have wished. The time given to these investigations has been necessarily of a desultory and an interrupted character. The writer made numerous trips to remote parts of the district for the purpose of gaining such information as was required to make a faithful report on the subject and some of the personal visits have been fruitless of results. On the other hand, he has elicited by means of correspondence, from reliable gentlemen of historical attainments and knowledge, such information with relation to the location of the several forts as it was impossible to gain in any other manner. Unfortunately, however, many to whom I have written on the subject have not deemed it of sufficient importance to honor me with a reply, and thus, perhaps a portion of this work has not received, much as I may regret it, the attention which it justly merits. It is also to be regretted that within the district to which my labors were confined we are lacking in any organized societies,

the object of which is the promotion and preservation of matters pertaining to the early history of our State. Absence of historical societies, libraries of reference to which one might go in search of information and sometimes the marked lack of appreciation of and utter indifference to matters of this kind, have militated against me to an extent which I am perfectly justified in mentioning in this connection, and here I may state that, perhaps all the other gentlemen serving in this particular behalf have had great advantage over me in the work undertaken by reason of having had, I assume, and I believe justly so, excellent libraries and historical societies at their elbows to aid and support them in their mission.

I have, however, found several gentlemen who have exhibited the greatest concern and interest in the promotion of the work in hand and they have contributed liberally and generously to the work, wherever the suggestions have been made that their co-operation would be valuable; but this portion of the assistance has principally come to me from those particular localities within my territory rich in historical data; rather than from the more isolated regions, where history is scarce, facts difficult to obtain, and the interest manifested, if any at all, in the prosecution of the work, outside of the writer, barely worth mentioning.

The Juniata Valley is especially rich in the matter of early history. This section of country became the great highway to the west from Fort Hunter and Harris' Ferry, being traversed by traders, travelers and detachments of troops sent out under provincial authority, to a very great extent, being at an early day one of the tracks of commerce. This section, stretching on to the west to Fort Pitt as well as the highways reaching out into the same locality from the Cumberland Valley, to-day bears testimony to the fertility of the soil under the guiding hand of the industrious and patient husbandman which are among the most powerful arguments in favor of the art of peace and its irresistible supremacy over any other condition to which man may be subject.

The country likewise to the north, as far as Fort Augusta along the Susquehanna river, was early opened and became one of the paths of business and interchange. The red man

has left an imperishable impress upon everything he has touched; his beautiful and rhythmic names cling to the spots to-day and ever will, where he roamed in his wild state. The Indian nomenclature lives in everything, towns, counties, states, rivers, cities, mountains, valleys, creeks and localities.

I find that as early as 1736 the lands in the Kittatinny region, which is now known as the Cumberland Valley were purchased from the Indians and thereafter open for sale to the permanent settlers. In that particular section peace and quiet remained for a number of years, up until about the great treaty that was made in the year 1754. That treaty assumed to take in all the lands west of the Susquehanna as far as the setting sun. This indefinite boundary line occasioned a great deal of dispute, and, in fact, the Indians resented the idea that they had ever entered into such a sweeping sale of their lands. The Delawares being a tribe which was made up of a number of smaller tribes found fault because their hunting grounds were thus taken away from them and without rightful compensation, the Six Nations having appropriated all the proceeds thereof to themselves. The Delawares, therefore, and their allied tribes began to treat with the French instead of the English who were the friends of the Six Nations and to sum it up, this difficulty led to the defeat of General Braddock in 1755 and as a writer has stated, "the blood of Braddock's soldiers was added to the price of the land." The Governor of the Province, being apprehensive of danger to the people, ordered one line of forts to be built through the Cumberland Valley, leading westward to the Ohio, and another taking its course through the Juniata Valley, extending westward to the Allegheny mountains and the Kittanning. This strife and turmoil lasted until 1758, when a more perfect treaty with the Six Nations and their cousins the Delawares was formed, and peace and quiet were again restored.

After the restoration of peace the Province again began to enjoy a considerable degree of repose and quiet, the more warlike Indians buried the hatchet in October, 1764, which enabled the husbandmen to re-assume their labors and to extend their cultivation and improvement. The prosperity of Pennsylvania increased rapidly and the country became more

thickly populated, so that after that period, with the exception of a few isolated frontier places, the settlements were so strong that the Indians dared not again disturb them. I have stated there were no forts in Union county, and here insert a letter from J. Merrill Linn, Esq., brother of Hon. John Blair Linn, to whose work, "The Annals of Buffalo Valley," I would refer those seeking information in this regard concerning that county and its early history:

J. G. Weiser, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Your letter of January 27, 1894, was duly received relative to forts in Union county. I believe there were no regularly built forts of any kind. The mills were generally built and loop-holed, and were the places of resort generally, such as Jenkins', Derr's, French Jacobs', Mequel Gray's and Mrs. Smith's, and they were the places of refuge in times of trouble, sometimes the flow passing by them to take refuge at Sunbury. The history of those old mills is quite interesting. Ludwig Derr's was the only trading post, and there were several other houses which were made to stand siege.

Very truly yours,

J. MERRILL LINN.

Upon an examination of those places of rendezvous referred to in Mr. Linn's letter, I am unable to find such data as would establish them sufficiently in a list of forts in my particular district, or warrant my placing them among the number with directions that they should be marked. It has been suggested that the forts under provincial control and those under private direction be separated in this report, but as the Act of Assembly suggests no such distinction, I am constrained to obey the intention of the act much as I value the wise suggestion in this behalf.

I here append in the order which seems proper, a tabulated statement exhibiting the counties, in their alphabetical order, the names and the number of forts located within each county, where located, the year, as near as could be ascertained when erected and by whom established:

	County.	Forts.	When erected.
I.	Adams,	None,
II.	Bedford,	1. Fort Bedford,	1757
		2. Fort Martin,
		3. Fort Piper,	1777
		4. Fort Wingawn,
III.	Blair,	5. Fort Fetter,	1777
		6. Fort Holliday,	1777
		7. Fort Lowrey,	1778
		8. Fort Roberdeau,	1778
		9. Fort Roller,
IV.	Centre,	10. Potter's Fort,	1777
V.	Clearfield, ...	None,
VI.	Cumberland, .	11. Fort Croghan,	1755
		12. Fort Dickey,	1764
		13. Fort Ferguson,	1764
		14. Fort Franklin,	1740
		15. Fort Letort,	1753
		16. Fort Lowther,	1753
		17. McComb's Fort,
		18. Fort Morris,	1755
VII.	Dauphin, (a)	19. Fort Halifax,	1756
VIII.	Franklin,	20. Fort Chambers,	1756
		21. Fort Davis,	1756
		22. Fort Loudoun,	1756
		23. Fort McConnell,	1764
		24. Fort McCord,	1756
		25. Fort McDowell,	1756
		26. Fort Steele,	1755
		27. Fort Unknown,	1743
		28. Fort Unknown,	1752
		29. Fort McAlister, (b)	(?) 1764
IX.	Fulton,	30. Fort Lyttleton,	1756

(a) Dauphin was but partially assigned to me; Fort Halifax.

(b) Fort McAlister belongs to Cumberland County.

County.	Forts.	When erected.
X. Huntingdon,	31. Fort Anderson, 32. Crum's Fort, (c) before. 33. Fort Hartsock's, (c) 34. Fort Lytle, (c) 35. McAlevy's Fort, 36. McCormick's Fort, (e) .. 37. Fort Shirley, 38. Fort Standing Stone, ... 39. Fort Bingham,	1778 1780 1778 1778 1755 1762 1749
XI. Juniata,	40. Fort Patterson (James), 41. Fort Patterson (Wm.), . 42. Fort Granville,	1751 1755 1755
XII. Mifflin,	43. Fort Robinson,	1775
XIII. Perry,	44. Hendrick's Fort,	1770
XIV. Snyder,	45. McKee's Fort,	1756
XV. Union, (d)		
XVI. York, (e)		

(c) These are marked as "Forgotten Forts."

(d) See Linn's Buffalo Valley. No forts.

(e) York County. No Forts.

The foregoing is herewith presented not without a sense of much imperfection in its preparation, and the writer can but express the hope that the work thus imperfectly and hastily performed may be completed under further legislative direction, in harmony with the general plan and scope of the act authorizing this historical investigation.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAY GILFILLAN WEISER.

Middleburgh, Penna., December 14, 1894.

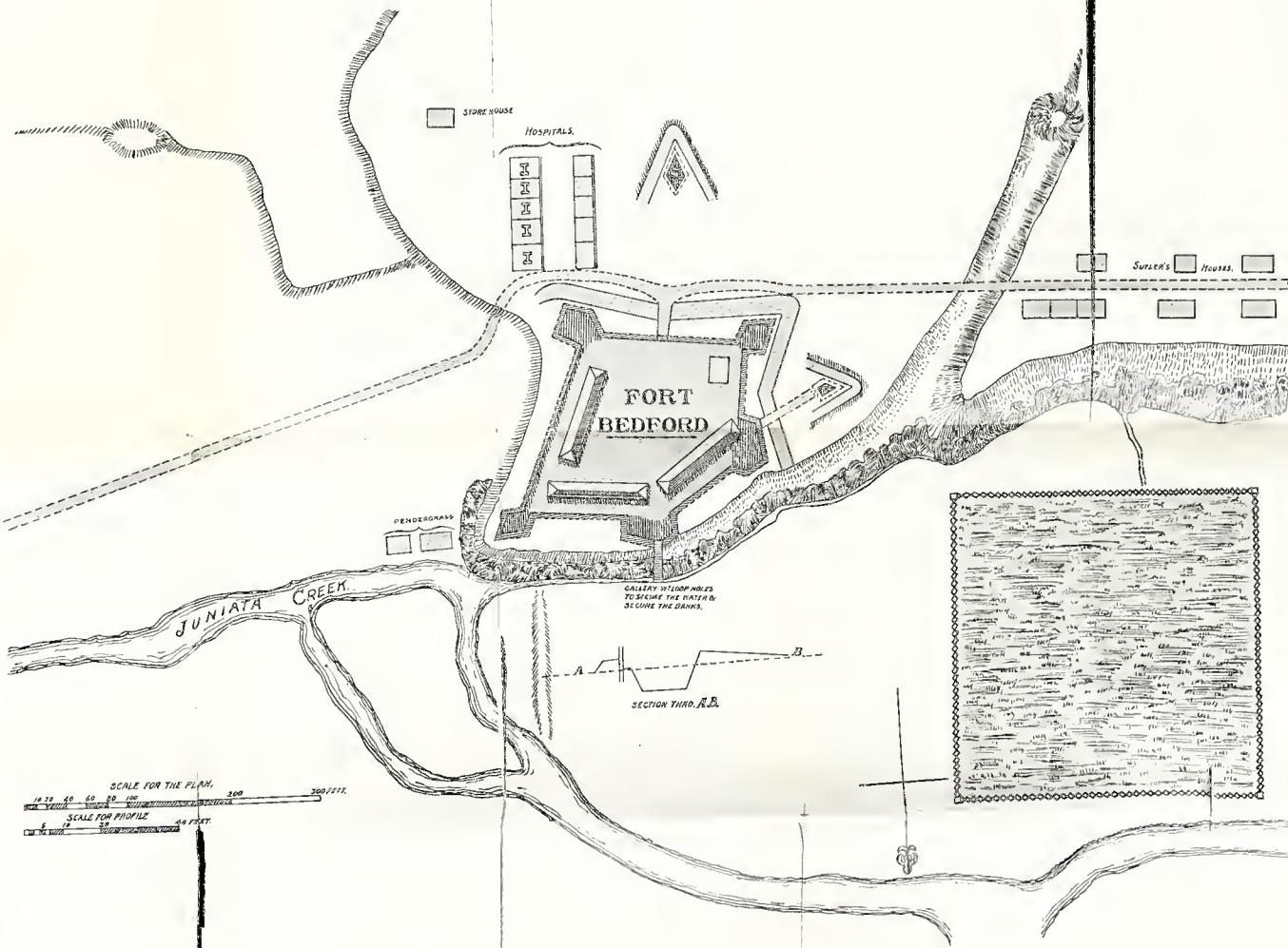
BEDFORD COUNTY.

FORT BEDFORD—RAYSTOWN.

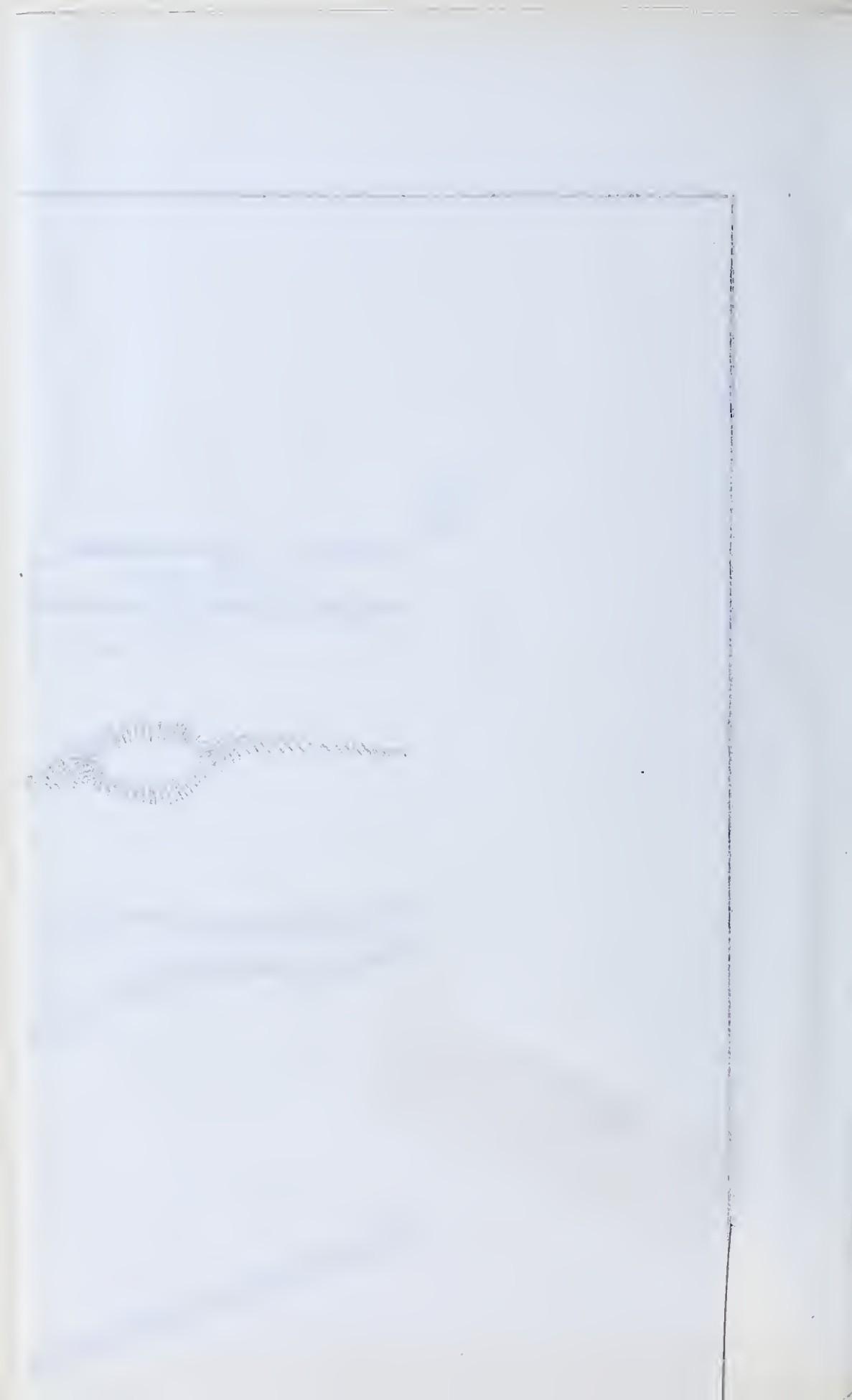
Samuel Hazard says when this fort was erected is not certainly known, but it was probably not before 1757, as on February 22d, Colonel John Armstrong writes to Major Burd, and among other things stated some of his plans of operation, "This is all that can possibly be done, before the grass grows and proper numbers unite, except it is agreed to fortify Raystown, of which I, yet, know nothing." This fort was located on the Raystown branch of the Juniata river, at or near the town called Raystown, now Bedford, which is greatly celebrated and known, the civilized world over, for the famous mineral springs situated there.

Fort Bedford, there is no doubt, was celebrated on account of the important position which it held relative to the French and Indian wars. It was one of the earliest settlements west of the Allegheny mountains. Among these earlier settlers, who came to this locality were the traders and adventurers of the Conecocheague and Conedoguinet settlements. Mr. Jones in his history of the Juniata Valley claims that the earliest settlement made in Bedford county was on the Raystown branch of the Juniata, by a man named Ray, in 1751, who built three cabins near where Bedford now stands. In 1755, the Province agreed to open a wagon road from Fort Loudoun in Cumberland county to the forks of the Youghiogheny river. For this purpose three hundred men were sent up, but for some cause or other the project was abandoned.

Early in April, 1757, however, Governor Denny orders Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, then in command of a battalion of eight companies of Pennsylvania troops doing duty on the west side of the Susquehanna river, to encamp with a detachment of three hundred men near Raystown. "A well chosen situation," said the Governor in a letter to the Proprietaries, "on this side of the Allegheny Hills, between two



ORIGINAL PLAN OF FORT BEDFORD.



Indian roads." As foreshadowed in the Governor's communication, Colonel Armstrong did not move forward from Raystown, the necessary supplies not having been furnished him. He was at Carlisle on the fifth of May addressing a letter to the Governor, in which he says: "The coming of the Cherokees appears to be a very favorable Providence, which should, in my opinion, be speedily and properly improved, as well for the benefit for us as of others—His Majesty's colonies, and prompts me to propose to your Honour what I have long ago suggested, to the late Governor and gentlemen commissioners, that is the building a fort at Raystown without which the King's business and the country's safety can never be effected to the westward. To this place were we there encamped, or fortified, might the southern Indians be brought frequently from Fort Cumberland, provided the necessaries of life and of war, could there be given them and from it, might proceed patrolling parties to spy, waylay, intercept, etc., which duties should constantly, or frequently be followed by while others might carry on the building. 'Tis true this service will require upwards of five hundred men, as no doubt they will be attacked if any powder be at Fort Duquesne, because this will be a visible, large and direct stride to that place, but no doubt Colonel Stanwix will bear a part in duty and expense."

Some time during the month of June, 1757, Captain Hance Hamilton led a scouting party from the Fort at Carlisle to Raystown, but encountered no Indians. And at the same time Captain Dagworthy likewise sent out a party as far as the Great Crossing, who also failed to discover any signs of the enemy. But, notwithstanding all the warlike attitude of the English, nothing was done to impede the French in their depredations by numerous small bands of Indians, until a change of British ministers took place and Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, assumed control of matters.

On the 16th of August, 1758, Major Joseph Shippen writes from the camp at Raystown: "We have a good stockade fort here, with several convenient and large store houses. Our camps are all secured with good breastworks and a small

ditch on the outside, and everything goes on well. Colonel Burd desires his compliments."

He further states: "It is very uncertain what number of Indians we shall have with us. It seems little dependence can be put on any of them. I believe there have been above one hundred and fifty Cherokees at this place since the army first formed a camp here, but they have all left us, except twenty-five of them. Besides these, we have Hambus and three Delaware warriors, who came two days ago from Fort Augusta, and two or three of the Six Nations, and Colonel Boquet expects Captain Bullen (a Catawba Captain) with thirty of his warriors to join us very soon. I understand they are to come from Winchester by the way of Fort Cumberland. The army here consists now of about twenty-five hundred men, exclusive of about fourteen hundred employed in cutting and clearing the road between this and Loyal Hanning, a great part of which, I suppose, by this time is finished, so that I am in hopes we shall be able to move forward soon after the General comes up, who, we hear, is at Shippensburg on his way up. Colonel Montgomery, with part of his battalion, is with him. Colonel Washington and four hundred of his regiment have not yet joined us, nor has any of Colonel Byrd's of Virginia, except two companies."

As is indicated from the above, the road was completed in 1758, when the allied forces of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania marched against Fort Duquesne, under General John Forbes. About the same time the fort was built at Raystown and called Fort Bedford. Colonels Bouquet and Washington first marched to Bedford with the advance and were followed by General Forbes, who had been detained by illness, at Carlisle.

These successful troops that put to route the French, without striking a blow, amounting to seven thousand eight hundred and fifty men, were reviewed where Bedford now stands, one hundred and thirty-six years ago. Of the triumphant march and splendid victory of General Forbes and Colonels Bouquet and Washington, there is little use in speaking here more than incidentally mentioning that, profiting by the dear bought experience at Braddock's defeat, the suggestion of

Washington to fight the savages after their own manner was adopted, and, after defeating them in several skirmishes, the Indians fled before them like chaff before the wind, and when they reached Fort Duquesne, the name and the fort alone remained.

Colonel Armstrong, whose name frequently appears in the dissertation on these varied Forts, served as a Captain in the expedition, under General Forbes against Fort Duquesne. It may as well be remembered that Colonel Washington, as well as the Virginians generally, jealous of the Pennsylvanians gaining a footing, in the Monongahela country, violently opposed the cutting of the road, from Raystown to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, and urged strongly upon Forbes the propriety of using the old Braddock trail. The decision of General Forbes procured for the people of Pennsylvania a wagon road over the Allegheny at least twenty years before the inhabitants would have entertained the idea of so formidable an undertaking.

Col. Armstrong wrote to Richard Peters, under date of Raystown, October 3d, 1758: "Since our Quixotic expedition, you will no doubt be greatly perplexed about our fate. God knows what it may be, but I assure you the better part of the troops are not at all dismayed. The General came here at a critical and seasonable juncture. He is weak, but his spirit is good and his head clear, firmly determined to proceed as far as force and provisions will admit, which through Divine favor, will be far enough.

"The road to be opened from our advance post is not yet fully determined and must be further reconnoitred. 'Tis yet a query, whether the artillery will be carried forward with the army when within fifteen or thirty miles of the fort or not. The order of march and line of battle is under consideration, and there are many different opinions respecting it. Upon this the General will have a conference with the commanders of the sundry corps. About four thousand five hundred are yet fit for duty, five or six hundred of which may yet be laid to the account of keeping of different posts, sickness, accidents, etc.

"We know not the number of the enemy, but they are

greatly magnified by report of sundry of the people, with Major Brandt, to what we formerly expected. The Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the road through this government, and Colonel Washington has been a good deal sanguine and obstinate upon the occasion; but the presence of the General has been of great use on this, as well as other accounts. We hear that three hundred wagons are on the road. If this month happens to be dry weather, it will be greatly in our favor.

"My people are in general healthy and are to be collected together immediately, except such as are posted, on the communication and the artillery. Many of them will be naked by the end of the campaign, but I dare not enter upon clothing them, not knowing who or how many of the troops may be continued. Colonel Bouquet is a very sensible and useful man, notwithstanding, had not the General come up, the consequences would have been dangerous. Please to make my compliments to Mr. Allen, and, if you please, show him this letter as I have not a moment longer to write. About the last of this month will be the critical hour. Everything is vastly dear with us and the money goes like old boots. The enemy are beginning to kill and carry off horses, and every now and then they scalp a wandering person. I leave this place to-day, as does Colonel Bouquet and some pieces of artillery."

We see by the above letters that Bedford was an important centre for the troops' supplies and the munitions of warfare during this important period of our early Provincial history.

The best authorities, Egle and Hazard, show this fort to have been a place of rendezvous; and the following shows the various disposition of troops:

August 19, [1758]. According to the returns of Adjutant Kern, of the Second Battalion of Pennsylvania, there were here six hundred and fifty-six effective rank and file under Colonel James Burd.

August 24th. First battalion of Royal American regiment, Colonel Henry Bouquet, in camp; march three hundred and sixty-four men rank and file; also, Captains Harding, Landers, and Joycelyn's companies.

August 26th. Maryland forces encamped near Raystown, Captain Dagworthy, two hundred and seventy-six.

September 15th and 17th. Two hundred and seventy-four of same.

Sept. 11th. Also, Captain A. Beall, Josiah Beall and Ware's company, etc.

Sept. 15th. Sixty-two regular, or First Highland Battalion, commanded by Honorable Archibald Montgomery, companies: Capt. Sir Allen MacLean, Captains Cameron and detachments, total four hundred and fifty-four; John McLachlan as adjutant.

Sept. 17th. Lower county companies, commanded by Major Wells and Captains McCluggan and Gooding.

October 14th. "The rear division of the army moved from Raystown towards Loyal Hanna." (See Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 76).

October 22d. General Forbes, being then there, says two hundred men will be required here. (See Col. Rec. Vol. viii, p. 226).

August 4th, 1759. Brigadier G. Stanwix advertises for wagons to convey provisions from Carlisle to Bedford under escort. (i. e. p. 337).

Jany. 21st, 1760. Colonel Shippen writes to Colonel Burd that a violent general mutiny broke out in the garrison, in consequence of a rumor that they were to receive no pay after the 15th, which was happily quelled by the firmness of the Colonel. (See Shippen Letters, p. 170).

It appears that Captain Lieutenant Lewis Oury Esquire, of the Royal American regiment of foot, and deputy quartermaster general of His Majesty's troops, was in command at this fort. And here another pertinent matter regarding the early history of this fort is appended:

"To Tobias Risenor Baker: By virtue of the power and authority unto me given, by John Stanwix Esquire, Major General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in the southern district of North America, I do by these presents, grant unto you during his Majesty's Pleasure, the use and possession of a certain lot of ground situate near this fort, on the south side of Bedford street (meaning the old mili-

tary road) in the town of Bedford, Province of Pennsylvania, thereon to build and make garden for your own private use and advantage, and for the better accommodating and supplying this garrison and other, His Majesty's troops, employed on this communication. (Having reference to the route or line of communication, leading westward to Fort Pitt). In consideration of which grant from the Crown, you are to pay as an acknowledgement to His Majesty, one Spanish dollar per annum, ground rent. Given under my hand and seal at Fort Bedford, this twenty-sixth day of March, 1760, & in the thirty-third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Second by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc."

Although, as a result of Forbes' expedition, the French were driven beyond the borders of the Province, many of their Indian allies continued hostile, and harrassed the frontier settlements of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia for several years thereafter. Hence in keeping open the line of communication between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, the Forts at Shippensburg, Loudoun, Lyttleton, Juniata, Bedford, formerly called Raystown and Ligonier, were each garrisoned with a force of from one hundred to three hundred men. Besides the regularly enlisted soldiers, there also gathered at each post various camp followers, including army sutlers, Indian traders, inn-keepers, artisans, etc. A great number of them remained permanently in the vicinity of the fort named, established claims and in consequence, became the first settlers of their respective neighborhood.

Toward the close of the year 1762, a treaty between England and France was concluded, but was not proclaimed in Philadelphia until 1763. Peace with Spain having also been concluded, it left the inhabitants of Pennsylvania no enemies but the Indians. Even these had been to a certain extent pacified, and the long sufferings to which the inhabitants had been subjected, had, in a measure, happily terminated.

But it was not long until the minds of these savages began to run riot and another struggle shortly ensued, known as the Pontiac war of 1763. During that summer the savages in great numbers attacked Fort Pitt, Ligonier, Bedford and

other fortified positions, but being repulsed, they broke up into small predatory bands and left naught but death and desolation over a wide region of the Province. In this same year, they murdered a number of families near Bedford. In a letter written by William Plunkett, of June 20th, addressed to Colonel Shippen, Junior, he says:

"The gentlemen at Bedford seem to be of opinion that the design of the Indians may end in dispersing some inhabitants out of their unpurchased lands. Whether their cruel rage will end there, I don't pretend to conjecture; but must take liberty to wish that the poor, scattered, defenceless inhabitants on the frontiers of this Province were put into some posture of defence, for I can safely say, from my own knowledge, that their present situation discovers them an easy prey to their enemies."

At this period Fort Bedford was the principal depot for military stores between Carlisle and Fort Pitt. In order to strengthen it, the command was given to Captain Oury and the small stockade at the Juniata Crossing and Stony Creek were abandoned, and the force concentrated at Bedford. By this means, two volunteer companies were formed to guard the fort, which, besides being a refuge for the distressed families for ten or fifteen miles around, contained vast quantities of ammunition and other government stores.

General Jeff. Amherst, then stationed at New York, being the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in America, addressed a letter to Governor Hamilton, of which the following is important:

"As it now appears from the intelligence received from all quarters, that the Indians seem determined to push their depredations, owing, I suppose, to some advantages they have gained over struggling parties of trades, and false hope of the Detroit and upper posts being cut off, I think it my indispensable duty once more, to renew my instances with you to lose no time in calling your Assembly and pressing them to enable you to raise, with the utmost despatch a body of men to be employed in the defence and protection of the frontier.

"Captain Ouray writes me that there are many of the inhabitants near Bedford who are ready to enter into the pro-

vincial service. Should you be enabled to issue commissions, which I hope you will, no time should be lost in sending proper orders for recruiting these men, as well as for forwarding any others that may enlist, as fast as raised, to the communication above.

"I find Mr. Croghan has very judiciously engaged twenty-five men to garrison Fort Lyttleton and I make no doubt but the province will readily defray the expense of those men so long as it may be judged necessary to continue them."

Under this suggestion of General Amherst, Governor Hamilton directed Colonel John Armstrong to organize a battalion of frontiersmen for immediate service, and concluded his communication as follows:

"On the recommendation of Captain Ouray, at Fort Bedford, I have promised commissions to the following gentlemen, now doing duty as volunteers at Bedford: Christopher Lewis (Limes), [he it was who caused to be built and who owned the stone structure on Pitt street, now owned and occupied by Mr. Carn]; John Proctor, Captain; Philip Baltimore, Charles Rigger, Lieutenants; William Yaxley, Robert Swancey, ensigns; which commissions, with the necessary advance money, I desire you will either deliver to the said Captains, or forward to them as you shall think best, as soon as may be. I also desire you will give a commission of Captain to James Piper, at present Lieutenant to Colonel Wert's company, whose place in that company, I will supply, as soon as the vacancy is made known to me."

Under these instructions Colonel Armstrong succeeded in raising a force of three hundred volunteers from the vicinity of Bedford, Shippensburg and Carlisle, for the purpose of attacking the Indian settlements. He left with this band of soldiers in high hopes of surprising and attacking the Indians in their settlements, but when he reached their settlements many of them had gone a few days before. But pushing on in his endeavors, with great despatch and secrecy, when he overtook them, there were not any scarcely able to escape. Meanwhile, the outlying forts remained in the most hazardous condition. The Indians being constantly at work, they surrounded them, and, at times, were successful in cutting all

communication. At this time almost all the efforts to raise the requisite number of the Provincial forces, proved nearly fruitless. General Amherst ordered Colonel Henry Bouquet to leave Fort Bedford in order to give support to Fort Pitt. Bouquet's forces then constituted the shattered remains of several regiments, scarcely five hundred men in all, who had lately returned from the West Indies, with several companies of Rangers from Lancaster and Cumberland counties, amounting to about two hundred men.

Fort Ligonier, at this period, was in an alarming condition, being surrounded by savages, and containing a large quantity of military stores, it was a matter of great moment to them, lest it might fall into the hands of the enemy. Apprehensive of this, Captain Oury, in command at Fort Bedford, sent twenty volunteers, good marksmen, to its aid. Learning of the perilous situation of Fort Ligonier, soon after his departure from Carlisle, and fearing the savages might capture it, and thereby be enabled from the munitions of war they would obtain there, to make a most vigorous attack on Fort Pitt, and likely demolish it before he could reach it, Col. Bouquet sent forward a party of thirty men with guides familiar with the lay of the land, who were recommended to avoid Forbes' route, and thus making a skilful and forced march, succeeded in finding their way through the forests undiscovered by the wily enemy, until they came in sight of the fort, where they were intercepted by the Indians, but by their determined effort, reached the fort amidst the tumult, unhurt.

Fort Bedford at this time was also in a precarious condition and feebly garrisoned, although its force had been strengthened by the intermediate posts, being abandoned for this purpose. Many of the families for miles about collected at this fort in order to secure their safety from the enemy. Many, however, had not reached the fort when they found themselves pursued by the merciless enemy, and at whose hands some forty odd families were murdered and scalped, and many taken into captivity. The savages apparently being satisfied with this attack on the inhabitants, did not have the courage to attack the strong and defensible fort at Bedford and happily it was, too, that they did not, because there were but few inside to resist a successful attack upon it.

Colonel Bouquet now passed out of Bedford, up the Raystown Branch, with two regiments of regulars and a large convoy of military stores, to relieve the beleagured garrison at Fort Pitt. As was before stated, he found matters in a deplorable condition at Fort Bedford, and it having been reported to him that the Indians had attempted to make an attack upon this fort, he left for their protection, two companies of his army. The names of the persons killed or taken prisoners at the time above referred to, are not recorded, and we regret to say that we are unable to obtain data sufficient to establish the full particulars of this affair.

During the summer of 1764, another force for expedition purposes was organized in the settlements west of the Susquehanna and put under the command of General Bouquet, who marched by the way of Forts Bedford, Ligonier, Pitt and the Muskingum country. There he defeated the savages several times and was the means of compelling them to sue for peace. Among some of the commanders who accompanied him on this expedition were Captains James Piper, William Piper and William Proctor, gentlemen who became afterwards prominent citizens of Bedford county.

After the beginning of the peace period in 1764, after a relentless struggle with the savages for over a period of ten years, the inhabitants began to re-establish themselves, feeling secure in their new locations. They were, however, secure in the more densely inhabited places, yet at the same time, in the outlying districts were, nevertheless, subjected to the marauds of the savages. And that was not all that they had to contend with, because the line of action had brought many disreputable characters to the front who were not content to seek a livelihood by any honest means, but preferred to eke out an existence by robbing and plundering the pack trains traveling from place to place, and as an illustration of this, we have the widely known history of the "Black Boys" who infested the path from Forts Loudoun to Bedford. Much of this comes from that intrepid and daring frontiersman, James Smith, who had been captured by the Indians and carried out into the western country, returning to his native

place where he assumed command of a company under Colonel Armstrong and was in Bedford, with positions of honor and trust which he held, subsequently, he living to relate an interesting narrative, of which there is much data at hand. The affairs of the "Black Boys" largely led them into the exercise of their reckless proclivities in and about Fort Bedford and much of the surrounding country. Capt. Smith later held a commission in the American army when fighting for independence. He was a daring man and served his country in the behalf of redressing wrongs upon aggrieved settlers, harrassing the British and unscrupulous Indian traders for furnishing arms to the red men. His popularity in this vicinity was attested by the fact that at his trial for alleged lawlessness he was acquitted upon appeal of about seven hundred of the neighboring settlers. He held a colonelcy prior to his death.

The history of this fort was celebrated in this that it was honored by the presence of such distinguished military celebrities as Forbes, Washington, Bouquet, Armstrong, Burd, and an army of some six or seven thousand men, surrounded by quarters for officers, barracks and a number of shanties for the traders and other camp followers. This fort stood upon the grounds bounded north by Raystown branch, east by Richard, south by Pitt and west by Juliana streets. It embraced about seven thousand square yards and besides its five bastions—places for the use of swivel guns—it had a "Gallery with loop-holes" extending from the central bastion on its north front to the water's edge, in order to secure the water and secure the banks of the stream. The main gate was on the south side and parallel with the southern rampart, ran Forbes' road or avenue, now known as Pitt street. There was also a smaller gate on the west side and a postern gate opening northward. Ample quarters for the officers and men composing the garrison were arranged inside, but the storehouse and hospital buildings were situated outside and to the southward of the front of the fort. While as already mentioned the traders' houses were located about one hundred yards to the southwestward. The manner of construction of this stockade or like stockades, at that period was as follows:

Around the area to be enclosed a ditch was dug, to the depth of four or five feet. In this oak logs or logs of some other kind of timber, not easily set on fire, or cut through, about eighteen feet long and pointed at the top, were placed side by side in an upright position. Two sides of the logs or stockados, as they were termed in those days, were hewn flat and the sides were brought close together and fastened securely near the top by horizontal pieces of timber, spiked or pinned upon their inner side, so as to make the whole work continuous, firm and staunch. The ditch having been filled up again, and the loose earth well rammed down about the base of the stockado, platforms were constructed all around the inner side of the enclosure, some four or five feet from the ground, and upon these, in case of an attack, the garrison stood and fired through loop-holes cut at the requisite height above the platforms. For the swivel guns, port-holes were cut on either side of the bastions. Fort Bedford was also protected on the south and west side by a moat about eight feet deep, ten feet wide at the bottom, and fifteen feet wide at the top. The great mass of earth taken from the ditch was thrown outward and the same being graded down into an easy slope, formed the glacis.

The near proximity of the stream on the north and the peculiar formation of the original surface of the ground on the east front of the fort precluded as well as rendered unnecessary the construction of a fosse or moat on those sides. In a word, the site of Fort Bedford was an admirable one and the fort itself was strongly and very regularly constructed. Built by the vanguard of Forbes' army in the summer of 1758, it had become a ruin before the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle and was never rebuilt.

As first related, that Ray was the first settler in that section, we have data showing that with him came one Garrett Pendergrass, who, by consent of the chiefs of the Six Nations, took up his settlement at this place, made improvements, and it was supposed that he did a thriving business with the Indian traders, and set up his claim for three hundred acres of land, which included the three springs, but by an account furnished later, on account of the French and Indian wars, he sought safety at some other point eastward.

The next person that we have some account of is William Fraser, being the first child born in Raystown. The town of Bedford was laid out by Lukens, the Surveyor General.

The State will, doubtless, suitably mark the place of this fort.

FORT MARTIN.

This fort was erected prior to the termination of the Revolutionary struggle. The writer, from data at hand cannot with any authority, give it the dignity of a fort. It doubtless was a mere blockhouse or rendezvous for the settlers in that vicinity and built with the private funds of the owner of the property, who, doubtless, was Mr. Martin. The writer is indebted to Doctor C. N. Hickok, of Everett, Pennsylvania, for the following substantial account:

Fort Martin was somewhere on what is now known as the Whetstone farm in West Providence township, Bedford county, about five and one-half miles east from Everett near the Old Chain Bridge Crossings of Juniata. This farm was the old homestead place of the first Judge Martin, one of the important celebrities of this locality, in the colonial days, before the erection of Bedford county. I fear the exact site of the fort is lost, though about where it was located can be determined. It was one of the line of defences "On the Packer's Path" between Forts Lyttleton and Bedford near the midway between the two.

In the early history of this township, West Providence, owing to the beautiful hills and the fertility of the valleys, it was a frequent resort for the aborigines, and the soil is teeming with arrow-heads, spear-heads and pieces of pottery which have been discovered by the inhabitants of this township. And they have been found in such great quantities that it demonstrates clearly that the forests of this section were once the camping and hunting ground of the savage. The legendary and traditional details of this locality are meagre, and notwithstanding that we have made an attempt to ascertain

its true history, yet it leaves us in much doubt and uncertainty. It has been stated upon authentic data that there were a number of settlers within this township a number of years prior to the Revolutionary War. There is a nook in the rocks along the west bank of Shaver's creek which is locally known as Fort Defiance. Whether this is the same fort in question or not, I am unable to say, but tradition tells us that the early white settlers constructed a rude fortification to which they fled for safety from the savages. The last vestiges of the rude structure have long since been torn away. There were several ancient pack-horse trails doubtless, the earliest routes of travel through this country and through this township, and traces of them are still visible in uncleared lands.

FORT PIPER.

This fort was erected, as near as can be ascertained, in 1777. The site of this fort is six miles northwest of Everett, in Hopewell township, and in the heart of Yellow Creek Valley. The old stone house which was the refuge of the early settlers, within the palisade is still standing and in good repair and is used as a dwelling. It is on the farm of James Piper, Esquire, county commissioner of Bedford and a descendant of the original owner of the estate, General Piper. This fort had its origin whilst Colonel John Piper was the lieutenant colonel of the county, during the Revolutionary war and whilst in serving in this capacity he was actively engaged in protecting the frontier settlements from the hostile encroachments of the Indians. When Colonel Piper first settled in the Yellow Creek Valley, it was about the year 1771. He then began the construction of a log fort at the southern end of Black Oak Ridge, near Colonel Piper's house, and frequently was this place occupied by troops of the Revolution who were sent there to protect the settlers. Some time after this Colonel Piper erected a substantial stone house of two stories, to which many settlers at various periods fled for

refuge, until the building became known as Fort Piper, and so it is still called at this late day. This old house is remarkably well preserved, and its strong open woodwork seems capable of lasting as long as the masonry. The writer has not data of provincial records showing that a fort was authorized to be built or that there ever was a garrison there.

This fort, bearing the name of Colonel Piper, one of the distinguished heroes of the times, and who held various positions of honor and trust under the early authorities of that period and left a line of distinguished descendants, both in military and civil pursuits, still stands as a monument in perpetuation of the patriotism and zeal which characterized the motives and deeds of its immortal founder.

FORT WINGAWN.

Doctor Hickok, a cultivated gentleman, possessing a large and varied fund of interesting anecdotes and history relative to this locality, as well as being one of the best known anti-quarians in the State, says that he knows nothing as to this fort, nor does he know of any who does; only that by conjecture it might have been an ancient earthwork he once visited in the midst of a dense forest on the eastern summit of the Alleghenies, formerly within the lines of Bedford county, but now a mile, possibly, within the eastern boundary of Somerset county. With such statement the writer is compelled to relinquish further investigation relative to this and the other forts in Bedford county. The fact is that Fort Bedford was the only fort in Bedford county ever occupied by British troops.

BLAIR COUNTY.

FORT FETTER.

This fort, erected within what are now the boundary lines of Blair county, Pennsylvania, came into the list of frontier defences in the year 1777. It was built not far from where the town of Hollidaysburg now stands, being somewhat to the southwest of that borough, and its location seems to have been on the banks or near to the banks of a creek flowing northward, which creek discharges its waters into what is called the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river. It is near McCahan's mill and was used for local purposes. Its location was not far distant from where appears on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, the Indian path starting at the town of Bedford, running north, past Holldaysburg, Fort Lowry, crossing the Juniata at or near Anderson's Fort and thence on northward into Centre county to where Milesburg now stands.

This fort was a blockhouse used for local purposes. It appears nowhere from any of the Provincial records that it was authorized to have been built; nevertheless, it served its purpose and like all the others of like importance, is entitled to its appropriate place, along with the rest of the unauthorized forts. Mr. Jones relates, in his Juniata Valley, that in the fall of 1777 Fetter's Fort was occupied with some twenty-five men capable of bearing arms, belonging to the Frankstown district. Among those were both the Colemans' their own and a number of other settlers' families. The Indians who had murdered the Dunkards, it appears, met about a mile east of Kittanning Point, where they encamped, in order to await the arrival of the scattered forces. Thomas and Michael Coleman and Michael Wallack had left Fetter's Fort in the morning for the purpose of hunting deer. During the day snow fell to the depth of some three or four inches and in

coming down the Gap, Coleman and his party crossed the Indian trail and discovered fresh tracks. It was soon determined to follow them, ascertain their force and then repair to the fort and give the alarm. They had followed the trail scarcely half a mile before they saw the blaze of the fire and the dusky outlines of the savages seated around it. Their number, of course, could not be made out, but they conjectured that there must be in the neighborhood of thirty, but in order to get a crack at them, Thomas Coleman made his companions promise not to reveal their actual strength to the men in the fort. The available force, amounting to sixteen men, loaded their rifles and started in pursuit of the savages. By the time they reached the encampment it had grown quite cold and the night was considerably advanced, still some ten or twelve Indians were seated around the fire. They cautiously approached the men and with silence, the command was given. When within sixty yards a halt was called.

The Indians appeared to be engaged, some in mixing paint and the others were talking. Their rifles were all leaning against a large tree and Thos. Coleman conceived the bold design of approaching the tree and securing their arms before attacking them. The achievement would have been a brilliant one, but the undertaking was deemed so hazardous that not a man would agree to second him in so reckless and daring an enterprise.

When the word was given it was agreed that they should all fire and that each man should single out a particular savage to fire at. Aim was taken, the word was given, some three or four of the savages fell and those who were sitting around the fire, as well as those who were lying upon the ground instantly sprang to their feet and ran to the tree where their rifles stood. The boys did not even have time to reload their guns before they ran away. It appears that Wallack and Holliday were the only ones left to obey Coleman's orders. The number of the savages being large, they became frightened and ran to the fort. From this time on Coleman assumed command at the fort and was one of the principal men in this locality in resisting the Indians. This encounter with the Indians created alarm through the sparsely

settled country. People from the neighborhood gathered their families into the fort under the firm impression that they were to be harrassed by savage warfare, not only during the winter, but as long as the Revolutionary struggle was to continue.

This cloud of war soon passed by and the people betook themselves again to their homes, before the holidays of 1777, where they remained without molestation. During these alarms and troubles which followed in the course of the war, Adam Holliday took a conspicuous part in defending the frontiers. He aided in erecting Fetter's Fort and afterwards expended his means into turning Titus' stable into a fort. This fort was located on a flat nearly opposite the second lot below Hollidaysburg, and the two served as a place of refuge for all the settlers of what was then merely called the upper end of Frankstown district. He also, with his own money, purchased provisions and through his exertions arms and ammunition were brought from the eastern counties. His courage and energy inspired the settlers to make a stand at a time when they were on the very point of flying to Cumberland county. In December, 1777, he visited Philadelphia, for the purpose of securing a part of the funds appropriated to the defence of the frontier. The following letter to President Wharton was given to him by Col. John Piper, of Bedford county:

Bedford County, December 19th, 1777.

"Sir: Permit me, Sir, to recommend to you for counsel and direction, the bearer Mr. Holliday an inhabitant of Franks-town, one of the frontier settlements of our county, who has at his own risk been extremely active in assembling the people of that settlement together and in purchasing provisions to serve the militia who came to their assistance. As there was no person appointed, either to purchase provisions or to serve them out, necessity obliged the bearer, with the assistance of some neighbors, to purchase a considerable quantity of provisions for that purpose, by which the inhabitants have been enabled to make a stand. His request is that he may be supplied with cash, not only to discharge the debts already contracted, but likewise to enable him to lay up a

store for future demand. I beg leave, Sir, to refer to the bearer, for further information, in hopes you will provide for their further support. Their situation requires immediate assistance."

The mission of Mr. Holliday was successful. He returned with sufficient means to recruit the fort with provisions and ammunition, and continued to be an active, energetic frontiersman during all the Indian troubles.

FORT HOLLIDAY.

This fort was erected about the beginning of the Revolutionary period. Its date is not exactly given, but sufficient to say that there were a number of forts erected for the protection of settlers, known as blockhouses or stockades, in about 1777. The only data we have as to its location, is that it was at Peter Titus' place, about one mile below Hollidaysburg, which was a barn and was afterwards transferred into a fort. Adam Holliday was among the first settlers of this section. He came from the Conecocheague settlement in Franklin county, and whose name has been perpetuated by the town (Hollidaysburg). His farm was situated just southwest of the railroad bridge, near the town. He and others came here about the commencement of the Revolutionary war and endured the fullest extent of the privations and sufferings incident to a wilderness still inhabited by the red men. Stockade forts were built to protect the inhabitants in case of invasion. Mr. Holliday, however, on one occasion had not availed himself of the fort, and was engaged in the labors of the field when the savages appeared suddenly. The family took flight, Mr. H. jumping on a horse with his two young children, John and James. His elder son Pat and daughter Jeanette were killed while running from the enemy.

It is related that about the beginning of the year 1779, the Indians along the frontier, emboldened by numerous successful depredations, came into Bedford county within the boundaries of which Holliday's Fort then was. They came in such

large bands that many of the inhabitants fled to the eastern counties. The Hollidays, however, and some few others, tarried in the hope that the Executive Council would render them aid. The following petition, signed by William Holliday and others, will give the reader some idea of the distress suffered by the pioneers. It was dated May 29th, 1779:

"To the Honorable President and Council:

"The Indians being now in the county, the frontier inhabitants being generally fled, leaves the few that remain in such a distressed condition that Pen can hardly describe, nor your Honours can only have a faint idea of, nor can it be conceived properly by any but such as are the subjects thereof, but while we suffer in the part of the county that is most frontier, the inhabitants of the interior part of this county live at ease and safety. And we humbly conceive that by some immediate instruction, from Council, to call them that are less exposed to our relief we shall be able under God to repulse our enemies and put it in the power of the distressed inhabitants to reap the fruits of their industry. Therefore we humbly pray, you will grant us such relief in the premises as you, in your wisdom see meet. And your petitioners shall pray, etc.

N. B.—There is a quantity of lead at the mines (now Sinking Valley) in this county council may procure for the use of said county, which will save carriage and supply our wants with that article. Which we cannot exist without at this place, and our flints are altogether expended, therefore we beg council would furnish us with those necessaries as they, in their wisdom see cause.

P. S.—Please to supply us with powder to answer lead."

This petition was not speedily answered and the fort was evacuated soon after. The Council, no doubt, did all they could to give these people support; but the tardy action of the militia gave the savages confidence and drove the few remaining settlers almost into despair. Relief finally came but not sufficient to prevent the Indian depredations.

After all this, when forbearance ceased to be a virtue, the people of the neighborhood moved their families to Fort Roberdeau, in Sinking Valley, and Fetter's Fort, and formed them-

selves into scouting parties, and by these means protected themselves so as to gather their crops. After remaining at Fort Roberdeau for a period, Mr. Holliday returned to his land for the purpose of gathering the crops. While on his way, he was brutally attacked by the savages, some of his family killed and he made a narrow escape himself. After he reached the fort, being worn out with the fatigue of the exciting journey, without hat or shoes, his clothes in tatters, his body lacerated and bleeding, he failed to recognize either the fort or the sentinel on duty. The loss of his children was a sad blow to him. Mr. Holliday lived to a good old age and died at his residence on the banks of the river in 1801. He left two children, John and a daughter married to Williams Reynolds. John married the daughter of Lazarus Lowrey of Frankstown.

FORT LOWREY.

This blockhouse or private fort was built in the winter of 1778 or the spring of 1779 in Canoe Valley, three miles southwest of Water Street, in Catharine township, this county, on the site of where the German Reformed Church now stands. It was a small fort erected simply as a defence for the settlers. Water Street was so called from the circumstance of the road in early days, passing through the gap in the mountain, literally in a stream of water. It was on a path leading from Fort Bedford, northward to the Juniata river, where Petersburg now stands. It was erected upon Lowrey's farm. Captain Simonton was, by unanimous consent elected the commander. These local forts were erected in what was termed the second period of the Indian troubles, as compared with the first period when Forts Shirley, Granville, Lyttleton, etc., were erected. During the year 1779, and part of 1780, the settlers were divided as to their time between working their farms and protecting their forts.

The settlers of that neighborhood were frequently alarmed by Indian depredations, which sent the people to their forts in great haste, but as soon as quiet had been restored they

again returned to their farms. It is reported that there were some few neighbors who would not fort at this place, probably due and owing to the fact that there was some animosity existing between them. Among the neighbors in this particular settlement was Matthew Dean, a very influential citizen. Capt. Simonton, who had command of this fort, frequently visited the house of Mr. Dean, where they spent the evening in conversation. At which time the Captain informed him that it had been reported that there was a considerable band of Indians in Sinking Valley and that he was fearful of their committing outrage, but Dean not being fearful, thought there was no cause for alarm. The result was that upon his going to work the next morning in his cornfield it was not long until he discovered his house to be on fire, which was done presumably by the Indians lurking about, and upon going to it, he found Mrs. Simonton there, she having come over, and when she reached the place she saw a little girl about eight years of age lying upon the steps scalped.

The news of this affair reached the fort and in a very short time the entire neighborhood was alarmed. A strong force headed by the Beattys, started in pursuit of the savages, but could not find them. A remarkable coincidence concerning the settlers of this section, is that of the Beattys there were seven brothers, seven brothers of the Kriders, seven of the Ricketts and seven of the Moores, constituting the most formidable force of active and daring frontiersmen to be found between Standing Stone and the base of the mountains. It is said of the Beattys that they were regular flowers of the forest, who never would fort during all the troubles and they cared no more for an Indian than they did for a bear. They lived in a cabin about a mile west of Water Street. It is further said that the Indians knew the Beattys and feared them; for more daring and reckless, hardy young fellows never existed in the valley. It is stated that in the burning of Mr. Dean's house, Mrs. Dean and her three children were burned; also a son of Captain Simonton.

In a letter dated Columbia, Pa., August 20th, 1894, written by Samuel Evans, a great grandson of Col. Alexander Lowrey, we have the following concerning the subject:

"I notice in the Press a list of Indian forts prior to 1783. I see no mention of Lowrey's Fort, which stood along the north bank of the Juniata, not far from Williamsburg. James Lowrey and Daniel Lowrey owned large tracts of land at and around Frankstown, below Hollidaysburg prior to the Revolution. They were Indian traders, as early as 1740. Lazarus Lowrey, son of Col. Alex. Lowrey, Indian trader of this neighborhood inherited all or nearly all of James and Daniel Lowrey's land, from his father Alexander, who was a brother of James and Daniel. Lazarus Lowrey was living on this land during the Revolutionary War. I do not know whether the fort was built by Daniel or Lazarus, or by the children of the two former. There are still some of the Lowrey descendants at Hollidaysburg, (Esquire Garber) and at Hopewell, Bedford county, Pa. I believe the mill and all the land at Frankstown has passed out of the family name."

FORT ROBERDEAU.

This fort bears the name of a distinguished Pennsylvanian. It was erected in the year 1778, in what is known as the Sinking Spring Valley. It stands in the northeastern section of this county, in Tyrone township, and was called the Lead Mine Fort. It was several miles above Arch Spring and west of the site of Byer's Mill. The fact is, it was not built for the purpose of a defence against the Indians, but for the protection of those engaged in the work of mining lead. However, the country seemed to have been settled to some extent and on account of its better fortification and being garrisoned by a body of men with arms and ammunition, it afforded greater safety to those seeking refuge there. We find from a letter of General Daniel Roberdeau, dated Carlisle, April 17, 1778, who appears was then on his way to work some lead mines to supply the great scarcity of lead to the public, and at this time a member of Congress, of which body he asked and obtained leave of absence for the purpose. He states: "I find the State is guarding against the incursions of the savages. This con-

firmed my pre-conceived intention of erecting a stockade fort in the neighborhood of the mine, I am about to work, if I could stir up the inhabitants to give their labor in furnishing an asylum for their families, in case of danger, and prevent the evacuation of the country. Mr. Carothers being convinced of the necessity of the work for the above detailed purpose, offered one company of the militia which he expected would consist of about forty men under my command to co-operate in so righteous a business. I intend to build such a fort, as with sufficient provisions under the smile of providence would enable me to defend it against any number of Indians that might presume to invest it. It is very important that the intended stockade should be seasonably furnished with provisions. My landing is at Water Street, on Juniata, but I could unnoticed, receive any supply from Standing Stone."

It appears that General Roberdeau had been on a tour of inspection before. In a contribution to the writer from Mr. Lytle, of Huntingdon, we have the following:

"Fort Roberdeau was built during the latter period, meaning the period after such forts as Shirley, Granville, etc., were erected. This was in 1777. On the 23d of April, in that year, General Daniel Roberdeau, after whom the fort was named, wrote a letter from Standing Stone, now Huntingdon, to Lieut. Carothers, at Carlisle, in which he says: "With ten men here under the command of Lieut. Cluggage, in continental service, until the first of December next, I intend to move forward as soon as the arms, ammunition and other things come forward to afford an escort to Sinking Springs Valley, where I shall be glad to meet as great a number of militia, as you will station there to enable me to erect a stockade to secure the works so necessary to the public service and give confidence to frontier inhabitants by affording an asylum for their women and children."

From this it is evident that General Roberdeau was then on his way to Sinking Valley, and the works he speaks of were the lead mines, and in this connection it may be stated that there was a fort used by the settlers prior to the establishment of this one. It was called Roller's Fort. For without

this there could have been no defence for the settlers prior to the establishment of Fort Roberdeau. General Roberdeau wrote from Sinking Valley to the Council on the 27th of April, as follows:

"I have little more time to refer you to the enclosed examination, taken in great haste, but correct, as it respects the testimony. The confiscation of the effects of the disaffected, in these parts is very irregular, and the brutality offered to the wives and children of some of them, as I have been informed in taking from them even their wearing apparel, is shocking.

*** * * * * I am happy to inform you that a very late discovery of a new vein promises the most ample supply, but I am very deficient in workmen. Mr. Glenn is with me to direct the making and burning of bricks, and is to come up to build a furnace, by which time I expect to be in such forwardness as to afford an ample supply to the army. The want of provisions, I dread, is hard to be got; therefore, I beg leave to refer you to a hint on this subject in my letter from Carlisle, of forty militia at most; seven with me which retards the building a stockade, to give confidence to the inhabitants who were all on the wing before I reached this.

"I sent Richard Weston under guard to Carlisle jail to await your orders. He is conducted by Lieut. John Means, of the militia. The inhabitants are hunting the other insurgents and hope they will all be taken, but wish any other the trouble of examining them, as my hands are full."

Little is known to us about this fort, or where or when it was erected. This is stated in a letter from General Potter, dated Penns Valley, May 19th, 1777. Three forts are spoken of in this Valley as having together but one lieutenant and fifteen men as a guard. He says: "I cannot help being surprised that there has been no militia sent to that part of Bedford county, that joins us, neither to Frankstown nor to Standing Stone except that small company of Buchanan's battalion that would not go to Fort Roberdeau.

General Roberdeau's stay at the mines must have been brief. The next we hear of him is in his letter, dated York, on the 30th day of May of the same year. The direction of

affairs at the mines was probably left in the hands of Lowrey and Cluggage. It is altogether uncertain how long the mines were carried on by the government, but not longer probably than till the fall of 1779. What the yield of lead was we are unable to discover. In one place in the records we find an order, forwarded to one of the sub-lieutenants of the county for five hundred pounds and we also learn at different times that quantities were issued to the militia. There must have been some arrangement existing between the government and Roberdeau for taking out this lead. In a letter written to Vice President Bryan, for pay due him, he says: "My last engagement in the lead works proved a moth to my circulating path and obliged me to make free with a friend in borrowing."

On the 6th of August, 1779, Capt. Thos. Cluggage dates a letter from Fort Roberdeau and says: "This morning I arrived at this post, bringing with me what men I could collect on the way. I think from the accounts of my brother that the number of the enemy in these parts must be large," and adds in a P. S. "This moment there is twelve men arrived and with them and with what can be spared from this garrison, I will immediately march to Morrison's Cove." In another letter dated at this fort, October 10th, 1779, Captain Cluggage says: "My company has been reviewed and passed muster. Three officers and forty-three rank and file, one of the latter killed or taken."

We presume therefore, that this was Fort Roberdeau, built on account of the lead mines and named after them in Sinking Spring Valley. It has been referred to that there was an attempt made to procure lead from these mines, during the Revolution. After Roberdeau's project had fallen to the ground in consequence of the scarcity of the ore and the great expense of mining and melting it, the miners who had been taken there, attempted for a while to carry on operations themselves. Their close proximity to the Indians, the several incursions into the valley by them in search of plunder and scalps, made these foreign miners, unused to border life, quit and seek refuge in the east. The fort was evacuated by the government militia. Nevertheless, it was still a place of refuge and was used by the

settlers of Sinking Valley, and Bald Eagle, up to the close of the war.

The writer here appends the following interesting letter dated Marshalltown, Iowa, August 26th, 1894, and written by John H. Keatley, commandant of the Iowa Soldiers' Home, who says:

"About seven miles west of Union Furnace on the Pennsylvania Railroad, in Sinking Valley, are the remains of old Fort Roberdeau, built during the Revolutionary War, by General Roberdeau, under authority of the Continental Congress. In 1866 I had a set of the Secret Journal of that Congress and found the resolution authorizing the building of the Fort for the protection of the lead miners who were mining lead for the use of the Revolutionary forces. The lead was carried down the Juniata river in canoes. In 1880, I was at the site of the Fort where a part of the brick powder magazine was still standing, on the farm once owned by Frederick Ramey, and almost in front of one of the houses in a field. I brought one of the bricks of the vault west with me. It is in the upper end of the Valley, and nearby is quite a quantity of lead or zinc slag from the melting furnace."

FORT ROLLER.

This was another one of the many fortifications built in Blair county at or about the time of the erection of Fort Roberdeau, many of them being private enterprises and this was one of them. We find that Jacob Roller, a frontier man of more than average hardihood, energy and daring, was for many years, during the revolutionary period, a very prominent figure in the locality of Hollidaysburg and surrounding vicinity, and it was he who erected this fort or stockade, for the defence of his family and his neighbors from the Indians. This may have been a fort, but we are inclined to the belief that it was only a stockade, the same as existed at Water Street and used as a retreat by the French Tories and their allies, the Indians, from their headquarters at Punxsutawney. This

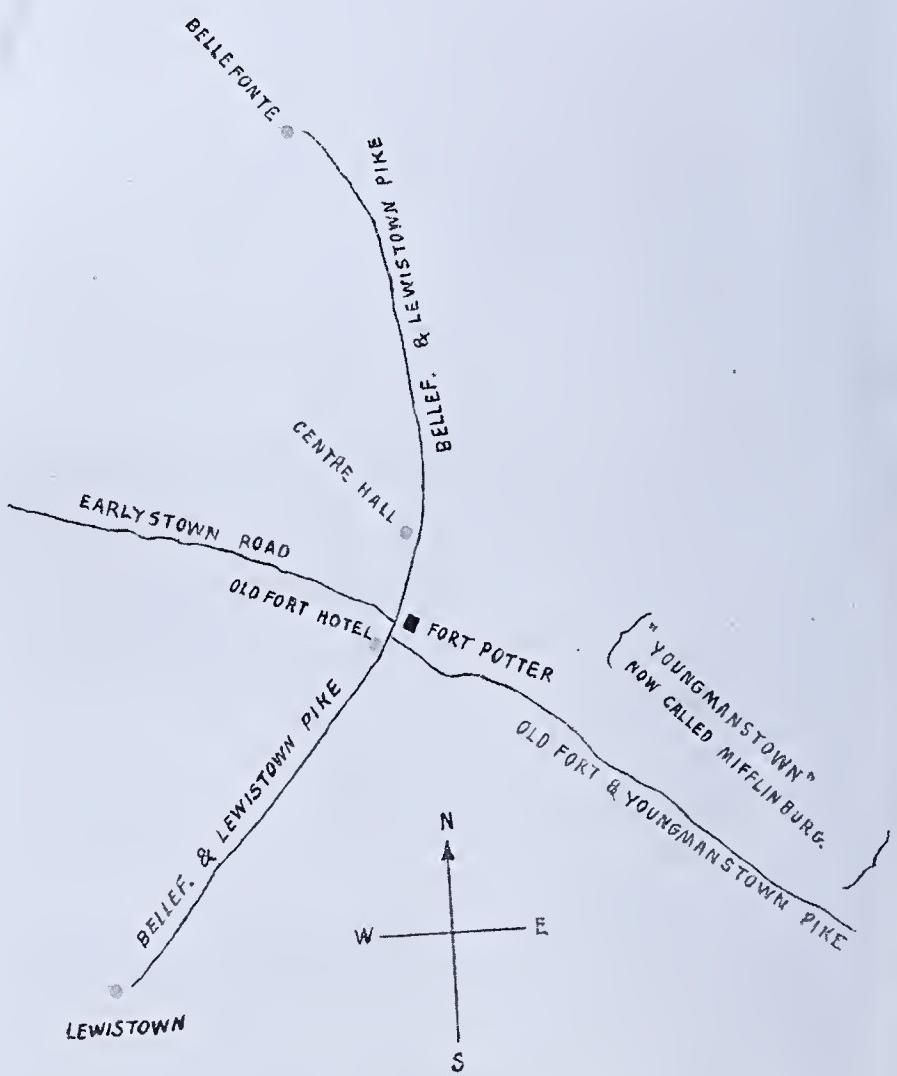
fort or stockade must have been contemporaneous with or later than Fort Roberdeau, for there could have been no defences in Sinking Valley prior thereto, as General Roberdeau had to take a military force with him.

It is stated that there is an original petition in existence from the people in the Juniata region asking protection from the savages, which was read in the Pennsylvania Assembly, February 14th, 1781, and which contains the name of Jacob Roller and other names, still familiar in Sinking Valley and in all parts of this county. When they sought protection then, they probably undertook to protect themselves by building the forts and stockades that figure in our early history. These forts were of the Revolutionary period, rather than of any anterior one.

Mr Jones, in his History of the Juniata Valley, refers to this fort. He also refers to an encounter by Roller with the Indians in which he came out the victor and the savages dreaded him very much on account of his well known and successful fighting proclivities. Indeed, he was in continual quarrel with the redskins and his name was a terror to them.

The time of Roller's death is not positively known; Mr. Maguire thought it was in the fall of 1781. From after discovered evidence, three Indians came down from the mountain, avoiding the fort of Jacob Roller, which was located at the head of Sinking Valley, and passed on down through the Valley to the house of Rebault, whom they tomahawked and scalped. He further speaks of Jacob Roller, Jr., being killed while at his father's fort.

So eminent an authority as Mr. Jones should have weight in statements concerning these matters. We have also introduced information about this fort gathered from personal sources in the neighborhood of its alleged erection.



SITE OF FORT POTTER.

CENTRE COUNTY.

POTTER'S FORT.*

This fort was built by Col. James Potter, in the year 1777, and was situated on an elevation a little north of the present "Old Fort Hotel," and is near Centre Hall, a station on the Lewisburg and Tyrone Railroad, about nine miles southeast of Bellefonte. There is a spring near the site of the fort, where General Potter built a cabin when prospecting for lands in 1773.

The fort, according to Mr. John B. Linn, was built in 1777; the stockade including the spring. It was subsequently occupied as a tavern by Stephen Smith. In 1825, when the turnpike was made, J. and I. Potter built a stone tavern on the turnpike a short distance from the old one, which stands at this present time, and which has always gone by the name of "The Old Fort Hotel." At a period later, the old hotel was known as McCoy's Tavern. In the erection of the frame house which stands really on its site, or close to it, there were dug up a number of relics. It is in Potter township, Centre county, and was occupied in July, 1778, by Captain Finley's company of Col. Brodhead's command, for a few weeks, and two of his soldiers were killed there by the Indians. The only evidence we have of the fort being connected with the general service, is the fact that Col. Brodhead ordered Captain Finley with twenty-five privates to go into Penn's Valley to protect the reapers.

We find the following concerning this locality and the fort in question in Day's Historical Collections: "Sometime after the treaty of 1768, James Potter, afterwards a brigadier general under Washington, came up the West Branch and Bald Eagle Creek to seek for choice lands. He crossed the Nittany mountain at Logan's Gap, and for the first time set his eyes upon the lovely Penns Valley, afterwards his happy home.

*A granite monument was placed near the site of the fort by the Bellefonte Chapter D. A. R., 9 June, 1898.

No traveler who has crossed that mountain on the road from Bellefonte to Lewistown can forget the impression made by a glance from the mountain into that luxuriant valley, spread out before him like a map, checkered with its copses of woodland and fertile farms, with their cheerful white cottages. After reconnoitering the valley, he descended Penn's creek in a canoe—but soon returned again, took up a large body of land, made a settlement there, and erected a stockade fort. Traces of the fort are still seen near McCoy's Tavern, which stands at the intersection of the Bellefonte and Lewistown turnpike with the Penn's Valley and Northumberland road. The corners still bear the name of Potter's Fort, and many rich farms about it belong to the Potter family; although their principal residence is at Potter's bank, four miles further south. There is a tradition that near Potter's Fort there occurred a desperate fight between two white men and two Indians, in which they grappled and cut each other to pieces, the whole four having been killed."

General Potter, in company with others, was driven from his settlement by the hostile incursions of Indians at the opening of the Revolution. He entered the service of his country and was with Gen. Washington during the campaigns at Valley Forge, Brandywine, Germantown and in New Jersey. Many of Washington's orders and letters are preserved among General Potter's papers. At the close of the war another treaty was made with the Indians for the purchase of all the territory in the State northwest of the West Branch; and General Potter was employed as agent and surveyor of a company of land speculators, to visit and superintend the settlement of their lands on the Sinnemahoning and West Branch above the Allegheny mountains. The Honorable Frederick Kurtz, of Centre Hall, furnished the writer with the following information: "Old Fort," sometimes called "Potter's Fort," was erected in 1777, by Capt. Potter. The site of the "Old Fort" was a short distance from the southern line of the borough of Centre Hall, less than one-eighth mile on the turnpike leading from Bellefonte to Lewistown. It was built on an eminence that commanded a view of the surrounding country and from which the approach of Indians could be seen.

Here the early settlers found shelter from the eastern and western parts of the valley, when Indians made incursions into the valley. Settlers from the lower end, now Haines township, came to the fort in times of danger, a distance of eighteen miles. Indian raids were frequent and a number of whites were killed at various times, at that early day. The fort was built of logs, and some of the corner stones of the foundation are yet to be seen. Within the fort was a house, used as a dwelling; this was erected first, and thereafter, when safety required a place of refuge, the log enclosure was built around the house, so as to answer the purposes of a fort. The farm upon which this fort is located is now owned by Captain John P. Taylor, of Mifflin county.

The writer called upon the late Ex-Governor Andrew G. Curtin, who, on account of his abundant faith in the history of John B. Linn, concerning that particular locality, was unable to add anything except to make the following suggestions:

"Anything which I could give you would only be the traditions common in the country and assuredly, if I had any definite information, I would be very happy to furnish it, as I sincerely approve of the raising of the commission and the propriety of retaining the history of Pennsylvania in all its relations to the early settlement and the struggles of the pioneers in this and adjoining parts of the State."

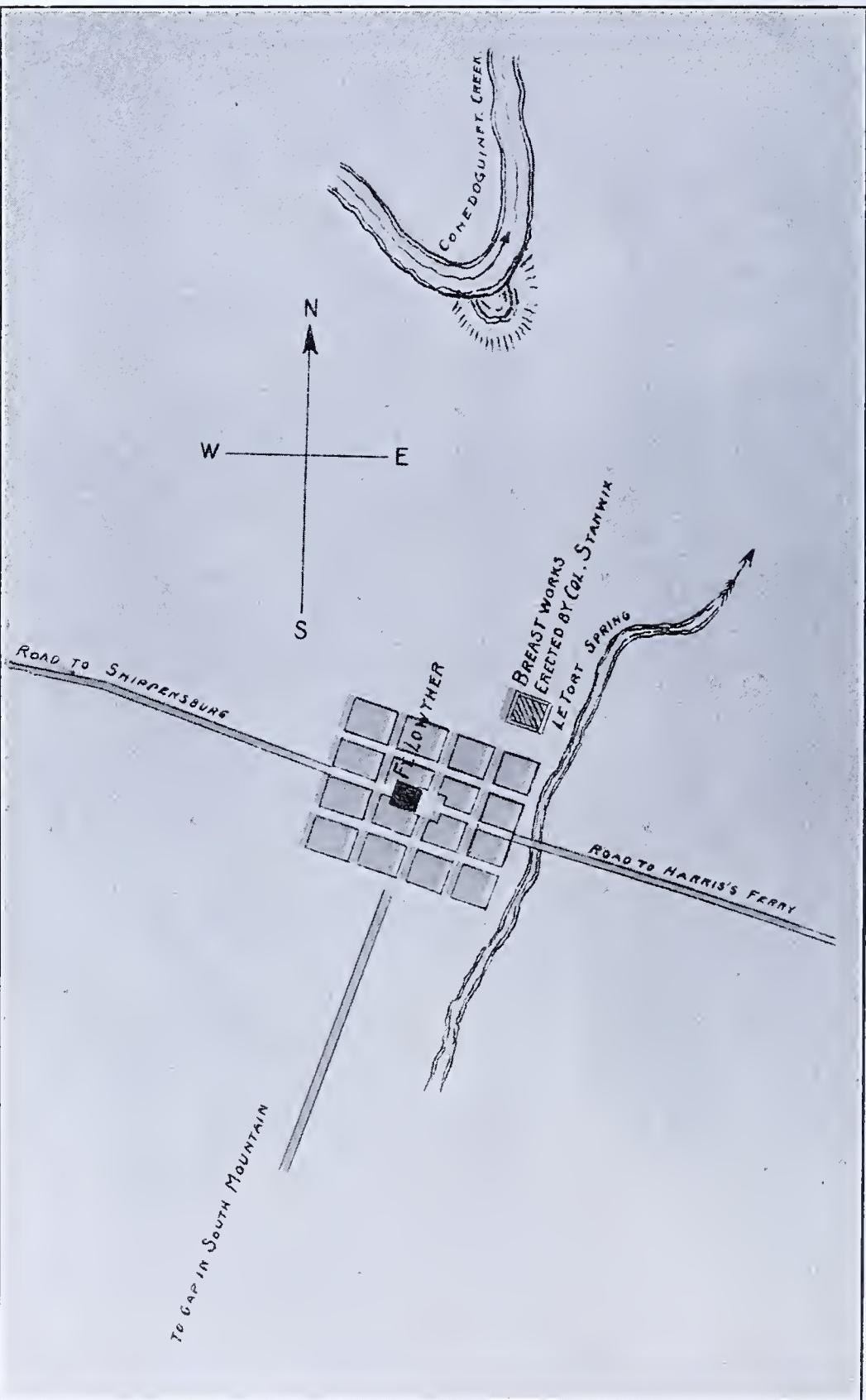
The writer, after a personal inspection of this fort, saw nothing excepting what might be the outlines of the foundations. The spring, which was supposed to be on the inside, is still there and the ground showed every evidence of there having been a building erected on it, some of the stones being yet visible.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

FORT LOWTHER.

A fort was erected in Carlisle, Cumberland county, and we have record of a garrison there as early as May 27, 1753. In 1753 a stockade was erected within the present borough limits of that place, now extending beyond its original site, so that we find its location to be in this town, to-day. The location of this fort is described as follows: On High street between Hanover and Pitt streets, opposite Lot No. one hundred, and the house of the late General Lamberton occupied a part of the ground, being in what is now the most populous part of the town. There are no remains of the fort to mark its precise locality. The creek bearing the Indian name of Conedoguinet flows to the northward from where this fort was established. The Historical Map of Pennsylvania, however, places its site on the western bank of a small stream, tributary to this Indian creek, the name of the tributary stream being most likely Letort creek. The cause leading to the erection of this fort was mainly owing to various bands of Indians who occupied the territory between the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers. These bands consisted principally of the Delawares, Shawanese and the Tuscarora tribes. They had been for a considerable period prior to this time, regarded peaceable toward their white neighbors.

In the same year that this fort was erected, John O'Neill, an agent of Governor Hamilton, had a talk with these various bands of Indians, in Path Valley; but it was never known what took place on that occasion or in that interview, as history is silent upon that subject. When these bands of Indians began to be troublesome, the settlers formed under the command of Captain Jack, who was considered one of the most remarkable characters in the Province of Pennsylvania and was regarded as a bold, daring, interpid soldier, and as ardent in his affections and zealous in his occupations as a hun-



SITE OF FORT LOWTHER.

ter as he was courageous in his military pursuits, and he it was who by the combined efforts of all the settlers in the neighborhood, resisted their invasions. So rapid were the movements of these bands of marauding redskins that at one time these companies would be at Fort Augusta, then at Fort Franklin, then at the Juniata, or Fort Loudoun or down among the Conococheague settlements. And many were the outrages committed by these people, between the Conococheague settlements and the Juniata river.

War raged with the Indians for upwards of a period of twelve years and this it was that led to the erection of this and other forts in the Cumberland Valley and the Conococheague settlements. This fort was constructed in the following manner: Around the area to be embraced within the fort a ditch was dug to the depth of about four feet. In this, oak logs or logs of some kind of timber not easily set on fire or cut through, and about seventeen or eighteen feet long, pointed at the top, were placed in an upright position. Two sides of the logs were hewn flat and the sides were brought close together and fastened securely near the top by horizontal pieces of timber, spiked or pinned upon their inner sides, so as to make the whole stockade firm and staunch. The ditch having been filled up again, platforms were constructed all around the inner side of the enclosure some four or five feet from the ground and upon these the defenders of the fort stood and fired through loop-holes left near the top of the stockade upon those who were investing or attacking the fort.

It was at this fort that Governor Morris was stationed June 5th, 1755, for the purpose of being nearer to Braddock's army, in order to give counsel and aid and for such other matters as could be expected of him under these circumstances, and while at this place he received the last letter ever written by Braddock, the lamented English soldier recounting in his correspondence with Governor Morris the troubles out in the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne. And Governor Morris, from this fort, also despatched several letters and messages to the British General so soon to be cruelly butchered by the savages.

Some time in the fall of this year, 1755, the citizens of Carlisle were very greatly alarmed in consequence of numerous massacres by the Indians. John Armstrong, therefore, writes Governor Morris, November 2d, "I am of opinion that no other means than a chain of blockhouses along or near the south side of the Kittatinny mountains from the Susquehanna to the temporary line can secure the lives and properties of the old inhabitants of this county, the new settlements being all fled except those of Shearman's Valley, who, if God do not preserve them, we fear will suffer very soon."

In a letter dated, Carlisle, February 15, 1756, William Trent writes to Richard Peters:

"Wednesday evening two lads were taken or killed at the Widow Cox's, just under Parnell's Knob, and a lad who went from McDowell's Mill to see what fire it was, never returned, the horse coming back with the reins over his neck; they burnt the house and shot down the cattle. Just now came news that a party of Indian warriors were come out against the inhabitants from some of the Susquehanna towns, and yesterday some people who were over in Shearman's Valley discovered fresh tracks. All the people had left their houses, betwixt this and the mountain, some come to town and others gathering into the little forts. They are moving their effects from Shippensburg; every one thinks of flying unless the Government fall upon some effectual method, and that immediately, of securing the frontiers, there will not be one inhabitant in this Valley one month longer.

"There is a few of us endeavoring to keep up the spirits of the people. We have proposed going upon the enemy tomorrow, but whether a number sufficient can be got, I cannot tell; no one scarce seems to be effected with the distress of their neighbors and for that reason none will stir but those that are next the enemy and in immediate danger. A fort in this town would have saved this part of the county, but I doubt this town in a few days, will be deserted, if this party that is out should kill any people nigh here. I was of opinion the forts, as they were built would be of no service; I was laughed at for it, but now the inhabitants here are convinced of it. I wrote for the militia and expect an answer, etc."

S. PITT ST.

N. PITT ST.

LOT NO. 84

92.

100

108

116

124

LOT NO. 85

93

101

109

117

125

WEST HIGH STREET
80 FT. WIDE

FORT
LOWTHER
BUILT 1751.

DRIVE ORIGINALLY AROUND THE SQUARE.
WESTERN HALF
OF
PUBLIC SQUARE.
LAID OUT IN 1751.

STREET OR DRIVE

S. HANOVER
STREET.

N. HANOVER
STREET.

PLAN OF FORT LOWTHER, CARLISLE.

We also here insert the correspondence between Commissary Young and Governor Morris, relative to this fort:

"I have endeavored to put this large fort in the best possible defense I can; but am sorry to say the people of this town cannot be prevailed on, to do anything for their own safety. I proposed to them to associate and to place a picket guard at a small distance from the fort, to prevent being surprised, but to no purpose, they say they will guard when there is danger, though the enemy is now committing murder but ten miles from them. They seem to be lulled into fatal security, a strange infatuation, which seems to prevail throughout this province."

Colonel Armstrong writes to Governor Morris July 23d, 1756, as follows:

"Lyttleton, Shippensburg and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only forts now built that will in my opinion be serviceable to the public. The duties of the harvest have not permitted me to finish. Carlisle Fort with the soldiers, it should be done otherwise, the soldiers cannot be so well governed, and may be absent or without the gates at the time of the greatest necessity."

On June 28, 1757, Col. Stanwix writes from Carlisle: "I march a Captain's picket two or three times a week as scouting parties. I am throwing up some works round our camp and if it may have no other use, it keeps our soldiers properly employed." A few days before, he wrote Governor Denny: "By this express, I am to let you know that I only wish for wagons to March to Shippensburg, but when I shall be able to set out, it is impossible for me to say, as in two days' notice I have yet been able to get but few wagons, and those my quartermaster stocked himself, however the magistrates give me to hope I shall be supplied in a day or two. The reason of my moving is the hearing of intelligence from Captain Dagworthy, who commands at Fort Cumberland."

Colonel Armstrong writes, under date, Carlisle, June 30th, 1757: "Colonel Stanwix has begun and continues his entrenchment on the northeast part of this town and just adjoining it."

By a reference to Volume twelve of the Pennsylvania Ar-

chives, first series, we have the following relative to this fort:

On the 30th of June, John Armstrong writes to _____ (name not given) : "Tomorrow we begin to haul stone for the building of a meeting house on the north side of the square. There was no other convenient place. I have avoided the place you once pitched upon for a church. The stones are raised out of Colonel Stanwix's entrenchment. We will want help, to this political, as well as religious work."

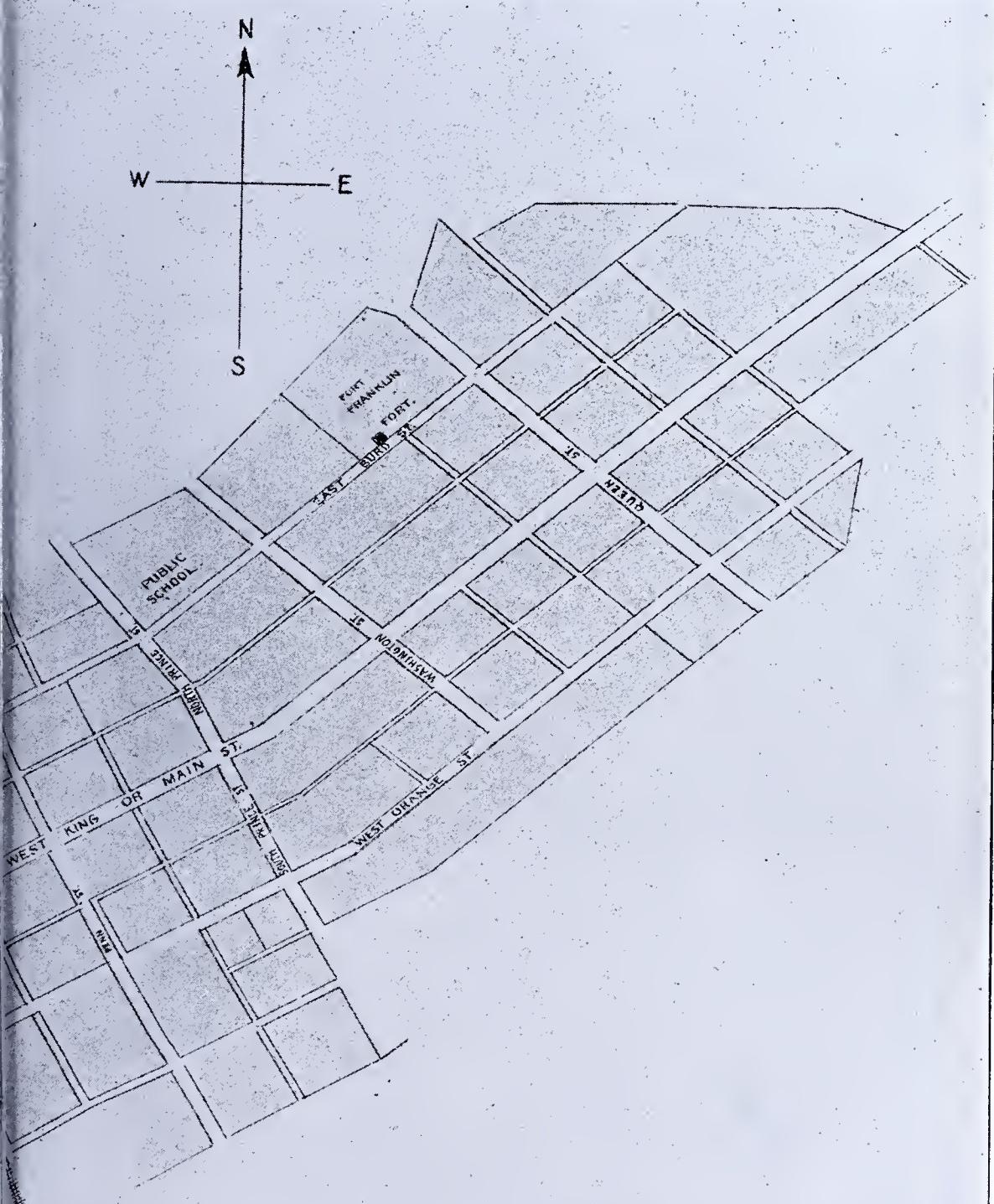
Colonel Stanwix, on July 25th, writes to Secretary Peters: "Am at work at my entrenchment, but as I send out such large and frequent parties, with other necessary duties can only spare about seventy working men a day, and these have been very often interrupted by frequent and violent dust, so that we make but a small figure yet, and the first month was entirely taken up in clearing the ground, which was full of monstrous stumps, etc. Have built myself a hut in camp, where the Captains and I live together."—Had Colonel Stanwix two entrenchments and was the first one abandoned by him, being that alluded to by Colonel Armstrong above?"

On September 5th, 1757, Lord Loudoun sends from New York the Second battalion of the Royal Regiment to re-inforce Colonel Stanwix. October 22d, 1758, General Forbes recommends one hundred men to be at Shippensburg and Carlisle, and it appears at some time, during this year, there were two companies or fourteen men stationed at the latter place. January 5th, 1764, General Gage ordered the King's troops from Carlisle to Lancaster, if required by Governor Penn, "To support the civil authority in the execution of the law."

This fort, no doubt, was called after an English nobleman, a relative of the Penns. It presents less of the exciting tales incident to savage warfare and incursions than many of the forts hitherto treated of, but this is accounted for by the fact that this section early became a centre of peace and counsel rather than one of hostile contention; being remote from the seat of Indian warfare, to the north, the west and southwest.

SHIPPENSBURG, PA.





FORT MORRIS.

The Historical Map of Pennsylvania places this fort in the town of Shippensburg, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania. It was built in the year 1755—the same year in which General Braddock made his fateful march against the French and Indians beyond the Alleghenies. The ground on which Fort Morris was located, in Shippensburg, is on a high bluff of rocks on the main street of the town and is about twenty feet higher than the grade of the street. It commands an eminent view from all parts of the country; thus, in point of location, it was for a place of defence one of the best adapted for a fort in that section. Its present ownership is vested in the Mount Moriah Baptist Church.

There had probably been a fort for some time also in Shippensburg, called Fort Franklin, and tradition reports that it stood on a steep, rocky bluff near the west end of the town, sometimes called the Bull's Eye, from a large round opening in the gable. The remains of the walls stood there until 1836, and a schoolhouse has since been erected on the site. The fort commenced at Shippensburg, in 1755, was called Fort Morris, after the Governor of that name. Was finished in 1756 and '57 under the direction of Colonel Burd. It was probably near the northeastern end of the borough on land owned by the late William McConnell, and known as The Fort, where a well dug for the use of the garrison still exists. (Kennedy's Historical Sketches in American Volunteer of 1871).

Other authorities make these forts in Shippensburg exchange places, and put Franklin on the northeastern part and Morris on the western part of the borough. We read in 1755 of Fort Morris and in 1756 of Fort Franklin. As early as November 2d, 1755, James Burd writes from Shippensburg:

"We have one hundred men working at Fort Morris, with heart and hand every day. The town is full of people, five or six families in a house, in great want of arms and ammunition; but, with what we have we are determined to give the enemy as warm a reception, as we can. Some of our people have been taken prisoners, but have made their escape, and came into us this morning * * * * *

General Braddock's army had been defeated in the preceding July, and the Indians, flushed with victory and prompted to the commission of deeds of atrocity and violence by the French, were prowling along the entire frontier settlements and making forays, slaughtering men, women and children, carrying some into captivity, burning houses and barns, and spreading desolation and ruin throughout the valley; hence the necessity of an early completion of this place of shelter and protection.

Fort Morris, as before stated, was built on a rocky hill, at the western end of the town. The brick school house now standing there, which was erected some thirty-five years ago, stands within the boundary of the fort, the foundation of a part of which can still be traced. The walls were about two feet in thickness and were of stone, taken from a quarry a few yards west of where it stood. These walls were very substantially built of small stones, with mortar which became as hard as cement. There were openings in them several feet from the ground, but whether these were intended simply as places for the admission of light or for some other purpose, is not clear. The roof, together with all the timber used in the construction of the building, had been removed years before 1821. The portion of the wall, which remained at that time was torn down in 1836, by a party engaged in a drunken frolic. It would appear from the following entry, which is taken from the quit rent book of the heirs of Mr. Shippen, that after the Indian trouble had subsided, Mr. S. had taken possession of the fort and leased it as a dwelling:

"Stone House on the Hill, at west end of Shippensburg, with about twenty acres of cleared land. October 31st, 1781, Walter Welsh, a balance for one-half rent of eight years to March 1st, 1781. 6 pounds, Pennsylvania currency."

The book from which the entry is taken, contains payment of quit rents from other parties, down to 1795; but it is probable that after that date the building became untenantable, and was no longer occupied as a dwelling. The twenty acres of land spoken of must have included a portion of what is now within the limits of Spring Hill cemetery. A number of

cabins were built on the hill near the fort but not a vestige of them remained in 1821.

On June 30th, 1755, by a letter referred to, there must have been a fort of some kind here, as Edward Shippen alludes to the same at that date, to William Allen from Shippensburg, in which he sends an account of murders "committed near our Fort." This may have been only a temporary stockade or defence for the protection of cattle and provisions, etc., as suggested by Mr. Shippen, and he further suggests that the magazine ought to be protected by twenty or thirty soldiers and a stockade built.

Mr. Swain writes to Governor Morris from Shippensburg, July 30th, 1755. * * * * * "I suppose the people will now come fast into these parts and shall use all the expedition in forwarding a Fort. I have pitched on a piece of ground of Mr. Shippen's, and the timber about here is all his, therefore should be glad, he was to write about it, etc."

Shortly after this period, the French and their Indian allies, emboldened by their success, pushed their incursions into these parts, and many were the scenes of murder, and burning of houses for a considerable period, and the apprehension of those who feared the direful consequences of Braddock's defeat, were sadly realized. After this horrible defeat, followed massacres beyond description. Shingas and Captain Jacobs, the Delaware warriors, were supposed to have been the principal instigators of them, and a considerable reward was offered for their heads. And it was at this juncture that dead bodies of some of those murdered and mangled were sent from these settlements to Philadelphia, to inflame the minds of the Quakers against the Indians, whose mild forbearance was attributed to their remissness, the result of which was that a reward was offered for these heads.

August 7th, 1755, James Burd, is instructed to get together the people immediately and build a fort and that he was to get pine logs and black oaks from saplin lands. If Mr. Swain and you differ in judgment about the fort, let me know it privately. And again he writes to Mr. Burd, expressing the hope that the building of the fort is moving on rapidly and you may expect the Governor before his return.

On the 30th of October, 1755, a meeting was called by Sheriff Potter, of Cumberland county, at Shippensburg, at which it was resolved to build five large forts. One of the places designated was Shippensburg, so that it was probably about this time that Fort Morris was erected. Although in July of that year, Edward Shippen writes from Lancaster to Governor Morris: "If you think I can be of any service by going to procure pastures and by riding to Shippensburg to encourage the people to erect a fort, I will strain a point and undertake the business."

On November 2d, 1755, Colonel Burd writes from Shippensburg that they are in great confusion, from having received information that a large body of French and Indians are in the Cove intending to fall upon this place. "We for these few days past have been working at our fort here, and believe we shall work this day (Sunday) this town is full of people, they being all moving in with their families, etc., we are in great want of arms and ammunition; but, with what we have, are determined to give the enemy as warm a reception, as we can. Some of our people have been taken prisoners, by this party, and have made their escape from them and came in to us this morning. As our Fort goes on with great vigor, we expect it to be finished in fifteen days, into which we intend to throw all the women and children. I would be greatly encouraged could we have reason to expect assistance from Philadelphia, by private donations of swivels, a few great guns, small arms and ammunition."

Governor Morris writes to Major Burd, dated at Harris' Ferry: "When you return from Shippensburg, I would have you bring with you, to this place the thirty men belonging to Colonel Clapham's Regiment, now posted there, under Lieutenant Courtland, and you will order Mr. Courtland to attend Colonel Armstrong, for his orders, as I shall direct him, to take post in one of the Forts on the west side of the Susquehanna."

Colonel Armstrong dates a letter from Fort Morris, November 21st, 1756. April 10th, 1757, Shippensburg is named by the Governor as one of the forts which were to remain over the Susquehanna to be garrisoned by two of the eight com-

panies of Colonel Armstrong's battalion, two in each fort, by whom patrols could be kept constantly marching between fort and fort.

Thus, by these last detached paragraphs, being all the facts referred to in letters, prove certainly the existence of Fort Morris, and that it was in all probability erected in 1755, by Colonel James Burd, though it is probable that there might have been a hasty stockade fort erected, because of the incursions of the Indians. The town of Shippensburg, with the exception of York, was the oldest town in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna, having been laid out about 1749 by Mr. Shippen, who owned the land, and who had some intention of building a mill in 1754.

It is said that a second fort was built and called Franklin; many have advanced this idea that Governor Morris ordered the erection of the fort and that Franklin had superintended the construction, and hence from that there may have been the confusion of names.

Another letter says: The village of Shippensburg was laid out by Mr. Shippen, the proprietor of the land. As before stated, it was the oldest town, with the exception of York, and for a time consisted of but a few houses. The stockade fort was soon superseded by Fort Morris, erected in the latter part of 1755 by the Province. The fort was at the southwestern side of the hill of some elevation, which gave it a commanding position. Convenient was a spring at the base of the hill, which supplied its garrison and inmates with water. The stone chimneys of buildings within the fort remained standing in part until some years since, by their fall and ruins marking the site. The fort, like Loudoun, had generally a small parrison of Provincial troops and was used as a place of deposit for arms and ammunition, and military supplies, as well as provisions for the armies or military companies on the frontier or when marching west."

We find the names of two of Pennsylvania's greatest men in the Colonial or Provincial times thus perpetuated in connection with these early frontier defences against the savages —Franklin and Morris.

FORT FRANKLIN.

The Historical Map of Pennsylvania is silent as to the date of the erection of this fort; but notwithstanding all the confusion that has arisen between the names Forts Franklin and Morris, the writer is of the opinion, with what data he has at hand, that this fort, as well as Fort Morris, had existence at Shippensburg. Fort Franklin was located on Burd street, in the northeastern side of the town, and is supposed to have been established as early as 1740. The ground on which Fort Franklin was erected is now full of residences and owned by different parties. The ground was last owned by Mr. John Hosfeld, and he owns considerable yet. The old well mentioned in connection with this fort is still visible, thus establishing, beyond doubt, that there was a fort erected on this spot.

The writer has been furnished some data by Mr. John C. Wagner, editor of The News, at Shippensburg. Various accounts have been written from time to time relative to Fort Franklin, all of which appear to be somewhat at variance. Some writers have expressed doubt as to it ever having had an existence; others located it at the western end of the town, whilst others asserted that it was built of stone and none of them dated its existence further back than 1756.

Owing to the rapid increase of population before 1740, the Indians of this section began to exhibit alarming symptoms which became evident to the settlers, and caused considerable uneasiness. In order to be prepared for any emergency, the citizens of the town, met at the public house of the widow Piper to consider the propriety of providing some place of safety in case there should be a surprise. The meeting agreed that such provisions should not be delayed; but in order to obtain the co-operation of those who resided in the surrounding country an adjournment was had and a day named for the second meeting, to which the entire male population of the surrounding country were invited. At that meeting it was decided that a log fort should be erected on the northwestern side of the town. A time was fixed upon, when the people assembled, cut the logs and put up the building in a very few

days. This was in the early part of the year 1740. During the autumn of that year, Governor Thomas sent a garrison of twenty-two men to the fort. As there was no water convenient to the fort, the soldiers, with the assistance of some of the people of the town and such as were willing to aid in this behalf, dug a well, within the outward enclosure of the fort. This well was filled up with stones and rubbish about fifty years ago, but its location is still visible in Burd street, just outside of a field belonging at present to Mr. John Grabill, known as Fort field. My impression is, that this fort had no name until 1755, when it was called Franklin, to distinguish it from Fort Morris, which was then in process of construction.

Edward Shippen, in a letter to William Allen, dated June 30th, 1755, gives an account of murders committed "near our Fort." In that year a garrison of fifty men was stationed in Fort Franklin. This fort was subsequently enlarged by adding several sections to it. After the Indian troubles of 1763 were over, these various sections were occupied by private families. As it was looked upon as the property of the people at large, no care was taken of it, and it soon began to decay, became untenable, and was torn down about the year 1790. Some writer has stated that the Old Fort, built of logs and called Franklin, was afterwards during Governor Morris' administration torn away and a larger and a more commodious one constructed of stone, was erected on the same site and named in honor of Governor Morris. Another writer, whose article may be found in the appendix to the Pennsylvania Archives, says: "It is said that a second fort was built at Shippensburg, and called Franklin, but by whom and when erected, we have no information."

By some persons, it is thought this name was subsequently given to Fort Morris. The same writer says: "An old gentleman, Mr. J. J. (Joseph Johnston), who was born in the town and is now nearly ninety years of age, but with a strong mind and good memory, says there was a fortification at the northeast part of the borough on the land of the late William M. Connel, known by the name of The Fort, where the remains of a well dug for the use of the fort still exist. In the memory

of Mr. J——, two or three log houses that constituted part of the fort were still standing and were occupied by families. From Mr. Johnston's account of it there cannot be a doubt but that it was a log structure. In a conversation which was had with an old citizen of Shippensburg, in 1853, it was stated that no part of this fort was of stone; that when he was quite a young man, he had assisted in tearing the various sections of it down, and that some of the logs of which it was constructed were in a good state of preservation.

The history of these two forts, located in such close proximity, in the vicinity of where the town of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, now stands, adds another measure of significance to the history of that valley, having played a prominent part in the important historical epoch to which their history is confined, and they are worthy of a mark by the State to perpetuate early facts clinging historically to one of the oldest towns in this section of the State of Pennsylvania.

FORT LETORT.

This fort, if it can be called one, was established in 1753, near Carlisle, as a trading house. James Letort, a trader, resided at Beaver Pond, near where Carlisle now stands. There is a creek in Cumberland county bearing the same name, and which forms a branch to the Conodoguinet. We have no data at hand as to any precise location, nor to its use as a fort.

FORT CROGHAN.

This fort was established in 1755, and it is stated that George Croghan lived eight miles from the Susquehanna river along the North mountain. This fort has been treated of as being anterior in point of time to Fort Shirley at Aughwick, and all the indications point that that contention is correct. We stated in our report of forts, that George Croghan was an Indian trader and that he had a station on the mountain in

Croghan's Gap, leading to Shearman's Creek Valley, all of which has been fully passed upon heretofore; we conclude that there was no fort bearing his name in this county.

FORT DICKEY.

Fort Dickey is placed by the Historical Map of Pennsylvania in Cumberland county, about ten miles west of the Susquehanna river, and on the south side of the Blue Hills, out-spurs of the Kittatinny mountain. It was erected in the year 1764. Its prominence in the catalogue of early forts is without foundation. It seems to have been one of the numerous places of resort as a means of defence against the Indians.

FORT FERGUSON.

Supposed to have been erected in 1764 near the present site of Carlisle Springs. It is marked on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania as being in the same latitude with Fort Dickey, and not far to the west of it, perhaps a mile or some little more.

FORT McALISTER.

This fort is supposed to have been erected about the same time as those above, and stood where the Conodoguinet creek cuts through the mountain, its site being in the northwestern corner of Cumberland county, at the junction of Cumberland, Perry and Huntingdon counties, and in the same latitude as the preceding two forts.

McCOMB'S FORT.

This fort is also mentioned in connection with the preceding three just treated of, and was located at or near Doubling

Gap. Along with the others in this list it was regarded as a place of rendezvous for the settlers along the mountain. The writer is informed that these forts are unknown, the last three mentioned, to residents of Carlisle. Their meagre data is added for what it is worth, as it is not deemed proper to pass by any evidence, direct or indirect, tending to establish historical information in this regard.

DAUPHIN COUNTY.

FORT HALIFAX.

This fort was classed among a line of fortifications erected at different periods between 1752 and 1763, by the Provincial government, between the rivers Delaware and Potomac. Fort Halifax was built at the mouth of Armstrong creek about half a mile above the present town of Halifax. There is nothing left now to mark the spot, except a slight elevation of the ground and a well known to have belonged to the fort. The fort was built in 1756 by Colonel William Clapham. The Colonel selected it as the most convenient place on the river between Harris' and Shamokin for a magazine, on account of its good natural situation above the Juniata Falls. In addition to this there was plenty of pine timber on the ground near the nearness of this place to Shamokin, he therefore concluded to erect a fort at this place. According to plans furnished he had squared two hundred logs about thirty feet in length which he drew to the place in order that it could be built as quickly as possible, so the troops would not be delayed. After he had done all these things he undertook to finish it in two weeks. Under guard of an officer and thirty men, being satisfied with the progress that was made at the fort he proceeded on the march with these troops up the river in batteaux to McKee's store.

In a letter dated June 20th, Governor Morris states to Col.

Clapham, "The progress already made in this fort renders it impracticable for me to comply with the Commissioner's desire to contract it at which I was surprised, as I expected every day orders to enlarge it, it being yet, in my opinion, too small. I shall leave an officer and thirty men with orders to finish it when I march from hence." In a postscript the Colonel adds, "The fort at this place without a name till your honor is pleased to confer one." Up to this time, this place was known as Camp Armstrong.

Philadelphia, June 25th, 1756, Governor Morris writes: "The Fort at Armstrong's, I would have it called Fort Halifax.

Immediately on receiving instructions, Col. Clapham proceeded to erect the Fort, as appears from the following: "After receiving a proclamation enjoining a cessation of hostilities for a period of thirty days, and which proclamation was carried out by him, he claimed he was at a great loss to know how to proceed, not having any instructions as to whether his marching into the country may or may not be deemed an act of hostility. And in order to justify this action was compelled to leave it to the opinion of a council of war. He also complains "that the Fort at this place is not in a condition to be left, as the waters of the river are daily falling and the opportunity of carriage by water to Shamokin, might fail."

Col. Clapham was further ordered to proceed to Shamokin, now Sunbury, and previous to embarking for that post he wrote to Governor Morris, under date of July first, 1756, as follows: "I shall leave a sergeant's party at Harris', consisting of twelve men, twenty-four at Hunter's Fort, twenty-four at McKee's store, each in command of an ensign; and Capt. Miles with thirty men at Fort Halifax, with the endorsed instructions, as I have removed all the stores from Harris' Ferry and McKee's to this place."

On the 1st of July, 1756, Col. Clapham writes from Fort Halifax: "You are to command a party of thirty men at Fort Halifax which you are to finish with all possible expedition, observing not to suffer your party to straggle in small numbers into the woods or to go any great distance from the fort, unless detached as an escort, or in case of special orders for that purpose. You are to build barracks within the fort for

your men and also a store house thirty feet by twelve, in which you are carefully to lodge all provisions, stores, etc., belonging to the Province; if the boards purchased for that purpose are not sufficient to finish the banquette and execute the other designs herein recommended, your men are to be employed in sawing more out of the pine logs now lying near the fort. You are to keep a constant guard, and relieve regularly, to have continual one sentry in each bastion and in case of an attack to retreat to the fort and defend it to the last extremity. If anything extraordinary occurs, you are immediately to dispatch notice thereof to his honor, the Governor, and to signify the same to me, if any relief or instructions may be necessary."

From the imperfect historical data at hand it appears as though Fort Hunter was subsequently abandoned and the garrison removed to Fort Halifax. In August, 1757, in a petition to the Provincial Council, the inhabitants of Paxtang set forth "that the evacuation of Fort Hunter is of great disadvantage to them; that Fort Halifax is not necessary to secure communication with Fort Augusta and is not so proper a station for the batteaux parties as Fort Hunter; pray the Governor would be pleased to fix a sufficient number of men at Hunter's, under the command of an active officer, with strict orders to range the frontiers daily." This petition was backed up by personal letters to the officers of the Council, among which was the following from the Rev. John Elder: "Paxton, July 30th, 1757. As we of this township have petitioned the Governor for the removal of the garrison from Halifax to Hunter's, I beg the favor of you to use your interest with his Honor in our behalf. The defence of Halifax is of no advantage; but a garrison at Hunter's under the command of an active officer, will be of great service; it will render the carriage of provisions and ammunition for the use of Augusta, more easy and less expensive; and by encouraging the inhabitants to continue in their places, will prevent the weakening of the frontier settlements. We have only hinted at these things in the petition, which you will please to enlarge on, in the conversation with the Governor, and urge in such a manner as you think proper. 'Tis well known that representa-

tives from the back inhabitants have but little weight with the gentlemen in power, looking on us either as incapable of forming just notions of things, or as biased with selfish views. However, I am satisfied that you, Sir, have more favorable conception of us; and that from the knowledge you have of the situation of the places mentioned in our petition, you will readily agree with us and use your best offices with the Governor to prevail with him to grant it; and you will very much oblige, Sir, your most obedient and humble Servant, John Elder."

Pending the consideration of this question in Council, Commissary Young was called before that body. He stated that Fort Halifax is a very bad situation, being built between two ranges of hills, and nobody living near it, none could be protected by it; that it is no station for batteaux parties, having no command of the channel, which runs close on the western shore, and is besides covered with a large island between the channel and fort, so that numbers of the enemy may even in daytime run down the river without being seen by that garrison.

These petitions for assistance from the neighborhood of Fort Hunter were inspired by the fact that the Indians made several invasions there in 1757 and one man was killed within twenty rods of Hunter's barn. While the Provincial Council was not convinced of the advisability of abandoning Fort Halifax at that time, it was satisfied of the inadequacy of the force at Fort Hunter. Just when re-inforcements were ordered there does not appear, but when Col. Burd visited the fort in 1758, the garrison consisted of Captains Patterson and Levis, and eighty men. They were, however, so poorly provided with powder and lead as to be practically useless, the Captain testifying that there were not on hand three rounds to a man. Fort Halifax was dismantled and abandoned in 1763, and, as previously stated, nothing now remains to mark its location but a slight elevation of the ground and the old well which was inside the circular bastion.

If the purpose of its construction was, as some of the correspondents would lead us to believe, the protection of the batteaux which then carried stores, provisions and passengers

to Forts McKee and Augusta, the site was ill chosen, because, as claimed in the petition to the Council for its abandonment, the channel was on the opposite side of the river, and between it and the fort were two islands which would have effectually hidden the passage up the river, either by day or night of armed enemies.

One of these islands is that owned by John Clemson, while the other is now but a ledge of rocks. There was little use for the fort as a protection for the settlers in the immediate vicinity as there were practically none north of Peter's mountain at that time.

John Meetch is said to have located upon the land now owned by one of his descendants, William B. Meetch, in Halifax township, some time in 1752, and is claimed to have been the pioneer in this section of the county. Some member of the Armstrong family must either have been here then or came shortly after, as Governor Morris in his letter to Col. Clapham, dated June 21st, 1756, in relation to the name of the fort said: "The Fort at Armstrong I would have it called Fort Halifax." From this it is evident that there was then in the vicinity some settler by the name of Armstrong from whom the fort took its temporary name. And what is more conclusive, a Moravian missionary, passing through in 1746 reported Armstrong as being here then and the only white man in the vicinity. It is probable, therefore, that Armstrong was the first settler and at the time the fort was constructed his family and that of John Meetch were the only white persons in the neighborhood. It would, consequently, seem rather strange that the Provincial government should incur the expense of erecting a fort for the protection of such a handful of people. It is more than likely however, that the primary object of the fort was to afford a safe shelter for the wagon trains which made the journey from Fort Hunter to Fort Augusta in two days. This fact is borne out also by letters written between the Provincial authorities and Col. Clapham that it was to be a place used more particularly as a base of supplies for those forts north or up the river.

Travelers and wagon trains passing here spent the intervening nights at the fort, in going up and down the river be-

tween Fort Hunter and Fort Augusta. Such protection was essentially necessary at that time, because the large island now owned by Albert Clemson was the home of a considerable number of Indians who would have exterminated the trains had there not been some safe place for them to pass the night.

At or near this historic place, lived Simon Girty the outlaw's father of the same name, an Indian trader. After he was driven out of Shearman's Creek settlement he removed with his family near where the town of Halifax is situated, subsequently removing westward.

The fort was a quadrangle with four bastions and was an earthwork about ten feet high, surrounded by a ditch of equal depth. The land on which it was located is now owned by Henry A. Kelker, Esq., of Harrisburg.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

FORT CHAMBERS.

This fort was erected by Benjamin Chambers in the year 1756 in the Conococheague settlement. Its site was at the confluence of Falling Spring and the Conococheague creek, where now the town of Chambersburg stands. It was considered the most defensive and safe fort in the Conococheague settlement. A more specific location of the fort was furnished the writer as follows: Fort Chambers was on the bank of the Conococheague creek where the Falling Spring enters, the stockade enclosing the mouth of the spring. It stood just west of North Main street and midway between Market and King streets, in the borough of Chambersburg. Most of the ground upon which this fort stood is covered by the Chambersburg woolen mill, now owned by D. K. Appenzellar, of this place. And part of it, covered by the town mill, owned by a Mr. Reigner.

The founder of this fort, Benjamin Chambers, with three

other brothers, emigrated from the county of Antrim, in Ireland, to the province of Pennsylvania, between the years 1726 and 1730. They first settled at the mouth of Fishing creek, in Dauphin county, on the Susquehanna river, and built a mill. After remaining there some time, they were encouraged by the proprietary officers and agents to make settlements west of that river. Although the lands were not purchased from the Indians until October, 1736, yet the agents and proprietors knowing the feelings of the Indians to be favorable, encouraged the settlers to come hither and issued to them special licenses for the settlement and securing of such tracts of land, beyond the Susquehanna, as might please their fancy. It is stated that Benjamin Chambers, the founder of this fort, was probably the first white man who made a settlement in what is now known as the county of Franklin. And here it was that he began his operations at the confluence of Falling spring and Conococheague creek. He improved his location by the erection of a hewed log house, which he covered with lapped shingles, fastened by nails, a style of building out of the common mode of round logs and clapboard roofs secured by beams. Some time after, Mr. Chambers leaving his house unoccupied for a short time, on his return found it burned to ashes. This was afterwards ascertained to be the work of an unprincipled hunter, who was induced to do it for the sake of the nails, which at that early day, in this wild region, were esteemed no ordinary prize. This may or may not be true. When Benjamin Chambers located here he was attracted to this spot by the vivid description of a hunter who was familiar with that section of country, and related to him the benefits of a fine water power, such as he had seen in that territory. Being somewhat of an artisan, in the art of mill-work, he took advantage of this information. After his house had been burned by the hunter vandal, he prosecuted anew his improvements, building houses, clearing lands, and soon after the commission from the proprietary government to Thos. Blunston allowing licenses for the settlement of lands west of the Susquehanna, Benjamin Chambers was granted a license, to take and settle and improve four hundred acres of land at the Falling spring mouth, on both sides of the Conococheague creek, for the convenience of a mill and plantation.

This license was granted specially, in order to fill up the valley as speedily as possible with settlers, and also south, and thus be the means of crowding out and preventing encroachments made by newcomers under Maryland rights, chiefly on account of the disputes and long delay in determining the boundaries between the two provinces. Mr. Chambers, however, did not obtain a patent for his land until the fourteenth of March, 1764, and it then contained five hundred and twenty-three acres. For a long time, he maintained a friendly intercourse with the Indians, who became attached to him. He traded with them, and had so much of their confidence and good will, that they did not offer to injure him or molest him. He also exerted a great effort among his acquaintances to induce them to settle in his neighborhood, directing their attention to desirable and advantageous situations for farms. He was also commissioned a justice of the peace and made a colonel of the militia under the provincial government, at an early period. As an arbitrator, he was just and equitable, and called in to settle many controversies between his neighbors, and whose judgment was always sought after by the early settlers, with whom he exerted a powerful influence.

As the western Indians, after the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, became troublesome and made incursions into the valley, killing and making prisoners many of the settlers, Colonel Chambers, for the security of his family and his neighbors, erected a large stone dwelling house, surrounded by the water of Falling spring, and situate where the paper mill now is.

In order to make the house more secure against the attacks of the Indians, it was roofed with lead. The dwelling and the mill were surrounded by a stockade. This fort, with firearms, blunderbus, and swivel, was so formidable to the Indians that they seldom assailed it, while those who ventured out were either killed or carried off as prisoners. As the records show, at a meeting of the general committee, of Cumberland county, convened by order of John Potter, sheriff of the county at the house of Mr. Shippen, October 30, 1755, at which eight-

teen persons were present, it was resolved to immediately build five large forts, namely: "Carlisle, Shippensburg, Col. Chambers', Mr. Steele's Meeting House, and one at William Allison's Esquire, in which the women and children were to be deposited," from which an alarm or intelligence was to be sent to the other forts.

Mr. Chambers was one of those present at this meeting, but it does not appear, from any information obtained, that this plan was executed, at least so far as relates to this fort. (Shippen papers, No. 35). It is therefore believed that this was a private fort, erected by Mr. Chambers, in 1756, which was visited by James Young, who, October 17th, speaks of it thus:

"In our journey to Fort Lyttleton we stopped at Mr. Chambers' Mill, ten miles beyond Shippensburg, towards McDowell's where he has a good private fort, and on an exceeding good situation to be made very defensible, but what I think of great consequence to the government is that in said fort are two four pound cannon mounted, and nobody but a few country people to defend it. If the enemy should take that fort they would naturally bring those cannon against Shippensburg and Carlisle. I, therefore, presume to recommend it to your Honor, either to have the cannon taken from thence, or a proper garrison stationed there."

Acting probably on this suggestion, the Governor wrote respecting them, to Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, who in reply, November 30, 1756, says:

"I have wrote to Mr. Chambers concerning the guns at his Fort, according to order, but he thinks by going to Philadelphia, he may prevail with your Honor to let them stay where they are."

In the year 1756, he got into trouble with the Provincial authorities about "His great guns." They were fearful that the French and Indians might capture Mr. Chambers' fort and turn these guns toward other places. Lieutenant William Denny demanded these guns of Colonel Chambers in 1757, and commissioned the sheriff of Cumberland county to seize them. Colonel Chambers resisted the demand, and his neighbors sustained him in his refusal to give them up. The

people through out this whole valley were greatly excited at what they conceived the unjust demand of the government. Colonel John Armstrong, writing about Mr. Chambers' conduct says: "It is thought he designs to give trouble as he has the brass and malice of the devil."

Colonel Chambers held on to his guns, and having given bond to try his rights in court, the Government quietly dropped the matter. This had a tendency among all the justices of the peace of Cumberland county to cause them to resign their commissions, and Colonel Armstrong says, there was much difficulty in filling their places, on account of the "Governor's treatment of Benjamin Chambers in regard to his guns."

The writer here inserts what is reported to have been the final result in a letter from Colonel Armstrong, June 30th, 1757: That despite his recognizance to appear before the Governor, who issued the writ, the cannon seemed to be still in his possession, and it was suggested that the Governor should write to Colonel Stanwix, who may think it necessary to seize the guns himself. It is intimated that a suit was intended by Colonel Chambers, and that the Governor's treatment of him may have caused some difficulty in the appointment of magistrates.

From volume twelve, first series of Pennsylvania Archives, we give a letter by George Chambers, dated October 31st, 1855, in which he says: "The most defensive and safe fort in the Conococheague country was that erected by Colonel Benjamin Chambers at the confluence of the Falling spring and the Conococheague creek, where the town of Chambersburg is located. It was erected in the winter and spring of 1756, being a stockade, including the dwelling house, flour and saw mills, of the proprietor. Within the fort, he erected a large stone building, two stories in height, the waters of the Falling spring running under part of it, for safe access to the water. Its windows were small and adapted to defence. The roof of it was covered with sheet lead to protect it against fire from the savages. In addition to small arms, Colonel Chambers had supplied himself with two four-pound cannon, which were mounted and used.

"Within the fort he remained in safety with his family throughout the whole series of Indian wars. It was also a place of shelter and security to many of the neighboring families in times of alarm. Though the fort was assailed sometimes by the Indians, no one was injured that remained within its enclosure. The name and reports of the cannon made the enemy cautious how they approached the fort, and kept them from it a considerable distance."

A man by the name of McKinney, who had sought shelter with his family in the fort about 1756, ventured out in company with his son, to visit his dwelling and plantation, where the paper mill now stands along the creek. They were discovered, however, by the Indians and both killed and scalped, and their dead bodies brought to the fort and buried.

Colonel Chambers was active in organizing the militia, and was of a great deal of assistance to General Forbes in giving him information and aiding him in the opening of a road as well as affording him supplies in his march through the valley and across the mountain in his campaign. He saw that the flour mills were of such accommodation in the Conococheague settlement, that they achieved a great notoriety, far and wide, and were known as "The Mills." Colonel Chambers, at a very early period appropriated as a burial ground a beautiful and romantic cedar grove adjoining the Falling Spring church. The spot is yet one of the most appropriate places of sepulture to be found in the Cumberland valley. He made this conveyance, in 1768, with additional grounds, in trust for the Presbyterian congregation of the Falling Spring church, of which he was an active and efficient member.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, being aged and infirm, and yet an ardent patriot, in full sympathy with his struggling countrymen, he sent three of his sons, James, William and Benjamin, to the army at Boston, to do what he could not, namely, to fight for the independence of their native land. As Mr. McCauley remarks, Colonel Chambers lived to see the country of his adoption, one of the free and independent nations of the earth, beginning her career with every prospect for national prosperity and greatness—when, on the 17th of February, 1788, he closed his long, busy

and eventful life and was buried in the cemetery his munificence had set apart for the use of his neighbors and those of his religious faith on the banks of the clear and beautiful Conococheague.

The lineal descendants of this brave and magnanimous man are living on the very spot where this fort was first erected. They are to-day, as were their hardy and patriotic progenitors, haters of oppression and lovers of liberty. They like their fathers of old, help to bear the heavy burdens of society and play a prominent part in the further development and promotion of this latter day enterprise which is making our country and our State among the foremost in the civilized world.

FORT DAVIS.

This fort was erected by Philip Davis in 1756, being about nine miles south of Fort Loudoun, near the Maryland boundary line, and at the northern termination of one of the Kittatinny ranges, and which in early times, and since has been known as Davis' Knob. The fort was occasionally garrisoned by companies of rangers, who passed between the fort. By information furnished the writer by Doctor H. G. Chritzman, of Welsh Run, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, this fort seems to have been located on a slight knoll, known as Casey's Knob, overlooking a spring, on the McPherran farm, now owned by Royer's heirs, being two miles southwest of Welsh Run, this county.

In Rupp's History of Franklin county, reference is made to a paper which was found among some documents in the Secretary's office at Harrisburg, the paper being without date. It is headed "A Plan for the Defence of the Frontier of Cumberland County, from Philip Davis' to Shippensburg: Let one company cover from Philip Davis' to Thomas Waddell's and as John McDowell's Mill is at the most important path most exposed to danger, has a Fort already made about it, and their provisions may be most easily had for these reasons, let the chief quarters be there. Let five men be constantly at

Philip Davis', William Marshall's and Thomas Waddell's and ten return from thence in the evening. Likewise ten men sent from the chief quarters to the utter extremity, daily, to go by William Marshall's to Philip Davis' and returning the same way in the afternoon.

"By this plan the whole bounds will be patrolled twice every day, a watch will be constantly kept at four most important places, and there will be every night forty-five men at the chief quarters, ready for any exigency. Another company may cover as much more of the frontier, beginning where the first ends and reach towards and back of Shippensburg, by fixing a chief quarter in some convenient place, about the middle of said bounds, and thence patrolling the ground twice a day, and keeping watches at the most proper places as above, one of which watches may be constantly at Mr. Armstrong's and another at a proper place at the other extremity.

"This plan supposes each of the companies to consist of sixty men in all, as fewer cannot so patrol, keep watch and have any force together to answer such exigency as may occur. These may be furnished by deducting seventeen out of each of the four forts, back of our frontier, this leaves sixty in each fort, and makes up a new company of sixty men, and eight to be added to Captain Potter's company."

Doctor Egle says: "This fort was sixty-three miles from Harris' Ferry, according to the only notice in the archives, volume two, pp. 134. From B. Chambers', sixteen and one half miles and twenty miles from Shippensburg. Its situation can be seen as laid down on the lithographic plan of 1764."

The writer can gain no information as to the founder of this fort, his acts and deeds. The information directly concerning this location, was furnished by Rachel Davis, of the state of Indiana, who is a direct descendant of Philip Davis.

FORT LOUDOUN.

This fort was located about one mile distant from the present town of Loudon, Franklin county, Pennsylvania. It was

erected by Colonel Armstrong, in the year 1756, and was situated about two miles southwest of Parnell's Knob, on the east side of the West branch of the Conococheague creek, where Nathan Patton lived. The village of Loudon is situate about one mile west of the old fort. The ground upon which this fort was located is a farm that originally belonged to the Stenger family; but now owned by Mr. Hoerner, of Loudon. It is thirteen miles west of Chambersburg, and one mile from the turnpike road. There are still some faint indications outside of the yard, showing where it was erected. The writer, on a visit to this spot, was shown the foundation and the chimney walls of an outbuilding, erected on Mr. Hoerner's premises, and was informed that many of the stones and the logs constituting this building, were taken from the remains of this fort, and are still to be seen, to this day. The first intention, when this fort was about to be erected, was to place it at Barr's, which was near McDowell's mill, but by subsequent reports Barr's place was abandoned, because the soil was considered too strong and heavy, and, therefore, the site was cast near to Parnell's Knob as we have stated before, Mr. Patton lived.

The settlement in which this fort was located, was among the first in that section of the country, and many were the stirring scenes enacted there in the old colonial times. This fort was erected by the Provincial government for the protection of the frontier settlers against the incursions of the Indians. It was frequently garrisoned by British as well as Provincial troops. Before the wagon roads were built over the mountains, it was a great point of departure for pack-horse trains, for Bedford, Fort Cumberland and Pittsburgh. All transportation was done by pack horses, each carrying a burden of about two hundred pounds. Sir John Sinclair, quartermaster general of General Braddock, moved much of his supplies by that route, and had one of his principal magazines at McDowell's fort. After Braddock's defeat, a large part of his dispirited and destitute troops returned by that route and were quartered at Shippensburg and Carlisle. In 1755, the Province of Pennsylvania made a broad wagon road from Fort Loudoun westward, which General Forbes and

Colonel Bouquet and others used in their western expeditions. Upon that road, for the greater part of its length, the present Chambersburg and Pittsburgh turnpike was built.

It was at this fort that many prominent military characters of the day rendezvoused, and numerous were the incidents that transpired in its vicinity, of which, however, very little has been preserved, excepting in a doubtful, uncertain and conflicting tradition. The earlier records subsequently printed seem to be somewhat at variance. Passing by much of this tradition, this fort appears to have been commenced under the direction of Colonel John Armstrong in the autumn of 1756. As stated heretofore, it was intended at first to place it at Barr's, which was near to McDowell's mill, and to have commenced it early in November of that year, "but was then prevented by having to escort some cattle to Fort Lyttleton." By another letter dated November 19th, Col. Armstrong appears to have selected another place after examination at Barr's, and says he "Could not find in it a proper situation for a fort, the soil being too strong to admit the ditch, and the spot itself overlooked by an adjoining hill, but have fixed on a place in that neighborhood, near to Parnell's Knob, where one Patton lives;" * * "as it is near the new road, it will make the distance from Shippensburg to Fort Lyttleton two miles further than by McDowell's. I am making the best preparation in my power to forward this new fort as well as to prepare the barracks, etc., all the others, for the approaching winter."

On December 22, 1756, Mr. Stevens says, "The public stores are safely removed from McDowell's mill to Fort Loudoun—the barracks for the soldiers are built and some proficiency made in the stockade, the finishing of which will doubtless be retarded by the inclemency of the weather. Yesterday the escort of one hundred men returned from Lyttleton, who left the cattle, etc., safe there, and to-day will begin to dig a cellar in the new fort. The logs and roof of a new house having there been erected by Patton before the Indians burned his old one; we shall first appraise this house and then take the benefit of it, either for officers' barracks or a store house or provisions."

At this time the fort had not received a name, and Colonel Armstrong asked if it may be called "Pomfret Castle," from which it appears that he did not know that another fort was already so called. It is probable, therefore, that he was directed to name it "Fort Loudoun," after Lord Loudoun, who arrived July 23d previously, as general and commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in North America. The situation of this fort may be seen on the plan of 1764. "It was about two miles southwest of Parnell's Knob, a termination of one of the Kittatinny range of mountains, and about five miles east of the Cove or Tuscarora mountain, on the west branch of the Conococheague creek. The town of Loudon, in Franklin county, a small village, on the west, about a mile distant, was named after the old fort, but unfortunately the proper orthography is not preserved. It extended over something more than an acre of ground, the foundations being of stone, are still visible—the fort erected above being of logs, which have disappeared. The foundations of chimneys of buildings occupied within the enclosure are still to be seen. During the Indian wars that followed Braddock's defeat, it was occupied by military companies of the Provincial and Royal regiments, for rendezvous, as well as for military stores and army supplies. In 1757 it was decided that only four forts over the Susquehanna were to remain—of these, Fort Loudoun was one, with a garrison of two companies of Colonel Armstrong's battalion, to be employed in patrolling between these forts.

Captain Croghan, in June, 1757, received a long letter from Mr. Atkin, informing him that thirty-three Cherokees had stolen away from the southern district, towards Pennsylvania. Another body of Indians arrived with presents to be distributed. They were much out of tune at hearing of Colonel Washington's putting some of their brethren in prison at Winchester, the cause of which being unknown. Mr. Smith and a guard were sent to Colonel Washington to ascertain the reason—who are to meet them at this fort—they profess to be part of a powerful band who could furnish five hundred warriors. Provisions were very scarce and twelve men went down with the "Flux." Colonel Stanwix orders provisions to be purchased.

General Forbes, on his way to Fort Duquesne to expel the French and their savage allies from the frontiers, while here, addressed a letter to Governor Denny, urging the importance of a hearty co-operation of the Governor and the people of the Province of Pennsylvania to ensure success against the enemy. On the ninth of September, 1758, he wrote the Governor: "Everything is in readiness for the army's advancing, but that I cannot do unless I have a sufficient quantity of provisions in the magazines at Raystown." In October, 1758, General Forbes recommends to the Governor, the absolute necessity of distributing twelve hundred men among the different forts, one hundred of whom were to be stationed at Fort Loudoun. He had previously been here on his way to Raystown.

Captain Samuel Miles, in his "Journal," says: "In the year 1758, the expedition against Fort Duquesne was undertaken and our battalion joined the British army at Carlisle. At this time Captain Lloyd had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, but retained his company, of which I had the command as captain-lieutenant, and was left some time in command of the garrison at Shippensburg. On my marching from thence with a brigade of wagons under my charge, at Chambers' about eleven miles from Shippensburg, the men mutinied and were preparing to march, but my reasoning with them and at the same time my threatening them, the most of them consented to resume their march to Fort Loudoun, where Lieutenant Scott was with eight or ten months' pay. While the army lay at Ligonier we were attacked by a body of French and Indians, and I was wounded on the foot by a spent ball."

In November of this year, the army took possession of Fort Duquesne under the command of General Forbes, a poor, emaciated old man, who, for the most part of the march, was obliged to be carried in a horse litter. At about this time, Fort Duquesne was evacuated by the French, and in June, 1764, Colonel John Armstrong advises Governor Penn, from Carlisle, that by advices received from a Captain Murray, of the Royal Highlanders, on the morning of the 5th, thirteen persons were killed and several houses burned to the ground

about four miles south of Fort Loudoun by the Indians, whose number was not then ascertained.

"At this time a number of the traders suffered at the hands of certain persons who sought to kill them, or at least alarm them in order to get their goods. The traders went back to Fort Loudoun and applied to the commanding officer there and got a party of Highland soldiers and went with them in quest of the robbers, as they were called, and without applying to a magistrate, or obtaining any civil authority, but barely upon suspicion, they took a number of creditable persons prisoners, and confined them in the guard house at Fort Loudoun. It was then that three hundred riflemen marched to Fort Loudoun and encamped on the hill in sight of the fort. They were not long there, until they had more than double as many of the British troops prisoners in camp as they had of our people in the guard house. Captain Grant, a Highland officer, who commanded Fort Loudoun, then sent a flag of truce to our camp, where we settled a cartel and gave them above two for one, which enabled us to redeem all our men from the guard house, without further difficulty. After this, Captain Grant kept a number of rifle guns, which the Highlanders had taken from the country people and refused to give them up. As he was riding out one day, he was taken prisoner and detained until he delivered up the arms. He also destroyed a large quantity of gunpowder that the traders had stored up, lest it might be conveyed to the Indians. The King's troops and our party had now got entirely out of the channel of the civil law and many unjustifiable things were resorted to by both parties."

The following letter, dated at Carlisle, June 1, 1765, contains much of interest and spirit of the times:

"I received letters from Lieutenant Grant, commanding at Fort Loudoun, complaining much of some late insult, received from the rioters near that post. He says on the 28th ult., (May), he was taking the air on horseback and about half a mile from his post, was surrounded by five of the rioters, who presented their pieces at him. The person who commanded them, calling to them to "shoot the bugger"—that one of them fired at him, frightened him and his horse that he ran into

the bushes and occasioned his being thrown upon the ground. They then disarmed him, carried him fifteen miles into the woods and threatened to tie him to a tree and let him perish if he would not give them up some arms which by his orders were taken from the first party of the rioters that had appeared at his post. When he saw they were determined to put their threats into execution, he thought it was best to promise them their arms and was made to give security to deliver them up in five weeks under a penalty of forty pounds, which being obtained in that manner, certainly cannot be binding."

Another letter from Fort Loudoun, of the 4th of June, 1765, says:

"The first rendezvous of the rioters was at Justice Smiths, about five miles from Ford Loudoun, the sixth day of March last. From thence they followed the first convoy of goods, consisting of eighty-one horse loads, twelve miles further and burned and pillaged sixty-three loads. Captain Callender applied to Lieutenant Grant for a sergeant and twelve men, which he agreed to, who saved the remaining loads, chiefly consisting of liquors, and made some of the rioters prisoners, who were afterwards released upon bail, and took eight rifles, in all which Lieutenant Grant is justified by Brig. Bouquet, in his letter of the 14th of March, who desired him to keep the rifles in his possession, till the owner's name shall be found out, which was accordingly done."

To come back to a narrative as detailed by Captain James Smith in his adventurers, we deem it of interest to insert the same: "In the year 1763, after peace had been restored, new hostilities were again commenced by the Indians and were busily carried on by them, they being engaged in killing and scalping the inhabitants of various parts on the Pennsylvania frontiers. The whole Conococheague valley, from the North to the South mountain, had been almost entirely evacuated during Braddock's war. This state was then a Quaker government, and at the first of this war the frontiers received no assistance from the state.

"As the people were now beginning to live at home again, they thought it very hard to be driven away a second time,

and hence were determined to make a stand, if possible, against the enemy. They raised some money by collections and subscriptions, in order to pay a company of riflemen for a stated period. The subscribers organized a committee to manage the business, and James Smith was made their Captain. He had the power to choose his own subalterns and selected from their number two active young men, who had been long in captivity with the Indians. The men were ordered to be dressed in Indian fashion, and as nearly as the Highlanders wear their plaids. They wore red handkerchiefs instead of hats, and painted their faces red and black like Indian warriors. They were taught the Indian discipline, as that was considered better to meet all the emergencies of the British. They succeeded beyond expectation in defending the frontiers, much to the praise of those higher in authority, from which he received a commission in the regular service under King George.

"In the following year he went out on General Bouquet's campaign against the Indians on the Muskingum and brought them to terms and promised to be at peace with them, upon condition that they would give up all our people that they then had among them. They, accordingly handed over three hundred such prisoners and said they could not collect them all at that time, as they were scattered far and near; but promised to bring them to Fort Pitt the following spring and entered into security for the faithful fulfillment of that negotiation.

"About March 1st, 1765, a number of wagons loaded with Indian goods were sent from Philadelphia to Henry Collins, Conococheague, and from thence seventy pack horses, loaded with these goods to carry into Fort Pitt. This alarmed the country, and Mr. William Duffield raised about fifty armed men and met the pack horses near Fort Loudoun. Mr. Duffield desired the store of goods to be stored up until further orders, but this was not obeyed, and they proceeded on their journey, notwithstanding, the great danger of the Indians attacking them and destroying the party. They were fired upon by the rear by the savages at a point in the march, their goods taken and burned. The traders went back to Fort

Loudoun, applied to the commanding officer for aid and it was then that three hundred riflemen marched to Fort Loudoun and encamped on the hill in sight of the fort, heretofore referred to."

We thus see by the foregoing data relative to Fort Loudoun, that it was an important post on the frontier at a period when the red man held almost undisputed sway in the now far-famed Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, rich and teeming under the guiding hand of the faithful husbandman, in these latter days; that its location on the great commercial highway to the West, leading to Forts Pitt and Bedford, gave it a pre-eminence in the catalogue of early frontier defenses, rendering it worthy now of receiving the State mark as suggested in the act of Assembly and that its importance as a military, trading and rendezvousing post cannot be over-estimated.

FORT McCORD.*

This was a private fort erected in 1756, along the base of the Kittatinny mountain, north of Parnell's Knob. It was occupied temporarily during the early Indian wars. By an inspection of this site, the writer locates this fort a few miles northwest of Loudoun, near Bossert's Mills, and is now upon the land owned by 'Squire Bossert. The site of this fort was three or four rods east from the public road, leading from Strasburg to St. Thomas, seven miles from the former place and six miles from the latter. It is six rods due south of the location of Mr. Bossert's barn. This is one of the oldest forts in this county, in Hamilton township. It was erected as a place of defence for the settlers. Mr. Bossert remembers having heard detailed information, that a few white persons and Indians were buried near this fort in a grave yard, fenced off from a side of the garden, belonging to the residence in which he lived. The fort was torn down by Mr. Bossert's grandfather. It was constructed of heavy timber and it was dug deeply into the ground which surrounded it.

There was a severe engagement had at this fort, in which

*This fort was marked Oct. 29, 1914, by Enoch Brown Mem. Ass'n. and Pa. Hist. Com.—Ed.

it was captured by the Indians on or about the fourth day of April, 1756, and burned, and all the inmates, twenty-seven in number, were either killed or carried into captivity. This circumstance very much impaired the confidence the settlers had in private forts, and it is presumed no doubt lead to the erection of forts of greater security. At the time of the capture of this fort, Doctor Jamison, of Colonel Armstrong's battalion, was killed by the Indians near McCord's Fort; and at about the same time persons employed by William Mitchell to harvest his crops were all killed or captured in the fields when at work.

This fort in the Conococheague was burned by the Indians according to Rupp's Cumberland County, etc., pp. 104, etc., and twenty-seven persons were killed or captured. The Indians escaped the pursuit of two parties of inhabitants of the vicinity, who had divided themselves into three parties to seek them. Several other forts along the frontier line were watched by outlying parties of savages, and every straggler was made a prisoner or shot down. The third party came up with the enemy at Sideling Hill, with whom they had a smart engagement for two hours during which they fired twenty-four rounds, but were overpowered by numbers, the Indians having been relieved by an additional force under Shingas. Each side sustained a loss of about twenty killed and as many wounded. This engagement was led under the command of Captain Culbertson. In a letter from Hance Hamilton to Captain Potter, dated Fort Lyttleton, April 4th, 1756, 8 o'clock P. M., he says:

"These come to inform you of the melancholy news of what occurred between the Indians, that have taken many captives from McCord's Fort and a party of men under the command of Captain Alexander Culbertson and nineteen of our men, the whole amounting to about fifty, with the captives, and had a sore engagement, many of both parties killed and many wounded, the number unknown. Those wounded want a surgeon, and those killed require your assistance as soon as possible, to bury them. We have sent an express to Fort Shirley for Doctor Mercer, supposing Doctor Jamison is killed or mortally wounded in the expedition. He being not returned,

therefore, desire you will send an express, immediately, for Doctor Prentice to Carlisle, we imagining Doctor Mercer cannot leave the fort under the circumstances the fort is under."

From the narrative of Richard Bard, a native of Franklin county, Pennsylvania, who was taken captive by the Indians on the 13th of April, 1758, we have the following referring to McCord's Fort:

"Having secured the prisoners, they took all the valuable effects out of the house and set fire to the mill. They then proceeded towards the mountain and my mother enquiring of the Indians who had care of her, was informed that they were of the Delaware nation. At the distance of about seventy rods from the house, contrary to all their promises, they put to death Thomas Potter, and having proceeded on the mountain about three or four miles, one of the Indians sunk the spear of his tomahawk into the breast of the small child, and after repeated blows, scalped it. After crossing the mountain (evidently the Kittatinny) they passed the house of Mr. Halbert T _____, and seeing him out, shot at him but without effect. Thence, passing late in the evening McCord's old fort, they encamped about half a mile in the gap. The second day, having passed into the Path Valley, they discovered a party of white men in pursuit of them, on which they ordered the prisoners to hasten, for should the whites come up with them they would all be tomahawked. Having been thus hurried, they reached the top of the Tuscarora mountain and all had set down to rest, when an Indian without any previous warning, sunk a tomahawk into the forehead of Samuel Hunter, who was seated by my father, and by repeated blows put an end to his existence." * * * * *

We have also a slight reference to Fort McCord in this connection, though two years anterior in time to the occurrence of the event above narrated, in which Robert Robinson, of the famous Robinson brothers of the Juniata and Tuscarora settlements says:

"In the year 1756 a party of Indians came out of the Conococheague to a garrison named McCord's Fort, where they killed some and took a number prisoners. They then took their course near to Fort Lyttleton. Captain Hamilton being

stationed there with a company, hearing of their route at McCord's Fort, marched with his company of men, having an Indian with him who was under pay. The Indians had McCords' wife with them; they cut off Mr. James Blair's head and threw it into Mrs. McCord's lap, saying that it was her husband's head; but she knew it to be Blair's."

There are succeeding references in this same "Narrative," to transactions in and about Fort McCord, but the writer deems it unimportant to add them hereto, as the facts given sufficiently well establish the location. We might add that this fort, of course, had its prominence in the early troubles between the settlers and the Indians, being situate along the base of North Mountain, where the marauding bands of Indians were constantly on the alert for occasions to plunder and destroy life and property. The writer has no data at hand, whereby he is able to establish the fact that this fort was ever rebuilt; or that it ever thereafter figured in the subsequent history of the Province.

FORT McDOWELL.

The Historical Map of Pennsylvania places this fort midway, in a straight line, between Reverend Steel's Fort on the south and Fort Loudoun on the north, in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, east of the Kittatinny mountains, being in the western part of the county. It was built in the year 1756, at Bridgeport, Franklin county, where McDowell's mill stands. This fort was near the passes through the western mountains. It was about two miles south of Fort Loudoun, and upon the east bank of the west branch of the Conococheague creek. The writer received information from several of the older citizens in this locality that they had seen the old fort. It was built of logs, rectangular in shape, and had loop-holes in it. It stood until the year 1840. The property formerly was owned by James B. Scott. There is a store house erected on or near the site of this fort, which stands northeast of the store about ten feet. The present owner of the premises is William Brant-haver.

This place seemed to be one of great notoriety and was referred to frequently by public officers and agents and was known as McDowell's Mill. From all accounts we can gather, this fort was a private establishment, and the earliest notice taken of it is in a letter from General Braddock, dated June 18th, 1755, signifying his approbation of the deposits being made at McDowell's Mill, instead of at Shippensburg.

In July it is reported that the road cutters had returned as far as McDowell's Mill. These men were detached to construct a path through the forests and over the mountains for the English general and his army. On the 3d day of July, 1754, large numbers of the western Indians, says McCauley, in his History of Franklin county, acted with the British* troops, in the capture of the Colonial forces, under Colonel George Washington at Fort Necessity, and they were mainly instrumental in causing the defeat of General Braddock, in July, 1755, and for nine years thereafter the frontier settlements were ravaged and desolated by their incursions.

In November, 1755, they ravaged the Great Cove. Out of a population of ninety-three persons, forty-seven were killed or taken captive. A few days after the house of the widow Cox, near McDowell's Mill, in Peters township, was burned, and her two sons and a hired man were carried off. In February, 1756, two brothers, John and Richard Craig, were captured by nine Delaware Indians, about two miles from McDowell's mill. In the same month a party of Indians made an incursion into the same township. They were discovered by a Mr. Alexander near Thomas Barr's house. He fled and they pursued him to McDowell's Fort, thus, apparently, at this early date, recognizing McDowell's Mill as a fort. The next day an engagement took place between the Indians and a portion of Captain Croghan's company, and about twelve young men, in which one of the soldiers and several of the Indians were killed and Barr's son wounded. The same party of Indians attempted to surprise the fort, but failing in that, retreated, and shortly after killed a young Dutch boy coming from foddering his master's cattle. They burnt Mr. Barr's house, consuming their dead in it, and meeting five men coming from Mr. Hoopes' to McDowell's, they fired upon them,

*French troops.

killing one and wounding another very severely. Everywhere along the frontier did the Indians commit the most horrible murders. Their implacable cruelty was stimulated by the promise of reward for scalps, on the part of the French, besides the promise of restoring them their lands."

The Pennsylvania Archives gives us the following information concerning the establishment of this fort:

Governor Morris writes to General Braddock, July 3d, 1755, that he has sent certain enumerated officers to Shippensburg, where "They will remain till I go up into the country, which will be on Tuesday next, and then I shall form the magazine at or near McDowell's Mill, and put some stockadoes around it, to protect the magazines and the people that will have the care of it. For without something of this kind, as we have no militia, and the Assembly will maintain no men, four or five Indians may destroy the magazine, whenever they please, as the inhabitants of that part of the province are very much scattered. I send you the plan of the fort or stockado, which I shall make by setting logs of about ten feet long in the ground, so as to enclose the storehouses. I think to place two swivel guns, in two of the opposite bastions, which will be sufficient to guard against any attacks of small arms."

On the 6th, he says to the General, "The panic that has taken possession of the people near the mountain, since the Indians have begun to scalp will make it next to impossible to carry the magazine farther back than Shippensburg. However, I shall judge better of that when I am upon the spot and fix it either at McDowell's Mill or Shippensburg, or at some place between them."

In a letter from Colonel Armstrong to Governor Morris, dated Carlisle, August 20th, 1756, he says: "Tomorrow, God willing, the men march from McDowell's for Fort Shirley, and this afternoon some part of my own company with the provisions here set out for Shearman's Valley, there to halt till the residue come up. * * * * * The harvest season with the two attacks on Fort Granville, has left us bare of ammunition, that I shall be obliged to apply to the stores here for some quantity for the expedition. The Captains Hamilton and Mercer have broken open the part I sent to Mc-

Dowell for Fort Shirley, and given them receipts as for the expedition, though I know it, for the particular defence of those two posts, nor will it be in my power to prevail with double the number of men, and a double quantity of ammunition to keep a fort, that it would have done it before the taking of Fort Granville. * * * * * Forts Lyttleton, Ship-pensburg and Carlisle, the two last not finished, are the only forts now built, that will in my opinion, be serviceable to the public. McDowell's, or thereabouts, is a necessary post; but the present fort is not defensible."

On the 6th of November apprehensions existed that George Croghan, at Aughwick, was in distress, though Captain Burd with forty men had just left the Conococheague for his relief, and Adam Hoopes writes that: "We intend to join him to-morrow, at McDowell's Mill with all the force we can raise. On the same day and month, he writes: "Hance Hamilton is now at McDowell's Mill with upwards of two hundred men, and about two hundred from this county, in all about four hundred men." On Wednesday, February 11th, 1756, two lads were taken or killed at Widow Cox's, just under Parnell's Knob and a lad who went from McDowell's Mill to see what fire it was, never returned, the horse coming back with the reins over his neck; they burned the house and shot down the cattle. There were also various parties of Indians discovered by their tracks.

The Rev. John Steel is instructed, March 25th: "You will receive a commission appointing you Captain of a Company in the pay of the Province, which is to be made up by drafts of thirteen men out of each of the companies, composed by James Burd, Hance Hamilton, James Patterson, and Hugh Mercer, Esquires, to whom I now send orders to make the drafts accordingly; also a commission appointing James Holliday your Lieutenant. You will, therefore, as soon as may be, after your arrival in Cumberland county, send an officer, with my orders to the several Captains, to whom they are directed, to receive from them the drafts, agreeable to my orders. When you have formed your Company you are to take post at McDowell's Mill upon the road to Ohio, which you are to make your headquarters and to detach patrolling parties,

from time to time to scour the woods in such manner as you shall judge most consistent with the safety of the inhabitants. You are to inform me from time to time what you do, and of everything material that happens upon that part of the frontier, and of the number and motion of any body of French or Indians that you shall receive intelligence of."

In November, 1756, Samuel Perry and his two sons, going from the fort to their plantation, were killed, scalped and covered over with leaves. A party sent from the fort to search for them, were shortly after attacked by about thirty Indians. Our people fought for some time, but four of them falling, the rest made off. Six of our people got into the fort. What became of the rest is not known." Two families were cut off and grain and houses burned in the coves. It is further stated that at this time one hundred men are at the Fort, guarding and escorting public provisions to Fort Lyttleton, and they were on their way there. Colonel Armstrong writes from Carlisle, "The public stores are safely removed from McDowell's Mill to Fort Loudoun, the barracks for the soldiers are built and some proficiency made in the stockado."

The locality in which this fort stood was the scene of bloodshed, murder and devastation. A number of soldiers were killed, and many persons carried off as prisoners. The settlers were alike reduced to the hardships which were incident to the locality and the times. Of the settlers who were killed hereabouts were Samuel Perry, Hugh Terrell, John Culbertson and John Woods and his mother-in-law and Elizabeth Archer. Of those missing were four children of John Archer and a boy named Samuel Meily.

The family whose name this fort bears were among the earliest settlers in the Cumberland Valley. They were of Scotch-Irish descent, and held various positions of trust, and to-day there are descendants who own large tracts of land in the very vicinity which was so fruitful of savage attacks and bloodshed in the early days.

FORT STEEL.

This fort was erected in the year 1755. Its site is on the south side of the east branch of the Conococheague creek, being about twenty miles north from Mason and Dixon's line, and a little to the west of in a straight line of where Hagerstown, Maryland, stands. It was known in frontier times as Rev. Steel's Fort. It was situate where what is called the Presbyterian White Church, about five miles south of Fort Loudoun, and about three miles east of Mercersburg. It was a place of notoriety during the Indian wars. It was erected shortly after Braddock's defeat and was referred to shortly afterwards in connection with the Indian invasion which occurred in November of that year.

With regard to the appellation, Rev. Steel's Fort, Judge Chambers, an influential citizen of the community, states: "The first fort I have any information of in the Conococheague settlement is this one; this settlement composed nearly the whole of the county of Franklin. This was at John Steel's meeting house, which was surrounded by a rude stockade fort in 1755. Upon a visit of the Indians to this settlement in November, 1755, the Reverend Steel, with others to the number of about one hundred went in quest of them, but with no success. The location of this site was in one of the oldest settlements in the Conococheague Valley, and indeed, we find that settlements began as early as the year 1736. The land was assumed to be taken from the Proprietary by those only who designed to settle upon it and the settlement soon became numerous. A few years later they formed themselves into a congregation and enjoyed supplies of preaching from that time. Subsequently to this period, the congregation became divided and different churches were erected, but so united were they in their tenets that one preacher usually supplied several congregations. It is from this fact that we find one of the churches, known as The White Church called the Reverend John Steel's Church. It was in this church that he was installed as the pastor in 1754, and at the same time holding a charge in the east Conococheague. In the year following this, this settlement was very greatly disturbed by the interruption

and forays of the Indians on account of the injurious defeat of General Braddock. This was continued for upwards of two years until the settlement was entirely broken up. But after quiet was restored, the people again returned to their desolated homes and adopted their old form of a congregation and engaged supplies from the Presbytery of Donegal."

We here append data relative to the character of the Reverend John Steel, and show that his services in his pastoral relations hereabouts at that early time, were equalled by intrepidity on the field of battle as well, for we find him engaging in frontier defences with a vigor characteristic of the brave pioneer of that day. Though a man of peace and engaged in teaching the doctrine of his Divine Master, yet his heart burned within him on account of the sufferings inflicted upon his parishioners and neighbors, and he speedily organized a company of rangers for their defence, of which he was unanimously elected the captain and was commissioned by the Provincial government.

After General Braddock's defeat in 1755, the Indians again swept over the western and southwestern part of this county, murdering and plundering the settlers, and, as we have stated before, Mr. Steel's congregation was for a time almost broken up and dispersed. Frequent mention is made of Mr. Steel and his men in the history of those troublous times.

In a letter of instructions to John Steel, in 1756, we have the following: "With these instructions you will receive a commission appointing you Captain of a company in the pay of the Province, which is to be made up by drafts of thirteen men out of each of the companies, composed by James Burd, Hance Hamilton, James Patterson and Hugh Mercer, Esq., to whom I now send orders to make the draft accordingly, and also a commission appointing James Holliday, your lieutenant. You will, therefore, as soon as may be, after your arrival in Cumberland county, send an officer, with my orders to the several Captains, to receive from them drafts agreeable to my orders. When you have formed your company, you are to take post at McDowell's Mill, upon the road to the Ohio, which you are to make your headquarters and to detach patrol-

ing parties from time to time, to scour the woods, in such manner as you shall judge, most consistent with the safety of the inhabitants. In case any of the men you receive should be unfit for service, you are to pay and discharge them, and enlist others in their stead, taking care to observe the form of enlistment prescribed to Captain Potter, from whom you will receive copies of the papers necessary to guide you in this particular. You are to inform me from time to time what you do, and of everything material that happened upon that part of the frontier, and of the number and motions of any body of French or Indians that you shall receive intelligence of. You are to apply to Mr. Adam Hoopes for the Provincial allowance of provisions for the men under your command." Under an order to James Burd, "a draft of thirteen private men made out of his company were to be delivered to John Steel, who was appointed Captain of a company."

In another letter from Rev. John Steel to Governor Morris, dated April 11th, 1756, written from Peters township, Cumberland county, we have the following:

"May it please your Honour, upon my return to Cumberland county, I applied immediately to Captain Burd and Captain Patterson for the drafts of their companies, according to your Honour's instructions, but the time for which most of their men had been enlisted, being expired, they could not fulfill your Honour's orders. Most of the force had not received their full complement of guns, but were in a great measure supplied by the arms the young men had brought with them. Captain Patterson had received but thirty-three fire arms, Captain Mercer had not so many, but he is supplied by Mr. Croghan's arms, and Captain Hamilton had lost a considerable number of his at late skirmishes, beyond Sideling Hill. As I can neither have the men, arms nor blankets, I am obliged to apply to your Honour for them. The necessity of our circumstances has obliged me to muster before two magistrates, the one half of my company, whom I enlisted and am obliged to borrow guns. I pray that with all possible expedition fifty-four fire arms and as many blankets, and a quantity of flints may be sent to me, for since McCord's Fort has been taken, and ye men defeated, yet forsooth, our country is in utmost confusion.

"Great numbers have left the county and many are prepared to follow. May it please your Honour to allow me an ensign, for I find yet a sergeant's pay will not prevail with men to enlist in whom much confidence is reposed. I beg leave to recommned Archibald Irwin to your Honour for this purpose. As Mr. Hoopes can give your Honour a particular account of the late incursion of the enemy, I need not trouble your Honour with any account of mine." As the records show, at a meeting of the General Committee, of Cumberland county, convened by order of John Potter, sheriff of the county, at the house of Mr. Shippen, October 30th, 1755, at which eighteen persons were present, it was then resolved "to immediately build five large forts, namely, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Col. Chambers, Mr. Steel's Meeting House, and at William Allison, Esquire, in which the women and children were to be deposited, from which on alarm intelligence was to be sent to the other forts."

At one time, it is stated, that Reverend Steel was in charge of Fort Allison, located just west of the town, near what afterward became the site of McCauley's Mill. At this time the congregation had assembled in a barn, standing on the farm now owned by Adam B. Wingard, Esquire. During this period, when Mr. Steel entered the Church and took his place back of the rude pulpit, he hung his hat and rifle behind him, and this was also done by many of his parishioners. On one occasion, while in the midst of his discourse, some one stepped into the church quietly and called a number of the congregation out and related to him the facts of a murder of a family by the name of Walker by the Indians at Rankin's Mill. The tragic story was soon whispered from one to another. As soon as Mr. Steel discovered what had taken place he brought the services to a close, took his hat and rifle, and at the head of the members of his congregation, went in pursuit of the murderers. His meeting house was turned into a fort, was stockaded for defence, and often was the refuge of the laboring people when the country was invaded by the Indians.

It was subsequently burned by the savages, in one of their forays. About the year 1763 or '64, in consequence of these

frequent attacks of the Indians, Mr. Steel took charge of the Presbyterian church at Carlisle, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Mr. Steel was a man of great intrepidity of character, and often did he lead forth companies of armed men to repel the invading savages. He was a good preacher and a sound Divine, but his labors here were of too short duration, and the country too much distrubed to have been as greatly or as extensively useful as he would have been under more favorable circumstances. The conditions of life at that time, as compared with those of the present, were vastly different. It was theirs to toil and struggle and ours one of comparative ease and safety.

From information received from Mr. D. Witherspoon, Culbertson postoffice, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, the writer would state that there was a fort in Guilford township, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, located on the Etter farm, now known as the Latshaw farm, near Guilford Springs. This blockhouse or fort was built in defence against the Indian raids made upon the early settlers of Franklin county, Pennsylvania. He states that his wife's great-grandfather settled in that section as early as 1743.

Some years ago a daughter of Mr. Etter found an Indian tomahawk where this old fort stood, in Guilford township. It was made of iron or steel. He also states that there was a man killed by an Indian close by, while he was on his way to the fort. He states that this information was given to him by his father, David Witherspoon, his grandfather, James Witherspoon, having settled in that township shortly after the Revolutionary War.

The same writer also furnishes the following information, that there was an old fort at the head of Row Springs, in Greene township, is known as Culbertson's Row. This old fort, he states, was erected in 1752, shortly before the time of Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. This old fort stood

about one hundred yards from where D. C. Witherspoon, the informant, lives, at the head of Row springs. He further states that information that was furnished him by his wife's great-grandfather, Joseph Culbertson, one of four brothers, who emigrated from Ireland, and that he helped to erect this old fort. The old fort has been pulled down long ago, and some of the logs that were used in the construction of it are in a house owned by Adam Killinger, about one mile from this place—Culbertson's. These places were merely blockhouses.

McCONNELL'S FORT.

This fort is claimed to have been erected in the year 1764, near Armstrong's, lying between McCord's Fort and Fort Loudon, east of the Kittatinny mountains. By a later authority, McConnell's Fort was at what is now known as Upper Strasburg, Franklin county. It was located on the Conodoguinet creek, where that stream emerges from the mountain to take its course to the eastward. The writer can do nothing, after an examination of all the facts in the case, but state that this fort having been established is merely one of hearsay and tradition, although it appears on the Historical Map with an interrogation at the end of it. Viewing it in the light with other private stockadoes, it was possibly an unimportant one for the purposes for which these series of forts were intended, and they were, therefore, lost sight of, owing to the fact that it was considered more secure and safe to have fewer forts and better manned and equipped than to have so many with a poor defence.

FORT LYTTLETON.

Fort Lyttleton, or Littleton. This fort was established by Governor Morris in 1756, at Sugar Cabins, upon the new road, called Fort Littleton. It was about twenty miles southward of Fort Shirley, at Aughwick. It was built in regular form, so that by little work it could be made to resist a cannon, and

was within sixteen miles of another fort in Maryland. This fort was, during the French and Indian war, a conspicuous frontier post, and occasionally a strong garrison was stationed here to protect the settlers and prevent the hostile incursions of the Indians to the interior. In April, 1756, the people had all fled from this neighborhood.

Elisha Salter, an officer, wrote Governor Morris from Carlisle, April 5, 1756: "Upon my arrival here, I found the people in the greatest confusion, the troops abandoning the forts and the country people gathering in the greatest consternation. * * * * I have prevailed on the people that left the forts to escort me to Fort Littleton."

Captain Hance Hamilton was here at the time, when Salter was at Carlisle, with a company of men, and on his return from the Kittanning expedition, Col. Armstrong stopped several days. In June, 1757, several murders were committed near this fort. Captain Hamilton addressed Capt. Potter as follows:

"Sir: These come to inform you of the melancholy news of what occurred between the Indians that have taken many captives from McCord's Fort, and a party of men under the command of Capt. Alex. Culbertson, and nineteen of our men, the whole amounting to about fifty with the captives, and had a sore engagement, many of both parties killed and many wounded; the number unknown; those wounded want a surgeon and those killed require your assistance as soon as possible to bury them. We have sent an express to Fort Shirley for Doctor Mercer, supposing Dr. Jamison is killed or mortally wounded in the expedition, he not being returned; therefore desire you will send an express immediately for Dr. Prentice of Carlisle, we imagining Dr. Mercer cannot leave the fort, under the circumstances the fort is under. Our Indian Isaac has brought in Capt. Jacob's scalp (?)."

At or about the same time, there was a company of Cherokee Indians in King's pay, being at Fort Lyttleton, and Capt. Hamilton sent some of them to search along the foot of the Allegheny mountains to see if there were any signs of Indians on that route, and these Indians came upon Capt. Mercer, unable to rise; they gave him food, and he told them of the

other; they took the captain's track and found him and brought him to Fort Lyttleton, carrying him on a bier of their own making. They took fourteen scalps on this expedition.

The following facts we glean from the Pennsylvania Archives, with respect to this fort:

Late in the fall of 1755, the Indians annoyed the inhabitants of Cumberland county, Shearman's Valley and Great Cove, so that it became necessary to enter upon some systematic mode of defence. In pursuance of which, we find General Armstrong writing to Governor Morris a letter dated at Carlisle: "I am of opinion that no other means of defence than a chain of blockhouses along or near the south side of the Kittatinny mountains from the Susquehanna to the temporary line, can secure the lives and property even of the old inhabitants of this county, the new settlements being all fled except Shearman's Valley, whom (if God do not preserve) we fear will suffer very soon." So that measures were at once taken to erect forts at different points along and between these mountains.

On January twenty-ninth, 1756, Governor Morris enumerates four forts erected, prior to this date, on the west side of the Susquehanna, and expected a chain of forts from Delaware to the new road made towards the Allegheny hills to be completed in ten days, which will be garrisoned by about eight hundred men. Among the forts already erected he enumerates this as the fourth, and locates it "at Sugar Cabins upon the new road, called it Fort Lyttleton," and placed there a garrison of seventy-five men, and ordered them to range the woods each way. He says, "I am told it is in within about sixteen miles of a fort that Governor Sharp erected, and I have directed the party there towards that fort." (Probably Fort Frederick, Md.) The geographical position of Fort Lyttleton in 1764 will be seen, in a lithographic view.

Again, in a letter to General Shirley, February 9th, 1756, Governor Morris says: "It [Fort Lyttleton] stands upon the new road opened by this Province towards the Ohio, and about twenty miles from the settlements, and I have called it Fort Lyttleton, in honor of my friend George. This fort will not only protect the inhabitants in that part of the Province,

but being upon a road that within a few miles joins General Braddock's road, it will prevent the march of any regulars into the Province and at the same time serve as an advance post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward. For these reasons I have caused it to be built in a regular form, so that it may, in a little time and at a small expense, be so strengthened as to hold out against cannon."

E. Salter, commissary general of musters, is "Instructed after mustering and paying, if proper, Capt. Potter's men at McDowell's, to proceed along the new road to Fort Lyttleton, under an escort to be furnished by Capt. Potter, and thence to proceed to Fort Shirley."

Governor Morris directs E. Salter, April tenth, 1756: "When you get to Fort Lyttleton you will take upon oath what proofs you can of the certainty of Indian Isaacs having taken the scalp of Captain Jacobs, that he may be entitled to the reward."

Col. Armstrong says, November eleventh, 1756, he was obliged to send one hundred men to take some cattle to Fort Lyttleton. This was one of four forts which were to remain garrisoned over Susquehanna with two companies. October seventeenth, 1757, Captain Hamilton is at Lyttleton, settling with and paying off his men.

General Amherst says, June twenty-fifth, 1763, "I find Mr. Croghan has very judiciously engaged twenty-five men to garrison Fort Lyttleton, and I make no doubt but the Province will readily defray the expense of those men, so long as it may be judged necessary to continue them."

Having given the general location of this fort, the writer having been on the ground, ascertained that it is situate on the land now owned by Doctor Trout, of McConnellsburg, Pennsylvania, and is about sixty feet on the north side of the road, known as the old State road. This fort stood on a rise in the field near a peach tree now standing. All the older citizens agree that this was the proper location of the fort and report that they have found old knives, bullets and iron taken from the ground.

HUNTINGDON COUNTY.

FORT ANDERSON—A BLOCKHOUSE.

This fort was erected in 1778. It was situated on Shaver's creek near the junction of the creek and the Juniata river, on the farm of William H. Lower, near where now stands the borough of Petersburg. Mr. John Graffius stated to the writer when on the spot that it was close by a spring on the farm of Mr. Lower, and was on a bank west of the spring about seventy-five to one hundred feet and one hundred and fifty feet north of the public road leading from Petersburg to Alexandria. Mr. W. W. Striker stated that in 1848 the fort was pointed out to him by the old settlers as being about three hundred yards farther west than the above description and on the same side of the public road.

The erection of forts began in this locality about the time of the Indian depredations, one of which forts was built directly across the creek from Petersburg along the road leading to Alexandria, the old site being visible on the hill side a short distance from the bridge that crosses the stream from the town. This was called Fort Anderson. It was in West township and six miles above Huntingdon. This fort it is believed, was erected by the white settlers to defend themselves from the incursions of the Indians. The creek which flows through one of those fertile valleys for which that section of the county is so celebrated, the land being equal in productiveness to any in the State, takes its name from Peter Shaver, who made the first settlement upon it, presumably at the mouth of the creek. Prior to the Revolutionary War, others settled there. Mr. Shaver met his death in the neighborhood where he had lived in a most singular manner. One evening he left his home just at twilight for the purpose of putting his horse into a pasture field. He did not return, but his absence did not create any special alarm, as this was before the war and before any savages had appeared in the valley, with

murderous intent. The following morning his family not finding him, made a search and his body was found in a lane near the pasture field, minus his head. This was regarded as a most mysterious murder and as a matter of course would have been charged to the Indians, had they ever been known to take a man's head off on any previous occasion. The perpetrators of this murder were never discovered, even though a reward of fifty pounds for the head was offered by the family, and it is suspected that the Indians had nothing to do with it.

Samuel Anderson, from whom the fort derived its name, was regarded as the most active and energetic man in Shaver's creek settlement during the Revolutionary War. He succeeded by his own exertions and the aid of his neighbors on the creek and the little Juniata, in erecting this blockhouse fort, near the mouth of the creek, which was more or less occupied while the war continued, and it is but a few years since the last vestiges of this old fort were obliterated. As near as can be ascertained the fort itself never was assailed by the Indians. And coupling this fact with the well known circumstance that during the Revolutionary period the Indians held aloof from forts, it can be readily seen why this fort was never assailed by them. And another idea would seem tenable, that they were overawed by the large number of the garrison in the forts, which possibly had a powerful effect in holding them in check upon any attacks upon forts then. This fort, like all other forts, was frequently disturbed by alarms, sometimes real, sometimes false.

The Hon. J. Simpson Africa furnishes the following concerning this fort:

"My grandmother, an early settler about the time of the Revolution, sought protection there. The inhabitants of the fort, after defending themselves for a long time against the attacks of the savages, finding their supplies becoming exhausted, fled to Standing Stone Fort. In their flight two of the men named Maguire were killed by the Indians and their sister, afterwards Mrs. Dowling, who was guarding the cows, was chased by them. Springing from ambush, the sudden surprise frightened the cows and they started to run. The foremost Indian caught her dress and imagined he had made

sure of the victim, but she simultaneously grasped the tail of one of the cows, held on, her dress tore and she escaped. She reached Fort Standing Stone half dead with fright still holding on to the tail of the cow."

The facts here given support the notion that Anderson was a fortress used by the early settlers against the incursions of the Indians, and the writer recommends its history, surroundings, etc., to the same consideration which the other forts doubtless will receive under the act of Assembly, viz: that they be marked by memorial tablets, the offices of which shall be the preservation of the history attaching.

FORT HARTSOG.

This fort was erected for a defence of the settlers in Woodcock Valley about 1778, when a number of other minor forts were built at or about the same time in this (Huntingdon) county. This fort is near Marklesburg, on the Broad Top railroad, in Penn township. Dr. J. H. Wintrode kindly took the writer to the site of this fort and we found that it was located on a high brow of a hill on the farm now owned by David B. Brumbaugh, about one hundred and fifty feet east of a public road, leading from Marklesburg to Huntingdon. There is not a vestige of the fort left to mark the place. Tradition places it upon the highest point of Brumbaugh's farm. In appearance, the site was the most commanding in Woodcock Valley, as one can have an uninterrupted view in all directions from this point of location. The writer was unable to learn that it had ever been used for any other purpose than to harbor the settlers.

This fort was located on the old Indian path coming from the eastward through the Tuscarora Valley, Aughwick, Woodcock valley, to Hollidaysburg and to Kittanning Point. Being on this commercial highway to the westward, the track pursued by the traveler in early times, when in quest of a home west of the Alleghenies, it is likely that its importance to the settler, the soldier, the adventurer, in fact to all who were ar-

rayed against the red man, was of such a character as to entitle it now to some memorial stone which shall preserve its history.

FORT LYTLE.

Fort Lytle was erected about the year —, in Porter township, this county (Huntingdon). From data we have at hand, there is no doubt but that this fort actually existed, the site of which was located on what is now known as the Knodle farm, between Alexandria and McConnellstown, and about two and one-half miles from Alexandria, but as to what part of the farm it was located the writer cannot learn.

We here insert the information received from Mr. Louis G. Knodle, of Alexandria, under date of 25th August, 1894, as follows:

"I see by our county papers that you have been in our county, that is, Huntingdon, locating Indian forts. Fort Lytle was on the farm we now occupy. It is in Porter township, two and one-half miles south of Alexandria. In regard to Mr. Lytle's History of our county, it is a little defective. Jones' History of the Juniata Valley is far better, although my grandfather, who fought the Indians, told my mother that there were a good many errors in that; old Mr. Maguire furnished the information for it, and he was quite a boy." * * * *

McCORMICK'S FORT.

This was also a blockhouse or a stockade erected about the time, in the same locality, and for purposes quite similar for which the preceding two forts were intended. They all had their places individually in the early history of the State and particularly in that concerning this section, namely, Huntingdon county, and while it would seem unwise to rank them in the degree of importance with reference to the more staunch and better known forts erected and held under the Provincial

authority, with places and fortifications holding a large garrison and occupying a well known position in the history of the Indian times, they are, nevertheless, entitled to all the mention which the meagre data at hand justifies us in bestowing upon them and their character in the frontier line of defences and as places of resort and safety from the attacks of the savages.

We here state that this fort was located on and belonging to Robert McCormick, afterwards on the land of John M. Oaks, and which is now owned by John M. Johnson, and its site was about a quarter of a mile from where Neff's Mill now stands, in Huntingdon county. Mrs. Mary C. Oaks, widow of the late John M. Oaks, who now lives in Huntingdon, says that she can point out the exact location of the fort; that it was shown her by her grandfather, William Ewing, and she heard many stories of occurrences that took place there, during the times when the people had to protect themselves from the savages and tories. She says, that about forty years ago, while living on the McCormick farm (about 1854) an old barn that had been standing many years was torn down and that she noticed peculiar notches in some of the logs. On inquiry, she was told that these logs had been in the fort and that the notches were portholes. Mrs. Oaks details many circumstances which seem to establish the claim that the fort stood there and was used for the protection of the people from the Indians.

Miles Henderson, Esquire, Neff's Mills, Huntingdon county, Pa., states that McCormick's Fort was on the farm near Neff's Mills. John Hagan also gives graphic accounts of this fort as well as of Rickett's, and Mr. Ewing, nephew of Katharine Ewing, who was captured by the Indians with Miss McCormick, near McCormick's Fort, in 1782, is still living. He often heard his Aunt Katharine tell of this event, and has several times related it to the writer. The two girls were captured on the Ewing farm adjoining the one on which the Fort stood, and Mr. Henderson further states that he is able to show the sites of these forts, and especially after a rain when the fields are ploughed. It is indicated then by the color of the soil, which is darker than that surrounding it. I think gun flints,

arrow heads, old iron, pottery, pipes and other articles can be still found. It was near this fort (McCormick's) that a daughter of Mr. McCormick, in company with Katharine, daughter of James Ewing, and an aunt to our friend and neighbor, Huston Ewing, still living near, was captured by the red men and carried prisoner to Montreal, Canada, where fortunately an exchange of prisoners took place and Miss Ewing was sent to Philadelphia and from there made her way home. It was during the winter of 1782 that McCormick learned of the fate of his daughter, it being the first word of any kind whatever he had of her. He immediately started after her on horseback and after a long and weary journey, by paying a heavy ransom secured her. He found her in an Indian family where she was treated as one of them. Miss McCormick was a sister of Robert McCormick, Sr., who died some years ago in Altoona, and an aunt of William, Robert and Alexander McCormick, of that city. The farm upon which these two named girls were captured is now owned by Samuel and Joseph Duff. This capture occurred in October, 1782. They traveled for seven days through sleet, rain and snow until they reached the lake. Miss McCormick was given to an old Indian woman who happened to take a fancy to her, and wandered about until found by her father.

In consequence of rumors rife in 1778, of the country being filled with Indians the people of Stone Valley, north of Huntingdon, determined to build a fort. While making arrangements for its erection, Mr. McCormick stated that inasmuch as the population of the valley was not very large and the labor and expense attending the erection of a fortress very great, he would agree that his should be put in repair, pierced for defence and that the people should fort with him. This was accordingly done, and in a very short time, his house was converted into Fort McCormick, into which nearly all the settlers of Stone Valley fled at once.

CRUM'S FORT.

This fort or blockhouse was another place of refuge for the early settlers of Stone Valley. It was located on the farm

now owned by Wesley G. Myton, in Barree township, and about midway between Manor Hill and Salsbury. It was built in the angle formed by the public road and the old "Belle Isle" road, now vacated and about thirty-five rods southeast of the present farm buildings. Mr. Ramsey states that his grandfather, William Hennen, who was born in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, in 1771, and who came to this county with his father's family during the Revolution, frequently told him of these two noted places, McCormick's Fort and Crum's Fort.

"In company with my grandfather," writes Mr. Ramsey, "I have passed the site of Crum's Fort and often heard him detail the exciting times when an alarm was raised that the Indians were likely to make a move upon the settlers. Then it was that the women and children were taken to one of the forts, either McAlevy's, Crum's or McCormick's. Through one of his nieces, I have learned that James Cheney, a life long resident of Barree township was born in Crum's Fort in the year 1780."

Another statement coming under the notice of the writer claims the same locality as being the site of Rickett's Fort. There seems to be some confusion regarding it.

McALEVY'S FORT.

This fort, according to the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, we find to have been erected in what is now Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, in the northwestern corner of that county. It is on a line directly south of where the site of Old Fort, or Potter's Fort, was located, directly across the mountains in Centre county, and is near the famous spring named after the Indian chief Logan, which spring is in Mifflin county.

We gather from certain reliable sources that this fort or blockhouse was located on the bank of Standing Stone creek about twenty miles above Huntingdon, in Jackson township, it being the present place known as Fort McAlevy, the post-office there bearing the name. This fort, from what we can

ascertain, was erected in 1778. As stated, the erection of a series of forts began at this time, one of which was Fort Anderson, McCormick's Fort, and others, for the protection of the settlers, and we conclude, therefore, that Fort McAlevy was then erected.

Mr. Lytle states that the township in which Fort McAlevy is located was named after Joseph Jackson, one of the first settlers within its limits. It is in the northeastern portion of the county and joins Centre county on the north and Mifflin county on the east and southeast, and is bounded by Barree township on the west and southwest. One of the earliest settlers who came to this spot, the writer finds from personal researches, was Captain William McAlevy, whose name is mentioned frequently in connection with the Revolutionary war and the political troubles of 1788. He was a Scotch-Irishman by birth, and formerly resided in Cumberland county, north of Carlisle. His wife was a Harris, but of which family is not definitely settled. He came up to this locality, which afterwards bore his name, about the year 1770. After concluding to settle there, he made a canoe out of a pine tree, in which he descended Standing Stone creek and the Juniata and the Susquehanna rivers to Harris' Ferry, and in which he returned, bringing his family up those streams to his future home. The stream was very rocky, the water shallow and his craft light, it struck the rocks and bars, from which it could not be moved by himself, but only by the power of a horse which he kept conveniently near.

It was at this place that he undertook the hardships that had to be endured by the first settlers of the valley, for the purpose of carving out for himself a future home. Like the old heroes further up the valley, meaning Stone valley, they had to fight for this coveted prize, as did Captain McAlevy and his followers, until their red neighbors quit the valley and turned their faces toward the setting sun. He acquired all the lands in and around McAlevy's Fort. The fortification which was thus known was but a blockhouse on the bluff east of the village, built as a defence against the hostile incursions of the savages. He was once wounded in the leg by the Indians, but escaped from them while his companion was over-

taken and scalped. Brave, resolute and daring, he was just the style of man that would be ready to take up arms in behalf of American independence.

The existence of a number of forts in this county aside from the principal forts, as Forts Shirley and Standing Stone, during the days of danger from the savages, is well established. The facts have been handed down by tradition through the few generations that have passed since they stood there. It seems they are not mentioned (Anderson, Hartzog's, Lytle's, McCormick's, Rickett's) in the Archives of the State, but that is no evidence that they did not exist, as there are persons here living who can give facts and circumstances related to them by their immediate ancestors which prove their existence beyond a doubt.

FORT SHIRLEY.

This fort was erected in the year 1755 by the express orders of Governor Morris. It stood in Huntingdon county, on or near the banks of the Aughwick creek, flowing northward into the Juniata river, and not many miles distant from that river to the southward. The Tuscarora range of mountains passed by it on the south, its location being on a line due north from where Fort Lyttleton was erected, and distant from that place perhaps about twenty miles. This line northward from Fort Lyttleton to where Fort Shirley stood, passes through the celebrated Jack's Narrows and turns slightly northwest to the town of Huntingdon, so that its location would indicate its connection with a chain of early posts, to which resort was had for defence from the encroachments of the Indians, and for the necessities of life which the settlers and travelers then sought at such places.

We append the fullest particulars concerning its site, as indeed this is the first matter to which we must turn under the authority of the act of Assembly, in establishing the existence of any fortification. The writer, after an inspection of the site found it on an elevated plot of ground, where now stands the Shirleysburg Female Seminary, within the limits of the bor-

ough of Shirleysburg and on the east side of it about one-fourth of a mile from Aughwick creek. A small stream passes southwest through Germany Valley between the spot where the fort was located and the end of Owing's Hill, and empties into Aughwick creek. This stream was known as Johnson's run and furnishes the water supply for Brewster's mill, which is near where the fort stood.

In an interview with a Mr. Barton and Mr. Doyle, both agreed that the fort was located on the south bank of what was known to them as Fort run, on the land now owned by T. M. Barton. This fort was in from the public road leading from Mt. Union to Burnt Cabins about one hundred and fifty feet west of the main road and about one hundred and fifty feet east of Mr. Barton's house. The location commanded a direct view of the surrounding country, and was also opposite a high ledge of rocks due north, where it is said, the settlers used to practice shooting mark from the fort against these rocks. An inspection of the ground furnishes no traces, excepting at what was supposed to be one corner of the fort, there is a slight depression in the ground, and it was stated that in digging up the soil, large stones were taken out. This fort was not easily defended, as the water was liable to be cut off by the enemy, it running at the foot of a high bank east of the fort and there being no well.

The original order that was given by Governor Morris was the erecting of three stockades, but it was not strictly adhered to. There were four built: one at Mexico, called Fort Patterson, hitherto treated of; one at the mouth of the Kishacoquillas, above Lewistown, called Fort Granville, before mentioned; one at Aughwick, called Fort Shirley, and one at the Sugar Cabins, called Fort Lyttleton, Fulton county, fully treated of in the history of the forts of that territory. There was another path mentioned by the Provincial authorities, that began at the Conococheague settlement, in Cumberland county, passing through Sterrett's Gap to Fort Robinson, in Perry county, thence to Fort Bingham in Juniata county, and thence to Fort Aughwick or Fort Shirley, from which latter point the means of communication to Standing Stone or Huntingdon borough were quite easy.

Governor Morris was upon the frontiers in the months of December, 1755, and January, 1756, visiting this line of fortifications. On his return to Philadelphia, on the 28th of the latter month, all the forts west of the Susquehanna were completed, named and garrisoned. He caused to be placed at each of them seventy-five men, with orders to range the woods in both directions toward the other forts. In a letter dated February 9th, 1756, Governor Morris writes to General Shirley, "about twenty miles northward of Fort Lyttleton, at a place called Aughwick, another fort is erected something larger than Fort Lyttleton, which I have taken the liberty to honor with the name of Fort Shirley. This stands near the great path used by the Indians and Indians traders, to and from the Ohio, and consequently the easiest way of access for the Indians into the settlements of this Province."

A point here which the writer wishes to introduce, although a matter which relates in point of time a little earlier than the establishment of this fort, yet it is one of interest and so closely connected with it that we can do no better than to insert what Mr. Lytle has so well said in his history of Huntingdon county.

"Croghan now revived the project of fortifying Aughwick, which had been under consideration during the latter part of the previous year, but being out of the service of the government, he looked for no assistance from that source. A regard for the safety of himself and other residents of that exposed region led him to undertake the work with such help as he could obtain in the neighborhood. On the ninth of October, 1755, he wrote to a friend in Shippensburg that he hoped to finish his stockade by the middle of the next week and requested the loan of six guns with powder and twenty pounds of lead, promising to return them in about fifteen days, when he would get arms and ammunition from the mouth of the Conococheague."

At that time the frontier settlements were exposed to extreme danger, consternation and alarm had spread throughout the entire country west of the Susquehanna, and those settlers who could escape the fury of the savages were fleeing precipitately from their homes. The towns of Carlisle, York

and Lancaster were daily filled with the refugees. But few remained except those who paid with their lives and scalps for their temerity. At Aughwick, however, Croghan had made his position sufficiently strong to prevent an attack. In the east there was great anxiety for his safety and many rumors as to his fate. Scarroyady came down from Shamokin to Harris' Ferry, inquired after him, and on being informed that he was fortified at Aughwick, sent him advice to remove or he would be killed.

Governor Morris wrote to the Governor of Virginia on the 2d of November that "By letters of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of last month, I am informed that the people of Aughwick and Juniata are cut off and among others, George Croghan." From intelligence then in the possession of the Governor it is certain that no inhabitants remained on the Juniata. Croghan's situation is stated in a letter written by himself self on the 12th of November: "I have but a stockade fort at Aughwick and have about forty men with me there, but how long I shall be able to keep it, I really can't tell."

The reasons given for this unprotected and defenceless condition of the country at that time, was that the Quakers were in possession of the political power in the general Assembly. They were averse to giving away money or supplies or any authority for the enlistment of men or the forming of a militia. The complaints of Governor Morris were constant against the Assembly for adhering to a policy that prevented them from saving the lives of their citizens, and were made to the British government, to the Penns, to the Governors of the neighboring provinces and to the Assembly itself. So completely was he deprived of military power that not a man was furnished to Braddock from Pennsylvania, except Croghan and his few Indians. The teams for the transportation of baggage and supplies for the army were hired in York and Cumberland counties by Benjamin Franklin on his own responsibility and the Governor gathered a store of provisions at Shippensburg without legislative aid. The people were divided into parties upon this issue. Petitions from them were numerous, asking protection on the one hand, and opposing any warlike measures on the other. When at length the Assembly passed a militia

law, they did so without abandoning any of their religious scruples. Immediately after its enactment, a plan was devised for the defence of the frontiers. Five hundred men were to be taken in the service, half of whom were to be stationed on the east and the other half on the west side of the Susquehanna.

George Croghan was given a Captain's commission issued under the new law previous to December 18th, 1755, and his may have been the first. He was directed to superintend the erection of fortifications west of that river. The forts being the three as above set forth, each to be fifty feet square, with blockhouses on two corners and barracks within, capable of accommodating fifty men. All the circumstances seems to point to Aughwick as the place for one of these forts. Its defence had occupied the attention of the government a year before and the necessity for its protection had greatly increased. Croghan had built a stockade at his own expense and labor and the selection of the sites for the new ones was, to a great extent under his control. It was natural that he should prefer the strengthening of the one he had built. And probably nothing more was required. He had been secure during the most dangerous times and with a garrison under military discipline, was ready to defy any force that could be brought against him.

Capt. Croghan, in addition to his duties as superintendent of the erection of these works was entrusted with the recruiting of men to garrison them. He continued in command of Fort Shirley and one of the companies raised by him until the latter part of March, 1756, three months after the fort was built. There were issued to him during that time two hundred tomahawks, one swivel, twenty-nine small arms and two hundred and forty blankets. He had also some arms belonging to himself which were retained and receipted for by his successor in command, Capt. Hugh Mercer.

Sherman Day, in his Historical Collections, states that the earliest attempt at a settlement by the whites, within the present limits of Huntingdon (meaning doubtless Huntingdon county) was probably the year 1749, on Aughwick creek, in the extreme southern corner of the county. The adventurous

pioneers of Cumberland county, disregarding the limits of purchases from the Indians, had penetrated to a number of places on the waters of the Juniata, beyond the Kittatinny mountain. But, by order of the Provincial government, and in consequence of complaints from the Indians, Richard Peters and others, in May, 1750, routed these intruders and burnt their cabins. The report states that "at Aughwick they burnt the cabin of one Carlton, and another unfinished one, and three were burnt in the Big Cove." The name of Burnt Cabins is thus derived from this affair."

Between the date of this event and the year 1756, a place called Aughwick is frequently mentioned in the old Provincial records; but whether a settlement of the whites or Indians, it does not distinctly appear. It was probably the same place where Fort Shirley was subsequently built, in 1756, one of line of frontier posts.

As is well known, after Braddock's defeat in 1755, the Indians advanced upon the settlements, then sparse as they were, with renewed ferocity and barbarity, and Mr. Sergeant, in his abstracts of the Provincial Records, speaks thus:

From Aughwick, October 9, 1755. That 14 days before 160 men were about leaving the Ohio to attack the frontiers. That the Indians meant to draw off all the Indians from out of Pennsylvania and from the Susquehanna, before they attacked the Province. 1755, November 2. Accounts of C. Weiser and others, that the people at Aughwick and Juniata were cut off. And in * * * * * * * * 1756, August 2, Mr. Morris informed the Governor and Council that he had concerted an expedition against Kittanning to be conducted by Col. John Armstrong, who was to have under his command the companies under Capt. Hamilton, Capt. Mercer, Capt. Ward and Capt. Potter; and to engage what volunteers he could besides; that the affair, etc., was to be kept as secret as possible and the officers and men directed to march to Fort Shirley and from thence to set out for the expedition.

"And that Col. Armstrong was acting under particular instructions, entered in the orderly book, in consequence of which and conformably to which Col. Armstrong had made all necessary preparations, writing a letter from Fort Shirley,

stating that he was on the point of setting out. Letter from Col. Armstrong, containing an account of the capture of Fort Granville by the French and Indians, and the garrison taken prisoners. That they designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley, with four hundred men."

We see thus that Fort Shirley during the times of Braddock's disastrous venture was an important post to and from which bodies of armed men under Provincial authority were being constantly directed, and we have further the statement that Col. Armstrong marched from Fort Shirley on the 29th of August. This was doubtless on the Kittanning expedition, reaching his advance guards at Beaver Dams, near the old village of Frankstown, which appears then to have been in existence. And again on October 18th, 1756, the governor related that he found the frontiers in a deplorable condition; Fort Granville being burnt by the enemy, Fort Shirley evacuated by his order, etc.

This famous valley heretofore referred to as Aughwick, is described as being in the extreme southern part of Huntingdon county, one of a series of valleys through whose entire length ran the celebrated path from the Kittanning to Philadelphia, being the great western highway for footmen and pack horses. It is reported that traces of this path can yet be seen in various places and especially in the wilds of the mountains. It commenced at the Kittanning on the Allegheny river and crossed the Allegheny mountains in a southeastern direction, the mouth of which is five or six miles west of Hollidaysburg, at what is well known as Kittanning Point. From here it diverged in a southern direction until it led to the flat immediately back of Hollidaysburg, from thence east, round the gorge, back of the Presbyterian grave yard, and led to Frankstown. From thence it went through what is now called Scotch Valley, Canoe Valley, and struck the river at Water Street, before mentioned. From thence it went to Alexandria, crossed the river and went into Hartslog Valley. From thence into Woodcock Valley, from the latter across the Broad Top Mountain into Aughwick, from thence into the Tuscarora Valley, and from thence into Shearman's Valley by Sterrett's Gap.

Previous to the arrival into the Juniata Valley of the actual settlers, every inch of it was known to the traders. How long they trafficked with the red men before the settlers came is unknown. Close to this place it was that the trader John or Jack Armstrong, with his two servants, were murdered by the Indians at what is now Jack's Narrows, in Huntingdon county. From a statement of the distance by John Harris, he says from Aughwick to John Armstrong's Narrows it was eight miles.

Much has been said concerning a Captain Jack* who flourished about Aughwick; but while there is little truth, there is much that is fictitious about him. As his adventures were chiefly in this neighborhood, we give them for what they are worth. It is stated that he early went to the Juniata, built himself a cabin, his sole occupation, apparently, being fishing and hunting. His life seemed to be clothed in a mystery which not even his companions were able to solve. It is stated that he was a man of herculean proportions, with a swarthy complexion; in fact he was either a half-breed or a quadroon. He was possessed of considerable intelligence. One day when he returned from a day's fishing he found his cabin burned and his wife and two children murdered. From that moment on he became a different man and quit his pursuits, seeking shelter in caves and hollow logs. He made a vow afterwards to spend his life slaughtering Indians, which solemn pledge he evidently faithfully adhered to for the balance of his days, for many bodies of the savages were subsequently discovered, partly decomposed, their flesh being torn by birds and their bones bleaching in the sun. At last, being encountered by three or four Indians and after slaying three of the number, he grappled with the fourth one and a long and bloody struggle ensued with knives, and only ceased when both were exhausted. The Indian managed to escape, leaving Jack the victor on the field. But weak as he was, he scalped three savages, and made his way to the settlements where his wounds were dressed. The settlers were so highly pleased with his single handed attack on the savages that the facts of the case were never made known to the government. These qualifications made him a terror to the Indians and endeared

*See appendix 5.

him among the settlers to whom they could look for protection. A company of rangers was formed and Capt. Jack was tendered the command of it. On one occasion with his band he followed a party of Indians to the Conococheague settlement and put them to rout. This act reached the authorities in Philadelphia, and Governor Hamilton granted him a roving commission(?) to hold in check the unfriendly Indians of the frontier. Afterward, he offered his services to the government to accompany Braddock on his expedition against Fort Duquesne. This offer on the part of Capt. Jack and his band of rangers was declined by Braddock because he intended his company to go as volunteers free from the restraint of camp life, which a strict disciplinarian like General Braddock would not permit. Braddock was not an admirer of the Indian fashion of fighting and wanted to achieve a signal victory over the French without the aid of the skulking Indians or men who imitated their methods of warfare. He, however, had already accepted a company of Indians under Capt. George Croghan. It is also stated that Capt. Jack's offer was accompanied by a statement made to Braddock by another gentleman that they, "Capt. Jack and his men need no shelter at night, they are alike insensible to the hardships of heat and cold, etc." Braddock never lived to discover his error in refusing to accept Capt. Jack and his men, nor did he ever have occasion, except in the confusion and distress perhaps of an impending death, to reflect upon the Indian fashion, so much detested, of fighting. Mr. Hazard, in his Pennsylvania Register, in speaking of the non-acceptance of Capt. Jack's offer, "It was a great misfortune for Braddock that he neglected to secure the services of such an auxilliary." Very true, for such men as Jack's hunters would never have suffered themselves to be fired upon by an enemy hid away in a ravine. They would not have marched over the hill with drums beating and colors flying in pride and pomp, as if enjoying a victory not yet won; but they would have had their scouts out, the enemy and his position known, and the battle fought without any advantages on either side, and in such an event it is more than probable that victory would have crowned the expedition. Of the final end of Capt. Jack, we have nothing definite. One account says he

went to the west, another that he died an old man, in 1772, having lived the life of a hermit after the end of the war of 1763. Capt. Jack was, we see, more unique than the brothers Robinson, the Pattersons, father and son, eclipsing them in the solitariness and the mystery of his life, but that he rendered equally conspicuous service to his country, though in quite a different manner, none will deny.

To resume the history of Fort Shirley, after the command had been given to Capt. Mercer, at about the time of his assuming command of the fort, Captain Elisha Salter was appointed commissary general of musters and ordered to inspect and pay all the companies in Cumberland county. He performed this duty, visiting the forts on the frontiers. His presence at Fort Shirley is referred to by Capt. Mercer in a letter to Governor Morris written from Carlisle, on the 18th day of April, 1756. Capt. Mercer had gone to that place to recruit men for his company. It is gratifying to have from him a description of the situation of affairs at the fort, of the difficulties connected with the Provincial service, and of the deficiency in pay, arms, equipments and rations. The following is his letter in full:

"Honoured Sir: The commissary general of the musters with your Honour's instructions to review and pay off the garrison at Fort Shirley, arrived in a very lucky time, when the greater part of our men were about to abandon the fort for want of pay. It was with great difficulty I could prevent their doing so, for three weeks before, that is ever since the time of enlistment had been expired. I am sorry to observe that numbers of our best men have declined the service and reduced me to the necessity of recruiting anew through diffidence with regard to their pay, and I have been obliged to engage that even such as left us when paid off, should have the same allowance as formerly for their overplus time, depending upon my being reimbursed, as without such engagement, it was impossible to prevent the fort from falling into the enemy's hands. I am now about filling up my company to sixty men, agreeable to your orders, and have drawn upon the commissaries for thirty pounds for this purpose. A garrison of thirty men are now at Fort Shirley, engaged to remain there

until the first of May, by which time I am in hopes of continuing the company and shall immediately thereupon repair thither. It is to be feared that our communication with the settlement will soon be cut off unless a greater force is ordered for the garrison. As your Honour is sensible that I can send no detachment to escort provisions equal in force to parties of the enemy who have lately made attempts upon our frontiers, and considering how short of provisions we have hitherto been kept, the loss of one party upon this duty must reduce us to the last necessity.

"Mr. Hugh Crawford is upon the return of Lieutenant and Mr. Thos. Smallman, who acted before as commissary in the fort as ensign to my company. It will be a particular obligation laid upon me to have an exchange of Mr. James Hays for Lieutenant and Mr. Smallman continued. And perhaps Mr. Crawford would be satisfied to fill Mr. Hays' place with Capt. Patterson, as members of that company are of his acquaintance. I have given Mr. Croghan a receipt for what arms and other necessary articles belonging to him are at Fort Shirley, a copy of which, together with my journal and general return shall be sent by Captain Salter, and find it impossible to arm my men to complete what yet remains of our outworks without them. The guns are preferable to those belonging to the government and I hope will be purchased for our use. The arms being unfit for use, and cartridge boxes, powder and lead being wanted, I will direct a general order to the commissary at once for all these things. It is my desire that the men should be paid once every month, and I have so written the department, and unless we can do this we can expect little satisfaction in serving the public.

"The trust your Honour has been pleased to repose in me, in giving me command of Fort Shirley, calls for my warm acknowledgments and cannot fail of engaging my utmost attention and zeal in the execution of your orders."

In July, 1756, the Indians from the Kittanning, under their chiefs Shingas and Jacobs, captured and burned Fort Granville, killing and making prisoners of the garrison. Later in the season they prepared for new incursions against the frontiers and an attack on Fort Shirley. Governor Morris deter-

mined that they should not have the opportunity of striking the first blow. He concerted an expedition against them to be commanded by Col. John Armstrong, who was to have under him the several commands heretofore mentioned in treating of this expedition.

These were the forces that garrisoned the fortifications west of the Susquehanna. They were to rendezvous at Fort Shirley, which they accordingly did, and march from there on the 30th of August in that year. Col. Armstrong was successful in surprising the Indians at the Kittanning at daybreak on the morning of the 8th of September, in completely routing them, destroying their town of thirty houses and killing Capt. Jacobs, the chief who had declared he could take any fort that would burn, and that he would make peace with the English when they would learn him to make gunpowder. Capt. Mercer was wounded in the arm early in the engagement and became separated from the main body of the troops. When the latter arrived at Fort Lyttleton on their return from Kittanning he had not joined them. The losses in his company were seven killed, one wounded and nine missing. Among the latter was himself. At the time of this disaster Capt. Jacobs was about to set out to take Fort Shirley. On that day two batteaux of Frenchmen and a party of Delawares and other Indians were to have joined him at Kittanning and were to have gone with him the next morning.

April 9th, 1756, Capt. Hance Hamilton says to Capt. Potter, giving an account of an affair at McCord's Fort for Fort Lyttleton: "We have sent an express to Fort Shirley for Doctor Mercer, because it was supposed that Doctor Jamison is killed, though at the same time he requests an express to be immediately sent to Carlisle, for Doctor Prentice, we imagining that Dr. Mercer cannot leave the fort under the circumstances that the fort is under."

In a letter from Col. Armstrong at Carlisle, he says to Governor Morris, August 20th: "To-morrow, God willing, the men march from McDowell's for Fort Shirley, and this afternoon some part of my own company with the provisions here, sets out for Shearman's Valley, there to halt until the residue

comes up. This night I expected to have been at Fort Shirley, but am much disappointed in getting in the strays." He is doubtful about remaining for some intelligence which he deems material, if he does he cannot reach Fort Shirley until Tuesday.

"The harvest season, with the two attacks on Fort Granville has left us so bare of ammunition that I shall be obliged to apply to the stores here for some quantity for the expedition. The Captains Hamilton and Mercer having broken open the part I sent to McDowell's for Fort Shirley, and given their receipts, though I know it is for the particular defence of them two posts, nor will it be in my power to prevail with double the number of men and a double quantity of ammunition to keep a fort that would have done it before the taking of Granville. By a deserter named Walker, it is learned that the French (after Granville) designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley with four hundred men."

"As Fort Shirley is not easily defended, and their water may be taken possession of by the enemy, it running at the foot of a high bank eastward of the fort and no dug well, I am of opinion from the remote situation that it cannot serve the country in the present circumstances, and if attacked, I doubt will be taken if not strongly garrisoned, but, extremities excepted, I cannot evacuate this without your Honour's orders."

The frontiers were found to be in a deplorable condition, Fort Granville was burned by the enemy, and on the 15th day of October, 1756, Governor Denny announced to the Council at Philadelphia that Fort Shirley had been evacuated by his order. This was not done because the dangers against which it was intended to guard had passed away, but because it had increased to such an extent that it could no longer be relied upon as a protection. The enemy had become more powerful. The country people being dispirited, sought safety in the smaller forts.

FORT STANDING STONE.

This fort was erected in Huntingdon county in the year 1762, on the Juniata river, near the mouth of a creek named

for the stone there erected by the Indians. The ground on which it stood is situated in the southeastern portion of the borough of Huntingdon, and west of where Second street now is in that town, and quite near to the river. The Hon. J. Simpson Africa, in a letter states that it was located on the north-western bank of Standing Stone creek; a short distance above its mouth was an Indian village. The land was used for the purpose of raising corn, and a part of it was used by the Indians to hold their council meetings and war dances. During the subsequent cultivation of this soil, many evidences of Indian relics were found, being turned up by the plow, and many have been preserved in the place.

Mr. Africa, continuing, says: It is not known what tribes of Indians occupied this particular locality, as is apparent by some contradictory statements in regard to the name of Standing Stone. Some writers contend that the word or the term Standing Stone signifies Oneida in our language, and that the Oneida Indians of New York were of southern origin. It is stated in various early Indian publications, or more properly in books pertaining to the savages, that the Oneidas indulged in the practice of placing wherever they tented or remained for any time, in an upright position between the forks of branches and limbs of trees, long stones, thus indicating that they had used that spot as a resting, camping or hunting ground.

Standing Stone—Achsinnink—is the proper name for this place. The word alludes to large rocks standing separate and where no other is near. I know four places within five hundred miles which have this name, two of which are large and high rocks in rivers. For noted places where a small rock is they give the name Achsinnessink, the place of the small rocks; thus speaks Heckewelder, whose name and discoveries in the missionary capacity are imperishably associated with the Indian.

Huntingdon, the town in which this fort is located (remains only being traceable) lies to the westward of the Juniata Valley, being practically but a continuation of that beautiful valley, so euphoniously named by the Indians. We find that

this word Juniata, like Oneida, is derived from Onenhia, Onenya or Onia, a stone, and Kaniote, to be upright or elevated, being a contraction and corruption of the compound.

Onenniote is rendered "the projecting stone." Horatio Hale also translates in the "Iroquois Book of Rites" the word Onenyute or O-nen-yo-deh, as "the protruding stone," denoting the name of a town. Only the latter part of the second word has been retained in the compound. Sir William Johnson says that the Onoya, a stone is the true symbol of the Oneidas, and that they call themselves Onoyuts. They designated their village by a stone in the fork of a tree, and when on the war path as a defiance to their enemies. Would it not seem, then, even in the absence of historical data to sustain satisfactorily the theory that the Oneidas most probably peopled this particular locality, in view of so many places bearing the name Standing Stone in this neighborhood to-day?

The Standing Stone, that is the original stone, was, according to John Harris, in 1754, about fourteen feet high, six inches square. It stood on the right bank of Stone creek near its mouth, and in such a position as to be seen up and down the river. The original stone, we are led to believe, in addition to serving in the capacity of a guide board at a cross roads, was the official record of the tribe. On it, no doubt were engraved many important periods in its history. Its wars, its deeds, its prowess in battle, etc. It might, too, have served as a sacred tablet to the memory of many a noble chief who fell by the arrow of an enemy. These things were, no doubt, in cabalistic characters; and, although we can know that each inscription may have been small, its meaning may, taken in an almost unbounded scope, as the Indians are noted for brevity.

The first white man that ever passed through this section of country was Conrad Weiser, as early as the year 1748. Whilst he kept a chronicle of events, yet he has preserved no data as to whether there were any settlements at this place or not.

The first settlers of this place have left very little historical information. They were supposed to be traders whose pursuits led them to make journeys from the east to the Ohio

river, and this fact is established by a letter written by George Croghan, who was then at Hunter's Fort, on the Susquehanna river, about five miles west of Harris' Ferry. He refers to a trader who had just arrived from the Ohio and gives such other information as would indicate that it was a common occurrence to make these trips. The fact is that Croghan himself was a trader. This fort, Standing Stone, was along the Old Indian Path, coming from the eastward through Tuscarora Valley, Shade Gap, Aughwick, Woodcock Valley, Hartslog Valley, Water Street, Frankstown, Hollidaysburg and crossing the Allegheny mountains at or near the Kittanning. In fact, it was a long and important highway, and certainly was one of the means inducing pioneers to push on to the westward in search of settlements. There were a few white settlers living at The Stone in 1762, partially erecting a stockade fort, but were a short time thereafter compelled to abandon it and seek protection at Carlisle. When they again returned, the fort still stood, though partially destroyed.

On the breaking out of the war of the revolution, the fort was rebuilt on a more extensive scale by the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country, and was located as heretofore described. It was strongly built and was considered the only reliable place of refuge for the people residing as far west as the Allegheny mountains. There was never an attempt made to destroy it; neither were there any Indians lurking about it, except on two or three unimportant occasions. We have the following letter, dated April 24, 1778, from Carlisle, Lieut. Carothers writing: "This moment I received an express from Kishacoquillas for a supply of arms that Colonel MacAlevy, of Bedford county, came there express himself with an account that a body of Tories near three hundred and twenty, in and about Standing Stone, had collected together and drove a number of the inhabitants from Standing Stone town. Immediately Col. Buchanan and Col. Brown marched off with a few men who could be got equipped. We are waiting with impatience the issue. I have applied to the Board of War for some ammunition, which I have sent up with eighteen muskets, the property of this State. Which, with some arms, General Roberdeau took up to those parts lately, will, I expect, be sufficient to arm those classes."

General Roberdeau, in a letter to John Carothers from Standing Stone, under date of April 23d, 1778, says:

"The enclosed was put into my hands to be forwarded to you by express. The intelligence it contains is abundantly confirmed by several persons. I have examined both fugitives from the frontiers and some volunteers, who have returned for an immediate supply of ammunition and provisions to be sent forward to Sinking Spring Valley, as the troops will be obliged to quit the service unless they are served without delay. Want of arms prevents those who would turn out. I shall furnish what I brought from Carlisle as soon as they come forward, but owing to the low water and the contrary wind they may be retarded. To remedy this, I have dispatched two canoes this morning to meet them on the way. I am giving Mr. Brown, who is here, every assistance in my power, but your aid is greatly wanted to stimulate the militia and furnish arms, ammunition, pack horses and everything necessary in your line of duty.

"I am informed the insurgents from this neighborhood are about thirty; one of them has been taken and confessed under extortion, from which it appears that his venditti expect to be joined by three hundred men from the other side of the Allegheny. Reports more vague mention one thousand whites and savages. The supply of provisions for so great a number renders it improbable, but in answer to this I have been informed by the most credible in the neighborhood that strangers supposed to be from Detroit have been this winter among the disaffected inhabitants and have removed with them. If you have authority to call out the militia, in proportion to the exigence of the times, I think it of great importance that a considerable number of men should be immediately embodied and sent forward to meet the enemy, for it cannot be expected that the volunteers will long continue in service, and I find that recruiting the three companies goes on too slow to expect a seasonable supply from them, of any considerable number; if you have not authority to call the necessary aid of militia you no doubt will apply to the council and may furnish them with my sentiments, and to the Board of War with arms and ammunition.

"With ten men here under the command of Lieutenant Clugage in Continental service, until the first of December next, I intend to move forward as soon as the arms, ammunition and other things come forward to afford an escort to Sinking Spring Valley, where I shall be glad to meet as great a number of militia as you will station there, to enable me to erect a stockade, (Sinking Spring Valley) to secure the works so necessary to the public service and give confidence to frontier inhabitants by affording an asylum for their women and children. These objects, I doubt not, you will think worthy your immediate attention and utmost exertion, which I can assure you, making the fullest allowance for the timidity of some, and credulity of others, is a very serious matter, for without immediate aid the frontiers will be evacuated, for all that I have been able to say has been of no avail with the fugitives. I have met on the roads a most distressing sight of men, women and children flying through fear of a cruel enemy."

In a circular to the county lieutenants issued by the council at Philadelphia, July 16th, 1778, it is stated."

"That Col. Brodhead's regiment now on march to Pittsburgh, is ordered by the Board of War to the Standing Stone, and we have ordered three hundred militia from Cumberland and two hundred from York to join them."

It is not likely that the Board of War had any intention of changing the destination of Col. Brodhead's command, or that his remaining at Huntingdon was to be more than temporary. There is data that the regiment was there on the 8th of August, because on that day Council wrote to Dr. Shippen that, "Besides the militia at Sunbury, there are two other bodies in Continental service which will also require a supply of medicine; one body of five hundred men at Standing Stone, on Juniata, in Bedford county, the other consisting of four hundred and fifty men at or near Easton. You will therefore please to pay attention to these two bodies, at the same time that those at Sunbury are applied."

As General Potter writes, on the 19th of May, 1779, from Penns Valley (now Centre county, Pa.), that "what small company of thirty men has encouraged the people of Standing

Stone Valley to stand as yet, although it is too few for that place."

On May 13th, 1782, Bernard Dougherty, from Standing Stone writes, that on the date preceding "A company of Cumberland militia consisting of thirty-five men arrived there on their way to Frankstown garrison where they are to be enjoined by Captain Boyd's Ranging Company. The people of this country are mostly fled from their habitations."

Those daring and intrepid Indian fighters, the Bradys, frequented the locality where Standing Stone Fort had its situation as we find Hugh Brady's name appears in many of the old title papers, and the father of Sam Brady lived at the mouth of a small stream on the opposite side of Huntingdon. General Hugh Brady and his twin sister were born within the walls of Standing Stone Fort. After this, all the Bradys went to the West Branch of the Susquehanna during the Revolution. Hugh entered the army and became a matchless soldier, rendering the most valorous and distinguished service to his imperiled country, rising to an eminent position in the army and few names in early Pennsylvania history are so brilliantly adorned by the distinction of heroic deeds, in war and in peace, as that of Hugh Brady's.

The only note we have of a massacre occurring at Standing Stone was on the 19th of June, 1777, at what was known as Big Spring, several miles west of the fort. On account of a hostile band of Indians who had infested the neighborhood a general alarm was given, and the settlers commenced flocking to the forts from every direction. It is further reported that Felix Donnelly and his son Francis and Bartholomew Maguire and his daughter, residing near Shaver's creek, desiring to fort at Standing Stone, placed their effects upon horses, went to the fort, and when nearly opposite Big Spring an Indian who was lying in ambush, fired and killed young Donnelly, and the rest of the party rode with him and held the body until they reached the fort. Here he was buried upon what was then vacant ground, but the spot where they now rest is pointed out as being in a garden in the heart of the borough of Huntingdon.

It also appears that many of these stories with relation to

the alleged attacks upon the fort by Tories, etc., were very greatly exaggerated; however, there is no doubt that there was great distress arising from the want of provisions and ammunition.

Standing Stone left its name upon the place where it stood. Although the town of Huntingdon was laid out as early as 1755, it was called Stone Town for many years thereafter. With the exception of Frankstown, it is the oldest town on the Juniata.

After this fort was built up a second time, and remained so for many years, it was wantonly destroyed and several pieces of it have been preserved, one of them having been built into the foundation of the dwelling house at the northeast corner at Third and Penn streets, and another being in the possession of one of the citizens of the town. We thus present the historical data at hand concerning this important outpost during the early times, and it would seem to recommend itself to the favorable consideration of the act of Assembly under which these investigations are being made.

FORT BINGHAM.

This fort was erected in the year 1749 by Samuel Bingham. It was in the nature of a stockade and blockhouse together, and is referred to in the History of Juniata County as having been a "strong" blockhouse and stockade. It is located in Tuscarora Valley, Tuscarora township, Juniata county, Pennsylvania, about twenty rods from the Tuscarora Valley railroad, and about one-fourth of a mile from Reed's school house, and one-eighth of a mile from the public road leading from Port Royal to East Waterford, and eleven miles from Port Royal.

This fort was located on the farm now owned by John Reed. Formerly the garden occupied this spot, and a variety of iron, knives, spears, as well as stone tomahawks and arrow-points were found there. Adjoining the present house there stood an old dwelling, in the chimney of which was found a gun barrel,

on which pots were swung, by means of chains and hooks. On an examination of the gun barrel it was found to be loaded with a musket ball and three buckshot. After the establishment of this strong stockade fort, John and James Gray, and Robert Hogg settled with Samuel Bingham on Bingham's land, as a place of refuge and protection for themselves and families. They were Scotch-Irish, and came from East Pennsboro, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania.

The location of this fort was on the famous Traders' Path leading from the Conococheague settlement in Cumberland county, through Sterrett's Gap and Fort Robinson, in Perry county, extending through Bingham's Gap to the location of this fort, and extending westward to Fort Shirley at Aughwick. This settlement was made in the famous Tuscarora Path Valley, as it was formerly called, and is one of the most fertile and beautiful within the Juniata range. It embraces an extent of probably thirty miles in length, beginning in Franklin county, and ending at the river at Perrysville, in this county.

The name of the "Path" was given to it in consequence of the Old Western Indian Path running through it nearly its entire length. Tuscarora, in its day, must have been a famous place for the Indians. Its great natural advantages, and the abundance of game it contained must alone have rendered it an attractive place, independent of the fact that it was the regular highway between the east and the west, where the warrior, the politician and the loafer could lie in the, (as Mr. Jones says), umbrageous grottos and caves of cool recess," before the wigwam door and hear from travelers all the news astir worthy of their profound attention.

These persons, whom I have mentioned before as coming from Cumberland county, were in search of a location for permanent settlement. The valley pleased them so much that they immediately staked out farms; and, notwithstanding the Indians of the valley treated them with apparent hostility, they took the precaution to build themselves this fort for a defence, which was named Bingham's Fort. Some few years later, several others persons settled in Tuscarora, among them George Woods and a man named Innes. The people in this

settlement, notwithstanding the hostility of the Indians, remained peaceable for a number of years, when an onslaught was made on the fort (Bingham), the savages taking all the occupants prisoners and burning the stockade. The account is given as follows: "We have advice from Carlisle that on Friday night last, June eleventh, (1756), Capt. Bingham's Fort, in Tuscarora Valley, was destroyed by the Indians. There is no particular account come to hand, only in general it is said that all that were in it are either killed or carried off; and that a woman, big with child, was found dead and scalped near the fort, and mangled in a most shocking manner."

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, June 24th. "The following is a list of persons killed and missing at Bingham's Fort, namely: George Woods, Nathaniel Bingham, Robert Taylor, his wife and two children, Francis Innis, his wife and three children, John McDonnell, Hannah Gray and one child, missing. Some of these are supposed to be burnt in the fort, as a number of bones were found there. Susan Giles was found dead and scalped in the neighborhood of the fort. Robert Cochran and Thomas McKinney found dead, scalped. Alexander McAllister and his wife, James Adams, Jane Cochran and two children missed. McAllister's house was burned and a number of cattle and horses driven off. The enemy was supposed to be numerous, as they did eat and carry off a great deal of beef they had killed."

We have the following interesting historical facts to append concerning the destruction of this fort by the Indians: "Some time in the spring of 1756, John Gray and Francis Innis went to Carlisle with pack horses for the purpose of procuring groceries. On their return, while descending the mountain in a very narrow defile, Gray's horse frightened at a bear which crossed the road, became unmanageable and threw him off. Innis, anxious to see his wife and family, went on, but Gray was detained for nearly two hours in righting his pack. As far as his own personal safety was concerned, the detention was a providential one, for he just reached the fort in time to see the last of it consumed. Every person in it had either been massacred or taken prisoners by the Indians. He examined the charred remains of the bodies inside of the fort,

but he could find none that he could bring himself to believe were those of his family. It subsequently appeared that his wife and only daughter, three years of age, George Woods, Innis' wife and three children, and a number of others, had been carried into captivity. They were taken across the Allegheny to the Old Indian town of Kittanning, and from thence to Fort Duquesne, where they were delivered over to the French. Woods was a remarkable man, and lived to a good old age, and figured somewhat extensively afterward in the history of both Bedford and Allegheny counties. He took his captivity very little to heart, and even went so far as to propose marriage to Mrs. Gray while they were both prisoners in the fort. Mrs. Gray, however, had no inclination for a partnership in misfortune, and peremptorily declined.

The French commander, in apportioning out the prisoners, gave Woods to an old Indian John Hutson, who removed him to his own wigwam. But George proving neither useful nor ornamental to Hutson's establishment, and as there was no probability of any of his friends paying a ransom for him—inasmuch as he had neither kith nor kin—he opened negotiations with George to let him off. The conditions made and entered into between the two were that George Woods should give to him an annuity of ten pounds of tobacco, until death should terminate the existence of either of the parties named. This contract was fulfilled until the massacre of the Bedford scout, when Harry Woods, a lieutenant of the scout, and son of George Woods, recognized among the most active of the savages the son of John Hutson, who used to accompany his father to Bedford, where Harry Woods had often seen him. It is hardly necessary to add that Old Hutson never called upon Woods after that for his ransom annuity.

"Mr. Woods, after he removed to Bedford, became a useful and influential citizen. He followed his profession, and most of the original surveys in the upper end of Juniata Valley were made by him. He reared a large family, and his descendants are still living. He lived to a good old age, and died amid the deep regrets of a most extended circle of acquaintances. Mrs. Gray and her daughter were given to some Indians who took them to Canada. In the ensuing fall John Gray joined

Col. Armstrong's expedition against Kittanning in the hopes of recapturing or at least gaining some intelligence of his family. Failing to do this, he returned home, broken in health and spirits, and made his will, and died. The will divided the farm between his wife and daughter, in case they returned from captivity. If the daughter did not return, a sister was to have her half, and here comes the most famous law suit that was ever tried in Central Pennsylvania. About a year after the fort was burned, Mrs. Gray, through the connivance of some traders, managed to escape from the bondage, and reached her home in safety, but unfortunately, was compelled to leave her daughter behind her. She proved her husband's will and took charge of the property. The treaty of 1764 brought a large number of captive children to Philadelphia, to be recognized and claimed by their friends. Mrs. Gray attended in the hopes of finding her child; but she was unsuccessful. There remained one child unclaimed, about the same age as Mrs. Gray's, and some persons who evidently knew the provisions of the will, hinted to her the propriety of taking the child to save the property. She did so, and in the year 1789, the heirs of the sister having received some information as to the identity of the child, brought suit for the land. This suit was brought in the year 1789 and was tried in the courts of Lewistown and Mifflintown, involving the title to a farm of three or four hundred acres of the best land in Tuscarora Valley. The farm was in controversy for about fifty years before these various courts. It is known among the lawyers as "The Gray Property Case," being one of the most celebrated suits in ejectment ever tried in the courts of Pennsylvania, being reported in 10 Sergeant & Rawle, pp. 182.

Many of the facts given in evidence are interesting as elucidating the history of the times; and the marked originality of many of the principal personages would constitute an excellent theme for an historical novel. The final issue of this long contested legal battle resulted in a decision for the heirs and against the captives.

"The other captive, Francis Innis, remained among the Indians until the treaty. His wife escaped a short time previous. Two of her children were recovered in Philadelphia,

but the third had been drowned by the savages on their way to some place in Canada. By the exposure it became sick and very weak, and to rid themselves of any further trouble with it they put it under the ice. When the captive children were at Philadelphia, some persons had taken one of Innis's and he had considerable difficulty to recover it. Had it not been for a private mark by which he proved it, the person who had it in charge would probably never have surrendered it."

The Indians of Tuscarora, before the French War, were on terms of great intimacy with the whites. They used to meet at the fort (Bingham) and shoot mark, and, when out of lead, would go to the mouth of the valley and return with lead ore almost pure. Lead was a valuable article and difficult to transport; hence the settlers were anxious to discover the location of the mine. Many a warrior was feasted and liquored until he was blind drunk, under a promise of divulging the sites or whereabouts of the lead mine. Its discovery, if it contained any quantity of ore, would have realized any man a speedy fortune in those days; but, in spite of Indian promises and the most thorough search for years, the lead mines of Tuscarora were never found, and probably never will be until it is occupied by another race of cunning Indians.

Fort Bingham was destroyed, as previously stated, by fire in the year 1756, the red men applying the torch, and four years thereafter, through the exertions of Ralph Sterrett, an old Indian trader, it was rebuilt. His son William was born within this fort and in fact was the first child born in Tuscarora Valley. It is related of Ralph Sterrett, while sitting outside of the second fort a wayworn Indian came along who was hungry, thirsty and fatigued. Sterrett called the savage in, gave him bread, meat, rum and tobacco. This circumstance had passed out of Sterrett's mind until one night, in the spring of 1763, when the Indians were again becoming hostile, the inmates of Fort Bingham became alarmed by some noise at the gate, it being moonlight, Sterrett looked out and saw it was an Indian. This created alarm and some of the impetuous ones were for shooting him down as a spy. Sterrett coolly demanded of the Indian his business. The Indian in a few words stated the hospitality extended to him at some

time previous, and that he came to warn them of impending danger. He stated that the Indians were as plenty as pigeons in the woods and that even then they had entered the valley, and before another moon would be at the Fort (Bingham) with a determination to scalp and burn all the whites within their reach. The alarm was suddenly given and in consequence of the weakness of the fort they determined to abandon it. Nearly all the settlers in the valley were in it, but the statement of the Indian as to their number completely overawed them, so that they set to work to pack their horses with their most valuable effects, and long before day they were on their way to Cumberland county. The Indians, however, came the next night and after reconnoitering for a time, approached the fort and found to their astonishment that it had been vacated; but to show the settlers that they had been there, they burnt it down and on a cleared piece of ground in front of the fort they laid across the path a war club painted red, the infallible symbol of revenge and pillage, which means to the savage the destruction of life and property when on the war-path.

We thus see that the pioneer Sterrett in his innocent act of generosity to the lone Indian, when he furnished him with the common hospitalities of the rude border life, subsequently resolved itself into the most powerful means of saving the lives of over eighty persons. It is one of the isolated cases—few and far between—of Indian magnanimity, a trait as marked in the unlettered child of the wilderness, as were his passions of hatred and undying enmity to his white brother instinctively intense and pronounced, and we may well say with that gifted writer, Charles Sprague, "God has written the laws for the Indian not upon tables of stone, but has indelibly impressed them upon the tablets of his heart."

JUNIATA COUNTY.

PATTERSON'S FORT.

The Historical Map of Pennsylvania places this fort on the north side of the Mahontonga creek, in Snyder county, immediately beyond the dividing line of Juniata and Snyder counties, and in the vicinity of Pomfret Castle, which, perhaps, is often taken for Fort Patterson, but the writer finds much confusion existing relative to the facts aimed at by the different gentlemen of historical attainments and achievements, and hence we must leave its definite time and place of establishment, together with all the attendant circumstances, to the researches which we append.

In the year 1751, James Patterson, with five or six other gentlemen, all being Scotch-Irish, came from Lancaster county and settled in the Juniata Valley at now the town of Mexico, where he took up a large tract of land, lying on both sides of the Juniata river. He proceeded to clear his land, engage in farming and erected a log house, which was afterwards called Fort Patterson, it being used as a place of refuge and defence by the settlers in attacks made upon them by the savages. Patterson was a very daring man and was looked upon by the Indians as a great shot. He used to take a target and lean it against a tree and whenever the friendly Indians came to his house he would take his rifle and begin to shoot at the target, never missing it, the Indians thus making up their minds that he was a very dangerous man and that he had better be let alone. He was, doubtless, a unique character, as we find in the defiance of his manner, with relation to the important transactions of that early period. He lived upon this plantation for a number of years and regarded the Penns as being very uncharitable people because they undertook to exact from him payment for his lands, to which proceeding he very

strongly objected, regarding it as a very unchristianlike way of dealing with the pioneer settlers. He claimed that the Penns acquired title to millions of acres of valuable lands for the paltry sum of four hundred pounds, and looked upon the treaty at Albany as devoid of any motive of honesty, and thought, therefore, that he was perfectly justifiable in establishing his own claim. After he had resided in this locality for a long period, hostilities with the Indians became very great, and in fact he was ultimately, as a last resort, compelled to retire from the neighborhood and go into Shearman's Valley, where he remained for some time. After returning to his former plantation, he found his lands parcelled out among others who had gone through the formality of the land office for the purpose of perfecting title to their land. Undaunted by this proceeding which stripped him of all his property, he again took up lands with his mind set upon the determination that he would not pay for any part of it. Being threatened with arrest by the authorities, he nevertheless still maintained that his claim was just and right. After having been called into service the Provincial government, we gather from data that they forgave any claims which they had against him on this account, and he was permitted to settle upon his lands without any further controversy.

About the time of the trouble between the French and Indians, and after the defeat of General Braddock in 1755, we find there was a fort erected at Mexico, overlooking the Juniata river, and to further authenticate this statement that there was a fort erected there, letters of T. Lloyd under date of October 14th, 1756, show that there was twenty thousand weight of Provincial flour left at Capt. Pattersons', his place having been used as a base of supplies.

The troubles with the Indians, at this time were becoming great and we find that Capt. William Patterson, son of Capt. James Patterson was called to Fort Augusta for the purpose of getting instructions to settle difficulties on the path through the valley, leading from Fort Augusta, by way of Middle creek on up the valley to Pomfret Castle, which was supposed to have been located near Patterson's Fort. Thus we find at this time that the name was recognized as Patterson's Fort.

Whilst on this scouting expedition, after having received his instructions, he fell in with some Indians at Middle creek, one of which they killed and scalped, put the rest to flight, and took off their horses; that one of Capt. Patterson's men was wounded; that the woods from Juniata to Shamokin (probably Fort Augusta, now Sunbury) are full of Indians seeking for plunder and scalps; that they found many houses burnt and some burning, and that it was feared that few, in a short time would be left standing, and that all the grain would be destroyed. "We also hear from the same place, Carlisle, that some Indians have been seen very lately within seven or eight miles of that town; that Patterson's Fort on Juniata was fired on several times by them a few days ago, and one Mitcheltree was carried off; that a few of them had been seen about Granville and Juniata, and that the inhabitants of Cumberland county, in general, are in greatest distress and confusion imaginable, many of them leaving their habitations, and not knowing where to go or what to do." These Indians committing these depredations were known as the Delawares. It is reported that they were incited by the chicanery and bribery of the French in Canada, who seemed to be largely grieved about the sale of lands.

Benjamin Franklin gives the following directions to George Croghan in a letter dated December 17th, 1755:

"You are desired to proceed to Cumberland county and fix on proper places for erecting three stockades; namely, one back of Patterson's * * * * * each of them fifty feet square, with a blockhouse on two of the corners, and a barracks within, capable of lodging fifty men." * * * * *

The Stump's run massacre which was perpetrated by Frederick Stump, the "Indian Killer," and an accomplice in the year 1768, on the Middle creek, now Snyder county, serves to illustrate the heroic character of Captain William Patterson, and while that massacre will be fully and more particularly treated of in the history pertaining to the forts, etc., in Snyder county, the writer deems it quite essential and relevant to here note that these men, committing this massacre, wholly unprovoked, being only goaded on in their fiendish purpose by the brutal impulses of a selfish and murderous nature, were

subsequently arrested by the brave Captain Patterson and a detachment of nineteen men, safely lodged in the jail at Carlisle, but they afterwards escaped the clutches of the law through some disputes arising concerning their trial, and it is stated that Stump never returned to Snyder county, but making his way down into the Virginia country, remained there until his death.

As has been before alluded to in this narrative, Captain James Patterson occupied his land, upon which he subsequently erected Fort Patterson and also built a mill bearing his name, in the vicinity of Mexico, Juniata county, Pennsylvania—that he did this in violation of the rights of the Proprietary government, or without any direct authority from that government, as some authorities have detailed, yet we have the authoritative statement that Captain James Patterson got his warrant for a tract of land containing four hundred and seven acres at Mexico, February third, 1755, and which he had surveyed February twenty-ninth, of the same year, being the first and only tract patented in this county. Hence, the whole story of his bidding defiance to the law and refusing to go through the formalities of the land office for his title would appear to be without the slightest foundation and does the Captain great injustice. We might simply add in conclusion that he was one of the most illustrious pioneer settlers in Juniata county, and deserved the respect and esteem of all the provincial authorities, as was indicated by the many letters which passed to and fro between them.

As near as we can learn by tradition and fact, this fort was erected on the public road leading from the village of Mexico to the Juniata river bridge on a commanding eminence, midway between where the old mill now stands and the ruins of the Pennsylvania canal. Some, however, by tradition, fix it as being immediately in front of the house and lands now owned by Mr. Porter Thompson. The writer is unable to reconcile this contrariety of opinion, not being able to accurately ascertain its true location. This noble and brave-hearted pioneer died at this fort and his remains now lie in a grave on the land owned by Mr. Jerome N. Thompson, Sr.

The confusion of names, dates, localities, etc., presents a field oftentimes of speculation and much uncertainty to him who essays to draw facts from the records of the past, and the writer here adds a note from the late Prof. A. L. Guss, a historian of repute in the Juniata Valley, concerning the two Patterson forts, the two Captains Patterson, James, the father, heretofore referred to, and William, his son, and the much written of and mythical Pomfret Castle: In order to properly locate both these Forts Patterson, Capt. William was located on the opposite side of the river from Mexico on the farm now owned by Byron L. Shuman and their labors in defence of their settlements seemed to go hand in hand, We give Mr. Guss' article:

"There were two Capt. Pattersons and two Patterson's Forts, and these have been the means of much confusion. Capt. James, the father, lived at Mexico and had a house fitted up for defence against Indians, soon after Braddock's defeat; at all events, it had the name of Patterson's Fort before the close of 1755. Capt. William Patterson lived opposite Mexico, at Byron L. Shuman's place, and had a house fitted up for defence, the logs of which were in position within the writer's memory, but this fort was not built until after the French and Indian war, probably in 1763, and hence is not the one referred to in Colonial Records and Archives and on the maps. The order of the Commissioners, December 17th, 1755, for the erection of forts west of the Susquehanna, designated one of the three to be located back of Patterson's. It was to be on the Mahantongo creek (near Richfield) and was to have been built by Col. Burd and Capt. Patterson. Although the Governor wrote to other Governors that these forts were all finished on January 29th, 1756, yet on February 2d, he hoped it would be finished in ten days; yet it appears from his own letter that this one, which was to be called Pomfret Castle, had nothing done to it yet on February 3d, and on the 9th he again says, 'It is erected,' but on the 14th of June he orders Capt. George Armstrong 'to build it where it was laid out by Major Burd;' and it is doubtful whether any work was ever done upon it. Patterson put up or strengthened his own fort at Mexico, and great confusion has arisen by con-

founding it with the supposed Pomfret Castle, or rather, it locates them both at Richfield. The same view was taken by the compiler of the State Archives in the article on Forts. The error, perhaps, arose from the directions to Paymaster Elisha Salter, who, on leaving Fort Granville, was directed to go in charge of the guard to Pomfret Castle, or Patterson's Fort. This might mean that the latter was only another name for the former. It may also and in this case does mean that he is to go to the other place, or the other as circumstances on his arrival pointed out. It was certainly known that the soldiers were likely at Patterson's, at Mexico, and the instruction was that if he learned at Fort Granville that they were still at Patterson's he was to go there. In the text accompanying the Historical Map of Pennsylvania it is stated that Patterson's Fort was built in 1751, and Pomfret Castle built in 1756, both in Snyder county. This is a strange jumble. Patterson's Fort was not built in Snyder, nor in 1751. No man can prove that this, or any other fort in this region, was built at that date. The map gives an Indian path, from Shamokin by way of Pomfret Castle and Mexico, to Mifflintown. This path came to the Delaware run where, it seems, Museemeelin lived in 1774, when he followed and killed Jack Armstrong, and it is said to be the same place that the Dutchman Starr settled. The several relations of the capture of Hugh Micheltree, already given, are also relied upon to prove that Patterson's Fort and Pomfret Castle were the same."

It appears by a letter written by Governor Morris to General Shirley that he and Capt. Patterson were given directions to build Pomfret Castle, but instead of doing this work they had gone to Sugar Cabins, in the vicinity of where Fort Lytton was erected and "nothing is yet done." In the meantime murders were occurring as the Indians who committed these murders passed near by where this fort was authorized to be built, the imputation was whether or not a good deal of mischief would be done by their remissness. A short time afterwards, about the 29th day of March, 1756, Pomfret Castle was fired on by a party of Indians who took one Hugh Mitcheltree as their prisoner and as narrated before, this occurred three miles below Patterson's Fort, and as by a subse-

quent letter by Governor Morris to Col. Armstrong the fort was not built June 14th, 1756, or at least it was not then finished. Hence we infer from the Mitcheltree affair, being but a short distance below the location of Fort Patterson, that Forts Patterson and Pomfret Castle were fruitful sources, in historical research, of the greatest confusion, but from all evidence we can gain, the fact would seem to remain indisputable that the Mitcheltree affair occurred, as Governor Morris says in his letter, "within sight of Patterson's Fort."

In conclusion, the writer begs leave to say that none of the histories of this locality, nor the traditions or memories of the oldest residents in the neighborhood of Richfield, where Pomfret Castle is alleged to have been erected, sustain the theory that ever a fort was erected there known as Pomfret Castle.

In behalf of so faithful a character as this pioneer we submit a sketch prepared by Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia, Pennsylvania, which we deem worthy of consideration in the history of the man and of this fort: "Capt. James Patterson, son of James, was born on his father's plantation in Conestoga manor, in 1715, where he remained assisting his father in the Indian trade, and upholding the right to property on the west side of the river with a vigorous hand against the encroachments of Capt. Cresap and his gang of outlaws, who held him a prisoner several times in their fort. He remained with his father until his death in October, 1735. In the same year he married Mary Stewart, daughter of George Stewart, esquire. After this marriage he removed to Donegal. During Cresap's war he frequently shouldered his musket and marched to the relief of the Pennsylvanians, who were sorely pressed by superior numbers from Maryland. He established a trading post upon James Letort's nine hundred acre tract a mile northeast of what is now known as Schock's mill. * * * * * In 1754, Capt. James Patterson, with his brother-in-law, Captain James Lowrey, moved to the Juniata and at about this time, in connection with a number of pioneer settlers, he proceeded to the Valley of the Juniata, where he took up a tract of several hundred acres of land where the present town of Mexico is in Juniata county.

"In the year 1751 he built a fort for the protection of set-

tlers at the mouth of Tuscarora Valley, then the principal crossing used by the Indians in traveling north to Shamokin, or going south to Virginia. Mr. Patterson was not only in constant danger from the attacks of the savages, but he occupied an unpleasant position in relation to the proprietaries of Pennsylvania who refused to give him a patent for his land because the Indian title to it had not been extinguished. In fact, all of the settlers along the Juniata and in the valley south of it were ordered by the Governor and Council to remove from these rich valleys. Capt. Patterson, unlike his father, became very much embittered against the Penns, and refused to leave his settlement. The impending conflict between the French and the Indians soon gave the settlers plenty to do to save themselves, and the authorities at Philadelphia, and the Assembly, after quarreling among themselves and permitting hostile Indians to roam at large along the frontier, without giving the settlers the means to defend themselves, were brought to a realizing sense of their danger by the defeat of Braddock in July, 1755. There was no time then to be quarreling with the pioneer settlers about their land titles. Capt. Patterson probably commanded a company of rangers during the Braddock campaign, attached to the Provincial forces under Capt. James Burd, when they were hewing a road through the forests and over mountains to the Monongahela. After Braddock's defeat he did not flee, like Col. Dunbar, who did not stop with his army until they arrived in Philadelphia, thus exposing the entire frontiers to the attacks of the victorious savages. He hastened with his brave followers to his fort and prepared to defend the settlers. He and his gallant son William, then but a boy, struck back at the Indians whenever they got a chance. On October 2d, 1755, the savages suddenly appeared in Tuscarora Valley, the vicinity of Patterson's Fort, and killed and captured forty persons. Jennie McClain, a young girl then residing with a Mr. Frazer, mounted a horse with a man and fled toward the fort, and when but a short distance from it, the Indian shot the horse through the body, when Jennie fell off the horse and was taken prisoner. The horse sprang forward and carried the man safely to the fort. The Indians surrounded the fort,

but the Pattersons defended it bravely and drove them away. Other forts were surprised and destroyed, but the savages were not able by stratagem or superior numbers to capture this one, which stood for many years and was the scene of bloody encounters with the Indians.

"In 1756, Capt. Patterson was under the command of Major James Burd. He assisted in the erection and was in command of Pomfret Castle in 1756. The following is a copy of an original letter written to Major Burd, dated from Fort Pomfret Castle, February 5th, 1756:

"Excuse my not sending a guard according to your request. I have tomorrow morning a detachment of twenty-four men to Carlisle in order to escort provisions from thence to my fort. I have sent you Patron of two match coats. I have Purchast two Beeves, one of which I send you. As for the milch cow, you wrote for, I cannot purchase without cash. The nails and axes I have sent by the men. The rest of the tools I have, I cannot spare."

"In the summer of 1756, Col. John Armstrong destroyed the Kittanning. The French threatened to retaliate upon the settlers, and large bodies of Indians moved upon the West Branch of the Susquehanna river, to be within striking distance of the English settlements. The Governor took immediate measures to build a fort at Shamokin, now Sunbury, which was called Fort Augusta. Capt. Patterson and his company, under direction of Major Burd, marched to Shamokin and commenced its construction. In the spring of 1757 Capt. Patterson was detailed and placed in command of Fort Hunter, five miles above Harris' Ferry. In the fall of 1757 he was constantly sending out ranging parties along the base of the mountain toward Robinson's Fort, and up various creeks and across to the Juniata. Lieut. Allen was the only officer he had at the fort and he was often compelled to range with the squad of men twenty-five and thirty miles away from the fort. * * * * * Capt. Patterson continued in command of Fort Hunter and his company furnished ranging parties and the guards for the batteaux fleet under the com-

mand of Daniel Lowrey, brother of James, who transported supplies from Harris' Ferry to Fort Augusta. * * * *

"In the beginning of July, 1758, Capt. Patterson and about three-fourths of the command at Ft. Augusta were ordered to march to Raystown, (Fort Bedford), and join Brigadier Forbes' army in their march to Fort Duquesne. Their line of march was probably via Fort Patterson and Tuscarora Valley or through Buffalo Valley, Standing Stone, (Huntingdon).

"After the Indians were whipped into subjection, Capt. Patterson returned to his own fort, and gave his attention again to his much neglected land. He did not, however, omit the taking precautionary measures to keep his Fort in good repair, and provided it with the material for defence. The Indians remained quiet until Pontiac's war broke out in 1763, when the savage barbarities were fearful. Capt. Patterson and his son, Lieut. William Patterson, were again on guard. They followed them to their places of concealment, and gave them many hard blows. Capt. James Patterson died at his Fort and is buried in the grave yard on the present property of Jerome N. Thompson, Sr.

PATTERSON'S FORT.

This Fort was erected some time about the period of Brad-dock's defeat, 1755, by Capt. William Patterson, on the land of his father, Capt. James Patterson, opposite Mexico, in the Tuscarora Valley, being a large tract of land at the foot of the mountain, and extending down to the river. The present site of this Fort is now owned by B. L. Shuman and traces of it still remain visible. This stockade or blockhouse was standing until within a few years ago. The land was then in the possession of Mr. Strouse. The stockade was twelve feet square and eight logs high, being protected by a slate roof to guard against fire. The aperatures between the logs were filled with stones and loopholes were cut out on a flare, so as to admit of the pointing of a gun in any direction. The building finally served the purpose of a cornerib. Much has been

said of this important person in the narrative of Capt. James Patterson, the father and owner of several hundred acres of valuable land in this locality, on part of which land Capt. William Patterson, the son, lived and in connection with this brief description we here append some of Mr. Samuel Evans' data concerning him: Capt. William Patterson, son of James Patterson, was born in Donegal township, Lancaster county, in 1737, and went with his father to the Juniata Valley in 1750. The first act of the old pioneer was to erect a block-house, to clear the land and till the soil and make it capable of producing grain and vegetables, which required a good deal of time and labor, before the settlers could make it self-supporting. William Patterson, from the time he came to the valley to the period of old age, was the most expert marksman along the frontier. His father, who was an Indian trader and kept a store at the crossing of the Juniata in the direct line of the travel between the southern and northern Indians, often had large numbers of savages about his store, and he knew from experience that nothing would elicit the admiration or wholesome dread of the white man's power so much as being an expert marksman, and he was certainly excusable for erecting a target about sixty yards from the door of his dwelling. Whenever the Indians made their appearance old Capt. James Patterson or his son William leisurely took down their rifle and stepping to the doorway fired at the target, which they invariably hit in the centre, or very close to it. This astonished the Indians on account of their skill. By resorting to a trick of this kind they were able for a long period to play upon their fears, but about the time of Brad-dock's defeat the Indians began a general slaughter of the frontier settlers. When his father commanded a company of rangers under Major James Burd making a road over the mountain, William was with him. After his father raised a company and was regularly mustered into the military service under Major, afterwards Colonel, James Burd, William was appointed ensign and marched with his father to Shamo-kin, where the troops commenced the erection of Fort Au-gusta, now Sunbury, in 1756. December 12th, 1757, William was promoted for meritorious service to a lieutenant. He was

still a minor. For many months he and his father, with details of privates, ranged the mountains and streams in search of Indians. William Patterson not only displayed great capacity as a partisan soldier, but was equally conspicuous in civil life. He marched in advance of General Forbes army to Fort Duquesne in 1758 and participated in the battle of Loyal Hannon, in October, 1758. He also served under Col. Burd, in conveying live stock and subsistence from Fort Cumberland to Fort Burd and Fort Pitt in 1759. After his return from the army, Capt. Patterson seems to have devoted his time to land surveying and the strengthening of his blockhouse on the opposite side of the river to that of his father's, where he located several hundred acres of land. His fine presence and dashing character won the admiration and esteem of the pioneer settler, especially of the young men, who followed the chase and provided game for the large and growing settlements in Tuscarora Valley and around Patterson's Fort.

Pontiac's war coming upon the settlers in 1763, without any previous warning, fort after fort and many private blockhouses were destroyed and the feeble garrisons put to the hatchet or stake, and the imminence of the danger of complete devastation of the entire frontier settlements by the savages, the settlers generally abandoned their newly found homes and rushed into the counties of Lancaster and York to escape the fury of their enemies. Capt. William Patterson called his young hunters around him and bid defiance to the Indians. Pontiac had boasted that no wooden fort or stockade could escape destruction if he desired to destroy them.

When they could not induce the garrison by cunning and lying to surrender, they would load a wagon with straw or hay and set it on fire, and back it against the timbers and let the demon fire do the work. Although Patterson's Fort was surrounded by savages repeatedly, they were driven away or kept a distance by the expert riflemen under the command of Capt. Patterson.

As has been told in the sketch of Capt. James Patterson, William Patterson in 1768, arrested and safely lodged in the jail at Carlisle, Frederick Stump and his accomplice for com-

SITE OF
FORT GRANVILLE,
MIFFLIN Co.,
NEAR LEWISTOWN.

ALLISON

(ALONG THIS SHORE OF RIVER
GREAT NUMBERS OF RIVER
HEALS HAVE BEEN FOUND.)

JUNIATA RIVER 200 TO 220 YDS. WIDE

RIVER BANK

TOW PATH

{BED OF OLD PENNA CANAL}

FIELDS

HOUSE
ON WOODS
FARM

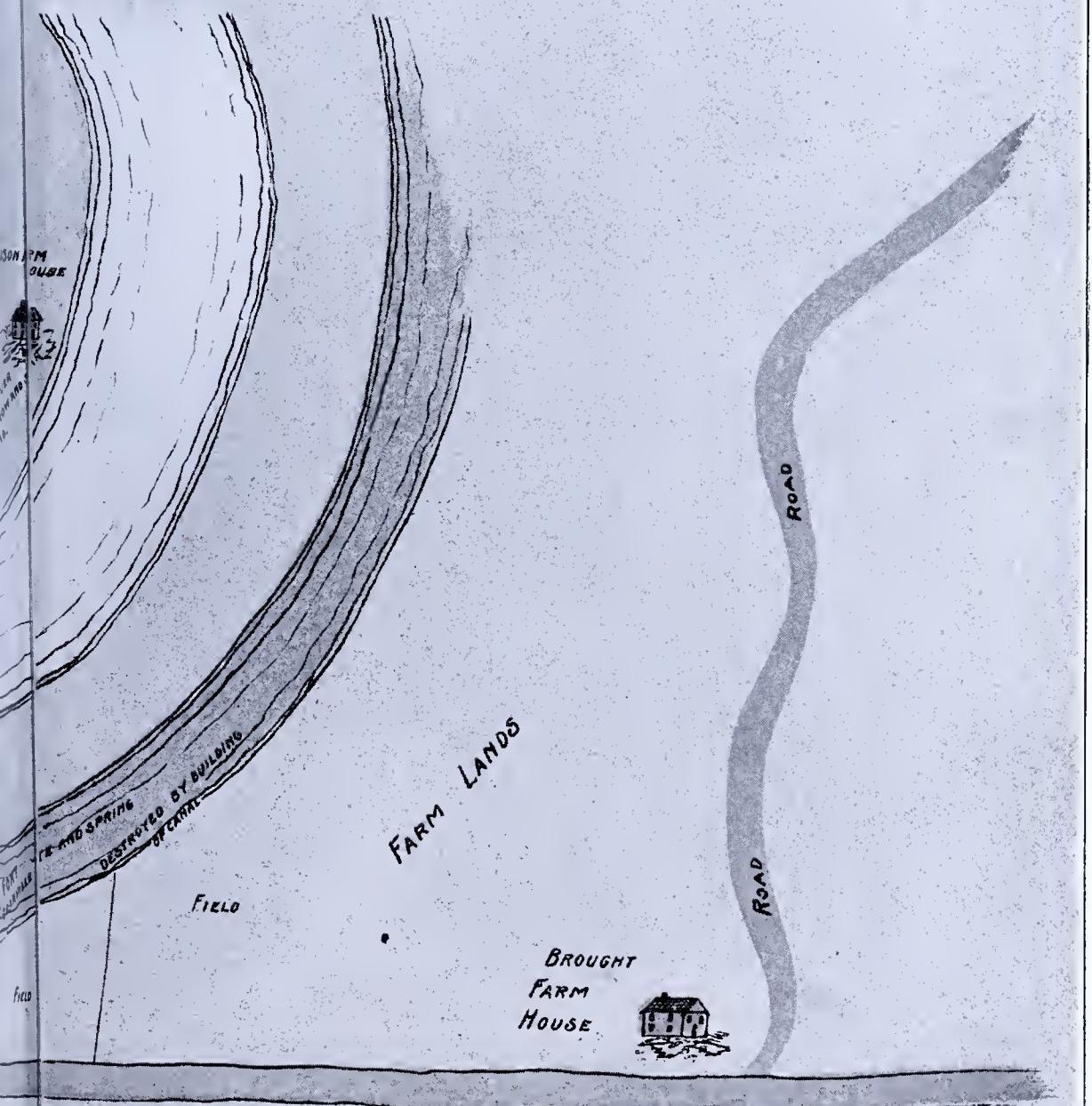
FORT
GRANVILLE

FIELD

{LEWISTOWN-
WESTERN BOUNDARY}

OLD HUNTINGDON TURNPINE.





mitting an unprovoked massacre, the victims being Indians. This action required the greatest heroism and firmness of character, but it was safely accomplished and he received the approval of all fair-minded men in and out of provincial authority at the time. The Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania at that period was so highly pleased with the prompt action of Capt. Patterson that he gave him a special commission as justice of the peace, and judge of the common pleas court of Cumberland county. He was also appointed a commissioner to lay out Northumberland county in 1772. Capt. William Patterson is described in the Shippen papers as "a gentleman of limited education, a very good soldier and does his duty well," and is often mentioned in Burd's Journal.

MIFFLIN COUNTY.

FORT GRANVILLE.

This Fort was erected on the site about one mile west of where the borough of Lewistown now is, immediately on the north side of the Juniata river and westward from where the Kishacoquillas creek empties its waters into the Juniata, about the distance of one mile. The date of its erection was shortly after Braddock's defeat in the autumn of 1755. It was about a mile west of the present Lewistown, Mifflin county, on the north bank of the Juniata. There was a spring in the enclosure of the Fort which was destroyed in making the canal; no remains at present are to be seen of the Fort. The land upon which this Fort had been located was owned by James Turner, which subsequently became vested in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the use of the Pennsylvania canal. The digging of this canal almost obliterated the site as well as the spring, so that the nearest statement we have of its actual location is that it is one mile above the town of Lewistown or "Old Town" as it had been called in Provincial times.

This was one of a "chain of forts" erected on the west side of the Susquehanna and placed about twenty miles from the other forts, and was about fifteen miles northeast of Fort Shirley at Aughwick, now known as Shirleysburg, in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, and about fifteen miles from Fort Patterson, at Mexico. "It was selected because it commands a narrow pass where the Juniata river falls through the mountains, which is so circumstanced that a few men can maintain it against a great enemy, as the rocks are very high on each side and less than a gun-shot from below." This declivity extended for six miles eastward and westward, so that the enemy could be easily seen in their approaches from "Every direction." Upon this site so selected, was built the stockade work which received the name of Fort Granville, and was garrisoned by a company of enlisted men, under regularly commissioned officers. The work was commenced soon after the order was given to Capt. Croghan that the Fort should be completed and garrisoned during that winter, as shown by a letter written by Elisha Salter, dated Carlisle, April 4th, 1756.

As early as the date of the old French war of 1755, a few adventurous pioneers from the Scotch-Irish settlements on the Conococheague, had passed up the old Raystown road, and found their way down the Raystown and Aughwick branches to the fertile and lovely valley of the Juniata. Arthur Buchanan, his two sons and three other families, all Scotch-Irish, came to where Lewistown now stands and pitched his tent and took up land where Lewistown now stands, in the year 1755. Buchanan was a man of great force and energy, who loved to roam in the woods far from the habitations of men. His cabin stood near the mouth of the creek about where the canal bridge stood in the times when the packet was the mode of transportation in those early days. As before stated, this frontiersman had several sons, one of whom became distinguished as Col. Buchanan. After the location of this settler, Buchanan, he called upon the Indians and signified his intention to purchase lands. They were at first unwilling to sell, but Capt. Jacobs, as Buchanan christened the chief, because of his close resemblance to a burly German in Cumber-

land county, who was the head chief, having been liberally plied with liquor, decided that Buchanan should have the much coveted land. What was paid for it has never been divulged, but it is more than probable that the contents of his rum keg, a few trinkets, and some tobacco made him the sole possessor of this soil.

After the defeat of General Braddock, the Indians made sudden incursions upon all parts of the unprotected frontier. The attack upon Fort Granville was made in harvest time of the year 1756. The Fort at this time was commanded by Lieut. Armstrong, a brother of General Armstrong, who destroyed Kittanning. The Indians, who had been lurking about this fort for some time, and knowing that Armstrong's men were few in number, sixty of them appeared, July 22d, before the fort, and challenged the garrison to a fight; but this was declined by the commander in consequence of the weakness of his force. The Indians fired at and wounded one man, who had been a short way from it, yet he got in safe; after which they divided themselves into small parties, one of which attacked the plantation of one Baskins, near the Juniata, whom they murdered, burnt his house and carried off his wife and children. Another made Hugh Carroll and his family prisoners.

On the 30th of July, 1756, Capt. Edward Ward, the commandant of Granville, marched from the fort with a detachment of men from the garrison, destined for Tuscarora Valley, where they were needed as guard to the settlers while they were engaged in harvesting their grain. The party under Capt. Ward embraced the greater part of the defenders of the fort, under command of Lieut. Edward Armstrong. Soon after the departure of Capt. Ward's detachment, the fort was surrounded by the hostile force of French and Indians, who immediately made an attack, which they continued in their skulking, Indian manner through the afternoon and following night, but without being able to inflict much damage on the whites. Finally, after many hours had been spent in their unsuccessful attacks, the Indians availed themselves of the protection afforded by a deep ravine up which they passed from the river bank to within twelve or fifteen yards of the

fort, and from that secure position succeeded in setting fire to the logs and burning out a large hole, through which they fired on the defenders, killing the commanding officer, Lieut. Armstrong, and one private soldier and wounding three others.

They then demanded the surrender of the fort and garrison, promising to spare their lives if the demand was acceded to. Upon this, a man named John Turner, previously a resident in the Buffalo Valley, opened the gates and the besiegers at once entered and took possession, capturing as prisoners twenty-two men, three women and a number of children. The fort was burned by the chief Jacobs, by order of the French officer in command, and the savages then departed, driving before them their prisoners, heavily burdened with the plunder taken from the fort and the settlers' houses which they had robbed and burned. On their arrival at the Indian rendezvous at Kittanning, all the prisoners were cruelly treated, and Turner, the man who had opened the gate at the fort to the savages, suffered the cruel death by burning at the stake, enduring the most horrible torment that could be inflicted upon him for a period of three hours, during which time red-hot gun barrels were forced through parts of his body, his scalp was torn from his head and burning splinters were stuck in his flesh until at last an Indian boy was held up for the purpose who sunk a hatchet in the brain of the victim and so released him from his cruel torture.

In a letter from General Armstrong to Robert Hunter Morris, dated at Carlisle, August 20th, 1756, we find the following relating to this fort; it was claimed that Peter Walker was taken a prisoner at this fort by the French and Indians, who, with others, afterwards made his escape: "This McDowell told Walker they designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley with four hundred men. Capt. Jacobs said he would take any fort that would catch fire, and would make peace with the English when they had learned him to make gun powder. McDowell told Walker they had two Indians killed in the engagement; but Captains Armstrong and Ward, whom I ordered on their march to Fort Shirley to examine everything at Granville and send a list of what remained among the ruins, as-

sure me that they found some parts of eight of the enemy burnt in two different places, the points of them being scarcely separated; and part of their shirts found through which there were bullet holes. To secrete these from the prisoners was doubtless the reason why the French officer marched our people some distance from the fort before he gave orders to burn the barracks, &c. Walker says that some of the Germans flagged very much on the second day, and that the lieutenant behaved with the greatest bravery to the last, despising all the terrors and threats of the enemy whereby they often urged him to surrender. Though he had been near two days without water, but little ammunition left, the fort on fire, and the enemy situate within twelve or fourteen yards of the fort under the natural bank, he was as far from yielding as when at first attacked. A Frenchman in our service, fearful of being burned up, asked leave of the lieutenant to treat with his countrymen in the French language. The lieutenant answered, "The first word of French you speak in this engagement, I'll blow your brains out," telling his men to hold out bravely, for the flame was falling and he would soon have it extinguished; but he soon after received the fatal ball. (Col. Rec. Vol. ii, p. 232.)

We hereto append the deposition, or so much as is pertinent, of John Hogan, one of the escaped prisoners, which was taken before Col. Armstrong and is as follows: "Cumberland county, June 1st, 1757, before me, John Armstrong, Esquire, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Cumberland aforesaid, came John Hogan, late a soldier belonging to Captain Edward Ward's company of Foot in the pay of the Province of Pennsylvania, who declares and says that on or about the first day of August he with several others was taken prisoner at Fort Granville by a party of French and Indians—consisting of one hundred Indians and fifty French—who took him and the rest of the prisoners to Kit-tanning, where they were about three hours, at which time John Turner, one of the prisoners, was burnt. They were then taken down the river to Fort Duquesne where they were a few hours; the French and Indians not agreeing; where they proceeded to Logstown where he continued until he made his es-

cape. And this deponent further says that the Indians sold a prisoner to the French for which they received a nine-gallon keg of brandy. The deponent states that he and George Hily another prisoner considered this a good time to escape, because it was customary for the Indians on such occasions to get drunk and have a frolic, which they did whereupon they set off and brought with them Martin Borrowelly, another prisoner, and arrived at the south branch of the Potomac in three weeks from the time of their escape. Sworn at Carlisle the first day of June, 1757, before John Armstrong."

The Indian massacres of the summer of 1756 closing with the capture of Fort Granville and its garrison, struck terror to the hearts of the pioneers of the region west of the Susquehanna and caused the precipitate abandonment of the settlements along the Blue mountains northward and westward to the West Branch. From this valley a stream of fugitive settlers with their families retired for safety to Fort Augusta, and thence eastward to their former homes, while those who had located themselves along the Juniata and in the valleys of its tributaries, fled for their lives across the mountain and took refuge at Carlisle and Shippensburg. The inhabitants of York county were very much alarmed and they all complained since the capture of this fort that their prospects for safety and protection had vanished, finding one of the best forts upon the frontier burned and destroyed and many of the men carried into barbarous captivity. A year ago there were three thousand men fit to bear arms in that county, they were certain they did not now amount to one hundred and that never was there a more abundant harvest. The burning of Fort Granville by the Indians being in harvest time, many of the farmers abandoned their plantations and left what corn was then stacked, or in barns to perish on the ground. Immediately after the Fort Granville affair, the whites retaliated with vigorous and incisive measures, Col. Armstrong, with a large force marching westward on his famous Kittanning expedition, the Indian stronghold situated where the present thriving town of the same name is, forty-five miles above Pittsburgh. Kittanning was attacked at daybreak, September 8, 1756, and, in revenge for the destruction of Fort Granville and

other atrocities, was completely destroyed, its houses and huts being burned, while a large number of Indians were killed, among them, it is averred, Capt. Jacobs, though this is a mooted question. The severe blow dealt by Col. Armstrong had the effect to render the Indians less bold and aggressive and to withdraw many of the Delawares from the French lines. The negotiations with Teedyuscung and the eastern Delawares, also, had a favorable effect; but the bands of Capt. Jacobs and other western Delawares and Shawanees who still remained in league with the French, continued their murdering and burning raids wherever exposed white settlements could be found, until 1758, when the treaty of Easton brought peace once more to the harassed frontiers of Pennsylvania. Thus many of the settlers who had fled in terror during the bloody summer and fall of 1756 came back to reoccupy their lands which they then were enabled to enjoy with comparative freedom from any molestation whatever, until 1763, when the artful plots of the western chief, Pontiac, began to exhibit themselves and thus bring about another period of bloodshed and horror.

PERRY COUNTY.

FORT ROBINSON.

This was variously spelled, Robison, Robeson and Robinson—we prefer the latter.

Data concerning this fort are quite meagre and rather difficult to obtain. There is no mention made of it in the volume of the Pennsylvania Archives, especially devoted to a history of the early fortifications, in Pennsylvania, when the pale face fled almost helpless and defenceless from his more warlike and relentless forest neighbor—the Indian; nor does it find a place on The Historical Map of Pennsylvania, although the name of "George Robinson" appears thereon, at the confluence of the Juniata river and the Buffalo creek, south of the Tus-

carora mountain, Perry county, 1754.' While we are led to the conclusion, therefore, that this place was not a fort under the direction or control of the provincial authority, there is, nevertheless, sufficient reliable information at hand to warrant the writer in placing it in the same category with the other long line of well established fortifications in Pennsylvania, finding their historical authenticity well founded in the patient and accurate researches made by our historians.

The Robinson family figured prominently in the trials of early pioneer life, a brother of George Robinson who located this stockade or fort was a member of Col. Armstrong's expedition, as well as one of the early pioneers of Shearman's Valley.

The early settlers being harrassed by predatory bands of Indians, this fort was erected by the Robinson brothers, the warrant of the land upon which it was built, being in the name of George Robinson. The fort was built in 1755, in what is now Haines township, Perry county, Pennsylvania, on lands now owned by Adam Roy. From a narrative of Robert Robinson, the history of this fort is gathered. The fort was evidently more of the nature of a blockhouse than anything else and was surrounded by a stockade. This family here at least, for a period of nine years occupied the land before securing a warrant for it. Another important fact connected with the history of this place, is that it was on the line of the traders' path from Harris' Ferry westward, to Fort Bingham, in Juniata county, located at the base of the north side of the Tuscarora mountain. From the best information obtainable, it is certain that this path extended from the Conococheague settlement, through Croghan's Gap, into Shearman's Valley, thence westward, leading to a point at Bingham's Fort, in Juniata county.

The fort was of easy access from every direction and from the number mentioned by Robert Robinson as being in the fort during the harvest of 1756, we can safely infer that not only the settlers of Shearman's Valley themselves sought the security of its friendly walls, but many of those living in the Tuscarora Valley; From 1756 to 1761 settlers were frequently driven to it for protection. To further show the importance

of this point, we have the following from the Provincial Records, as has already been shown in this article and to be followed by other facts.

In the year 1754 Conrad Weiser called at the house of Andrew Montour, who lived in Shearman's Valley, on his way to Aughwick to hold a Treaty with the Indians. And in his Journal says: "September 1st, crossed the Kittatinny mountain at George Croghan's (Sterret's) Gap, and Shearman's creek and arrived that day at Andrew Montour's accompanied (from Harris' Ferry) by himself, the Half-King, and another Indian and my son. I found at Andrew Montour's about fifteen Indians, men, women and children; and more had been there, but had gone." The next day, Weiser, accompanied by Andrew Montour and those who were with him before, went toward Aughwick.

Toward the close of December, 1755, the Indians committed some murders in Shearman's Valley.

The following is an extract from the Narrative of Robert Robinson, as contained in Loudon's Narratives, pp. 171 and 2: "The next I remember of was in 1755, the Woolcomber's family on Shearman's creek; the whole of the inhabitants of the Valley was gathered at Robinson's, but Woolcomber would not leave home, he said it was the Irish [Scotch-Irish] who were killing one another, these peaceable people, the Indians, would not hurt any person. Being at home and at dinner, the Indians came in, and the Quaker asked them to come and eat dinner, an Indian announced that he did not come to eat, but for scalps; the son, a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age when he heard the Indian say so, repaired to a back door, and as he went out he looked back, and saw the Indian strike the tomahawk into his father's head. The boy then ran over the creek, which was near the house, and heard the screams of his mother, sisters and brother. The boy came to our Fort (Robinson) and gave us the alarm; about forty went to where the murder was done and buried the dead."

Sometime in the month of July, 1756, the Indians appeared again in Shearman's Valley, and abducted Hugh Robinson. "I was," says Robinson, "taken captive by the Indians from Robinson's Fort, in Shearman's Valley, in July, 1756, at which

time my mother was killed; I was taken back to their towns, where I suffered much from hunger and abuse; many times they beat me most severely, and once they sent me to gather wood to burn myself, but I cannot tell whether they intended to do it, or frighten me; however, I did not remain long before I was adopted into an Indian family, and then I lived as they did, though the living was very poor. I was then fourteen years of age; my Indian father's name was Busqueetam; he was lame in consequence of a wound, received by his knife in skinning a deer, and being unable to walk, he ordered me to drive forks in the ground and cover it with bark to make a lodge for him to lie, but the forks not being secure, they gave way, and the bark fell down upon him and hurt him very much, which put him in a great rage, and calling for his knife, ordered us to carry him upon a blanket into the hut, and I must be one that helps to carry him in; while we were carrying him I saw him hunting for the knife but my Indian mother had taken care to convey it away, and when we had got him again fixed in his bed, my mother ordered me to conceal myself which I did; I afterwards heard him reproving her for putting away the knife; for by this time I had learned to understand a little of their language. His passion, however, wore off, and he did very well for the future

"Having now been with them a considerable time, a favorable opportunity offered me to regain my liberty. My old father Busqueetam lost a horse, and he sent me to hunt for him. After searching some time I come home and told him that I had discovered his tracks at considerable distance, and that I thought I could find him; that I would take my gun and provisions and would hunt three or four days, and if I could kill a bear or deer I would pack home the meat on the horse. Accordingly I packed up some provisions and started for the white settlements, not fearing pursuit for some days, and by that time I would be out of reach of the pursuers. But before I was aware, I was almost at a large camp of Indians by the creek side. This was in the evening and I had to conceal myself in a thicket till it was dark, and then passed the camp and crossed the creek in one of their canoes. I was much afraid that their dogs would give the alarm, but happily

got safe past. I traveled on for several days, and on my way I spied a bear, shot at and wounded him so that he could not run, but being too hasty, ran up to him with my tomahawk; before I could give him a blow he gave me a severe stroke on the leg which pained me very much, and retarded my journey much longer than it otherwise would have been.

"However, I traveled on as well as I could until I got to the Allegheny river where I collected some poles with which I made a raft and bound it together with elm bark and grape vines, by which means I got over the river, but in crossing I lost my gun. I arrived at Fort Pitt in fourteen days from the time of my start."

In the same year Robert Robinson in his Narrative states that there was a murder committed by the savages in close proximity to this fort, given in the following language: "I forgot to give you an account of a murder done at our own fort in Sherman's Valley in July, 1756. The Indians waylaid the fort in harvest time, and kept quiet until the reapers were gone; James Wilson remaining some time behind the rest, and I not being gone to my business, which was hunting deer for the use of the company. Wilson standing at the fort gate, I desired liberty to shoot his gun at a mark, upon which he gave me his gun and I shot. The Indians on the upper side of the fort, thinking they were discovered, rushed on a daughter of Robert Miller and instantly killed her, and shot at John Simmeson; they then made the best of it they could and killed the wife of James Wilson and the widow Gibson, and took Hugh Gibson and Besty Henry prisoners. The reapers, being forty in number, returned to the fort, and the Indians made off. While the Indian was scalping Mrs. Wilson, the relator shot at and wounded him, but he made his escape."

"There was another war in July, 1763. The Indians came to Juniata, it being harvest time, and the white people were come back to reap their crops; they came first to the house of William White; it was on the Sabbath day; the reapers were all in the house; the Indians crept up nigh to the door and shot the people lying on the floor, and killed William White; and all his family that was there, excepting one boy, who, when

he heard the guns, leapt out of the window and made his escape.

"This same band of Indians took their course toward Robert Campbell's on Tuscarora creek where they surprised some of the settlers, following up their course as far as Bingham's Fort. The brave Robinson brothers, having a number of friends along this path, were fearful lest they should be surprised by the Indians lying in ambush, followed. They organized a band of twelve, composed of William Robinson, who acted as captain, Robert Robinson, the relator of this narrative, and Thomas Robinson and a number of other settlers in the vicinity of Sherman's creek, all of whom went over for the purpose of protecting them. They divided their force into two companies of six men each. They followed the tracks of the Indians and found where they had committed depredations, burned down buildings and murdered some of the inhabitants. They came into contact with them at Nicholson's, across the Tuscarora mountain and had a severe engagement with them in which five of their number were killed and one wounded. The persons killed being William Robinson, who was shot in the stomach with buckshot and got about half a mile from the ground. Not far from this spot William Robinson was weltering in his blood, says the relator, and in his last agonies he requested when I appeared that if ever I had opportunity to kill an Indian to do it for his sake. Thomas Robinson stood on the ground until the whole of his people were fled, nor did the Indians offer to pursue him until the last man had left the field. Thomas having charged and fired a second time the Indians were prepared for him, and when he took aim past a tree, a number fired at him at the same time; one of his arms were broken, he took his gun in his other and fled, going up a hill where he came to a high log, and clapped his hand in which his gun was, on the log to assist in leaping over it, while in the attitude of stooping a bullet entered his side, going in a triangular course through his body, he sunk down across the log; the Indians sunk the cock of his gun into his brains and mangled him very much."

Thus ended this unfortunate affair to those engaged, but at the same time it appears as if the hand of Providence had been

in the whole transaction; for there is every reason to believe that spies had been viewing the place the night before and the Indians were within three-quarters of a mile of the place from which the men had started, where there would have been from twenty to thirty men, perhaps, in the field reaping and all the guns that could be depended on were in this small company, except one, so that they might have become an easy prey, and instead of those five brave men who lost their lives, three times that number might have suffered. As to the men described above we can only conjecture, which pleasure is left to the indulgent reader. Whether the two brothers murdered on Buffalo creek are buried here, history is also silent. It is however, altogether probable that they are, and likewise Miss Miller, Mrs. James Wilson and the widow Gibson, who were killed, as stated above, during the harvest of 1756.

From the number of volunteers it can safely be conjectured that the capacity of the fort was considerable. Of this fort traces yet remain. The tradition of the oldest inhabitants clearly locates it in the orchard back of Mr. Loy's house and not far from the high bank overlooking the stream. To further show the desperate straits into which the pioneers of that locality, in the vicinity of this fort, were driven, we have evidence in the brief but incontrovertible fact that on the thirtieth of July, 1756, Captain Ward left Fort Granville, with all his men except twenty-four under the command of Lieut. Armstrong to guard some reapers in Shearman's Valley. Whilst, therefore, this fort was not erected under provincial authority, nor manned by it, yet, owing to the fact that it was on or near the important path leading from the Conococheague settlement to the westward, through Sterret's Gap by Birmingham's Fort, on to Aughwick, it was used very largely by the early pioneers and settlers moving westward, and would also tend to establish the belief that the settlement in Shearman's Valley was an important one at that early day.

Fort Robinson was a great rendezvous for all those who traveled westward, the hospitality of the Robinson family being very great, and all who traveled by it had extended the comforts and security which such a place held out to them in those times. It appears from history that a great many In-

dian depredations were committed in that locality, that the settlers were in constant danger of their lives, that they were unable safely to gather their harvests, in consequence of which and doubtless facing the countless other exigencies common to the lot of the pioneer settler, George Robinson erected this fort.

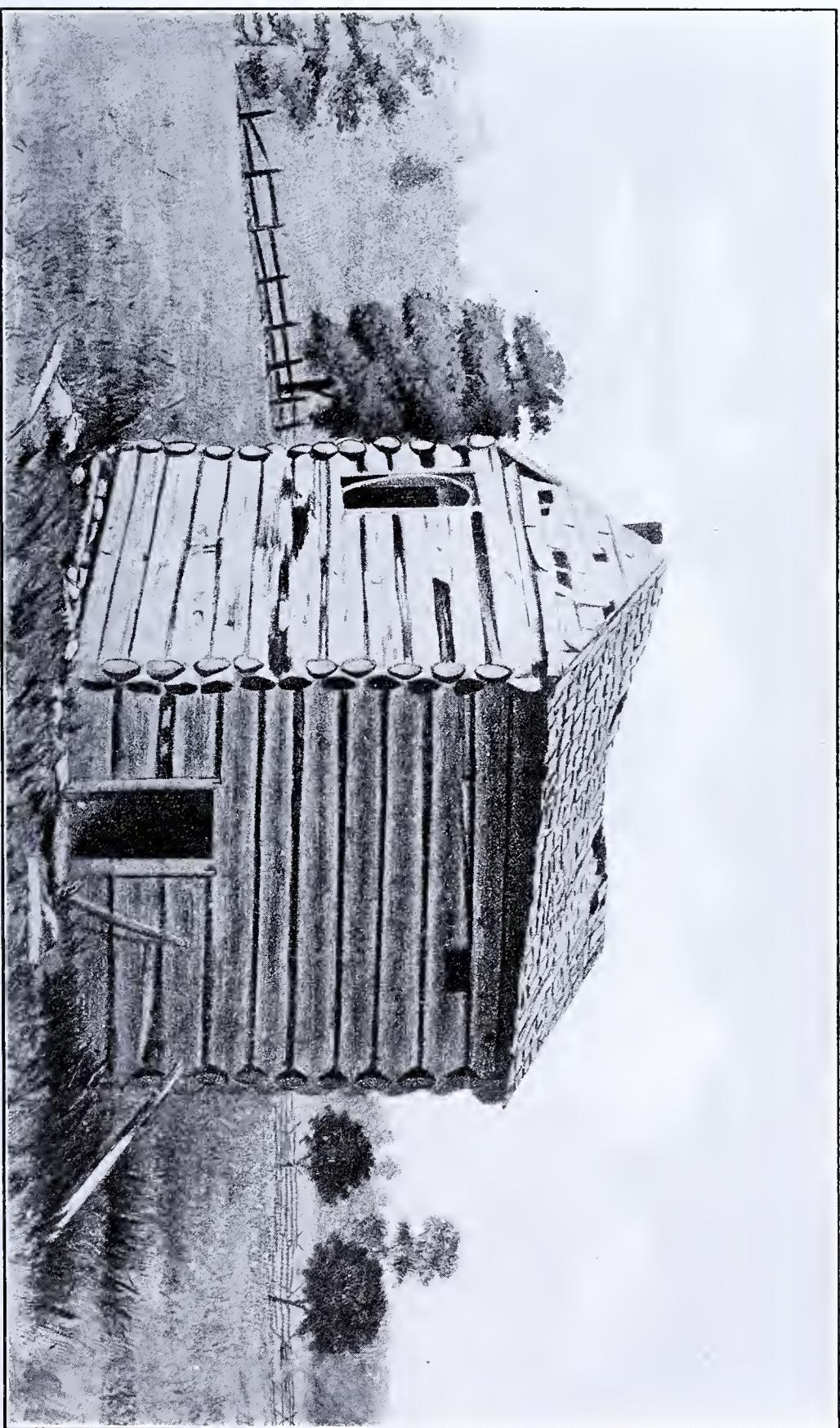
That it was not under Provincial authority, is further proven by the fact that it was not garrisoned by troops furnished by the government then, nevertheless they undertook, at their own expense, these few intrepid men, to protect themselves and harbor their people in the enemy's country. They were compelled to rely entirely upon their own unaided efforts for security and protection, not being furnished, as was the custom with regularly established garrisons, on behalf of the government, with powder, lead and firearms. We also have the fact that Conrad Weiser was sent into Shearman's Valley to meet the men there and to confer with Andrew Montour concerning the settlement of Indian troubles, thus making it, in the light which we have, a very important post.

Could there be a place in our Commonwealth more worthy of the fostering care of her people?

SNYDER COUNTY.

HENDRICK'S FORT--A BLOCKHOUSE.

This fort or blockhouse was erected as nearly as can be ascertained, from information gathered from the oldest citizens in the community of its location, about the year 1770. It stands in Middlecreek township, Snyder county, Pennsylvania, within a stone's throw of the public road leading from Selinsgrove to Lewistown, and but a few rods west of Samuel Rumbaugh's hotel. It is on the south side of the road and built over a very fine spring of water. The tract of land on which it stands belongs to Mr. Charles Keck, of Kreamer, Pennsyl-



vania. The land is in the nature of a meadow and for over one hundred years this fort or blockhouse has stood upon its well built foundation of stone in what might be called a morass, in which weeds, tall grasses and the long green blades, common to low lands thrive abundantly. Its location is about one-half mile due south of the scene of the Stock massacre, which occurred in this township in the year 1781, whereby four or five persons lost their lives through the fiendish acts of the Indians.

This fort is supposed to have been built by the Hendricks', a bold and energetic people living in that locality, at that early day, some of their offspring still residing thereabouts. It was a place of refuge for the settlers in times of trouble with the redskins, and the people living there now point out the location of two early houses built by the settlers, near here, from which they invariably repaired in the evening or at nightfall to the fort for the purpose of passing the night in security and safety from the attacks of the Indians. The fort is strongly built, having a floor of very stout planks running across it about six feet from the earth. On this floor the settlers gathered themselves and fired through two loopholes not far from the roof, in case of attack. On the west side of it there is an immense chimney of stone starting at the base with a very wide foundation and taking up about half of the entire western side of the building. The chimney was heavily plastered with something resembling mortar—a yellow clayey substance—which can still be seen sticking to the stones and it has been decorated in an ingenious fashion by the hand of some inventive painter who sought, before this mortar became dry and hard, to ornament it somewhat, with lines running parallel and again at right angles with each other.

A view is herewith appended of this blockhouse, which is still in a very good state of preservation, the timbers used in its construction being of the very best, but one or two logs showing any signs of decay after a lapse of over one hundred years of exposure to the elements. The owner of this property, Mr. Keck, an old gentleman, is willing that the fort should be properly marked and is liberally inclined with regard to such

a project, he being anxious to have it remain a monument to the times and privations which have passed by, and any effort on behalf of the State to place the same in a condition of permanent preservation will receive his liberal and generous approval. This fort has been variously used as a spring house, tobacco house, etc.

In connection with what meagre data we have at hand relative to this fort, the writer must not omit to make mention of the massacre of the Stuck, or Stock, family, which was perpetrated here in the year 1781. Mr. Matthias Dauberman, a life-long resident of this locality and whose residence is due north of where Fort Hendricks now stands, perhaps, one-half mile or thereabouts, narrates, through Mr. William K. Miller, that he heard his grandfather frequently detail the incidents of this horrible massacre, when he, the present Mr. Dauberman, was but five years of age. His grandfather was an eye-witness, so to speak, of the affair, and lived east of where the Stucks lived, the second house, about one-fourth of a mile. It appears the men were in the fields at work when some Indians who had been lurking in the woods nearby, swooped down upon the small log house and attacked the defenceless women and children. They killed outright old Mrs. Stuck and two of the children and also a man who happened to be near. They then dragged away with them young Mrs. Stuck, wife of one of the Stuck boys. She was so much terrified with what she had beheld that she fainted when but a short distance from the house and, after reaching the woods beyond the cleared fields, they dragged her a considerable distance into the thicket, where the Indians killed and scalped her.

The entire neighborhood became aroused at the sudden onslaught and they immediately resolved upon pursuit. At that time there lived in the neighborhood of what is now known as the Shamokin Dam, three brave and experienced Indian fighters by the name of Grove, Pence and Stroh, and, with the assistance of these men, the settlers immediately followed the fleeing savages. They were captured in the course of a few days while sitting about their fire in the forest, having made off in the direction of the New York border, and all who are supposed to have had a hand in this butchery were killed by

the Indian fighters above named and the settlers who were with them.

Mr. Dauberman relates that he heard his grandfather state that the young Mrs. Stuck, who was dragged into the woods, was not discovered until some days afterwards, when the dogs discovered her and began to feast upon her decomposing flesh, thus betraying the place of her repose, when her remains were gathered up and given appropriate sepulture. The narrator of these particulars, Mr. Dauberman, is now seventy-five years of age, tall and vigorous in frame, with a ruddy countenance and a memory as bright and keen as we might expect to find in a man who has spent his life in the peaceful pursuits of the husbandman, and ever in close touch with nature.

McKEE'S FORT.

With regard to the time of the erection of this fort and its precise location, history is somewhat at variance. Some writers have attempted to place it on the east side of the Susquehanna river. From data at hand which will be subsequently treated of, the probabilities are that its location was upon the west side of the Susquehanna river. The writer feels perfectly assured, from all the evidence there is upon this subject, that it was more likely that this fort was placed on the west of the river, than upon the east side of it. The Historical Map of Pennsylvania, hitherto referred to, places it on the Northumberland side and gives the date of its location as the year 1756, but we have before found occasion to question the entire accuracy of this publication as to dates, times, etc., being sustained in such criticisms by indisputable authority.

Thomas McKee, we find was an Indian trader who located at the falls (now called McKee's one-half falls) in 1744. He was one of a party of traders who discovered the body of Jack Armstrong who was murdered at what is now Mt. Union. He may have resided at this place at that time but it was not certainly known. But upon the opening of the land office in

1755, Thos. McKee took out a warrant March 5th, 1755, for a large tract of land beginning below the mouth of the Mahontonga creek and which extended along the river above, embracing the Half Falls. To further establish this fact, the title papers, now in the possession of J. L. Weiser, at Mahontonga, J. B. Hall and John S. Rine, now owners of this land, show that it was originally owned by Thos. McKee, being a most significant fact tending to give the location of this fort or post at McKees Falls, which is now known as McKees Half Falls. An Indian path ran across the plantation, which was known as McKee's Path. It extended from Shamokin, now Sunbury, to the Juniata river, and touched the Susquehanna at the mouth of the Mahontonga creek and crossed westerly to the mouth of Delaware run, near Thompsontown, on the Juniata river.

The plantation taken up by Thomas McKee was evidently extensive in its area, embracing many acres of land of the most fertile soil along the Susquehanna river. The country being an open one from Fort Halifax, on the east side of the river, up to McKee's Falls, where Thos. McKee was located (on the west side), it is altogether probable that the fort had a better location on the west side of the river on account of the place being more accessible to garrison or troops going from one fort to another. The topography of the country hereabouts would also be a significant factor in determining the location. The country, at many places on the west side of the river, extending back in width several miles before the hills were reached, so that an approach by the enemy could be more easily detected for a considerable distance around, the land being very level and fertile along the western side of the river from here on down to a point opposite where Fort Halifax was situated.

The argument, therefore, of selecting fertile soil and many acres of it in extent, as his place of abode, would seem to outweigh any assertion that he had chosen the eastern side, where the land is bluffy and not adapted to agriculture, and where troops and garrison would find less convenient place.

On the western side, also, the writer knows that there have been dug up the remains of the red man in large quantities.

It is stated and the statement would seem to be supported, that there was here, in this vicinity an Indian burial ground, the many remains, such as bones, arrows, Indian implements of almost every fashion going to substantiate this assertion, and Thos. McKee must at some time have held title to these lands, now held by the Weisers, the Halls, the Rines, as appears in subsequent conveyances of the real estate on the west side of the Susquehanna river.

In order to further negative the statement that the fort was located on the east side of the river, we present the fact that the letters passing between the Provincial authorities and Thomas McKee show that there was a fort in existence or mentioned in such letters as early as 1756. And we find that eleven years later than this period he was granted a patent for four hundred acres of land across the river, in Northumberland county. This fact would not dispute his ownership to the land previously taken up on the west side of the river and would also tend, by reason of the priority of time in acquiring lands on the Snyder county side, to establish more firmly the belief that his fort was erected upon the plantation first owned, as all history proves that the means of defence against the raids of the savage were first provided for and it is, hence, unlikely that McKee would live hereabouts for this length of time without erecting some fortification to protect himself against the hostile Indians.

The Sechrist meadows, as they were later on patented, were his. The Sechrists are a large and influential people, now living in the vicinity of McKee's Half Falls, postoffice, in Snyder county. These meadows were sold by McKee to the Sechrists, as appears by patent of July 26, 1767, executed to Jacob Sechrist. The three islands in the river—Shuman's, of one hundred acres; Hays', of seventy acres, and Kline's (now Yeager's), of eighty acres, were included in this warrant. One hundred and fifty acres of land above the Half Falls tract was sold to Rudolph Smelzer, August 7, 1766.

In order now to come back to the Provincial records in establishing the fact that the fort was built by Thomas McKee, we find the matter referred to in the history of the other forts south of it on the Susquehanna river, McKee's Fort being

placed about twenty-five miles above Fort Hunter. As is contained in instructions to Thomas McKee, in a letter dated January 26th, 1756, we have: "You are to receive from the officer now commanding the detachment of Capt. Reed's company at Hunter's Mill, and who you are to relieve, such arms, accoutrements, blankets, tools and stores as he may have in his hands, belonging to the Province, with which you are to furnish your company, but if that be not sufficient, you are to apply to Capt. Frederick Smith for a further supply out of what he will receive from Capt. Reed and Capt. Hendricks." And, again, we find him appointed under a commission as captain of a company to consist of twenty-eight men and two sergeants, besides himself and lieutenant, and is instructed to proceed immediately to raise the company; when complete, they are to be mustered before James Galbraith, Esquire, and, after being mustered, they are to march to a place called Hunter's Mill, on the Susquehanna, and either complete the fort already begun there or build another at such convenient place as James Galbraith shall advise, and in case it should be thought necessary to erect a new fort, you are to build it of the form and dimensions herewith given you.

The next important data we have is a letter dated Lancaster, April 19, 1756, from Edwin Shippen to Governor Morris, in which he states, "I have been at Capt. McKee's Fort, where I found about ten Indians, men, women and children; three of the women lying very ill in bed. The Captain tells me that John Shekellamy is greatly dissatisfied with being there, and has several times been out of temper, which he would hope was owing to nothing but the sickness of the Indians, and to their being often insulted by the fearful ignorant people who have sometimes told Shekallamy to his face, that they had a good mind to scalp him. Shekallamy informed me that he wished the Indians would be moved down where Capt. McKee's women and children were and afterwards, if the Governor thought proper he would go to Wyoming and endeavor to bring down a Shawanese captain, who would have come with him, but the Delawares would not permit it. At the council at Wyoming, whither your Honor sent Silver Heels and The Belt to know why the Indians struck their brethren, the English.

This Shawanese captain observed that it was not more than one year and a half since he had taken the Governor by the hand and heard everything that he said and why he should so soon forget him. That he was sitting between the Six Nations and the Governor, takes one in each hand."

"That council consisted of Shawanese, Chickasaws, Mohickans and some of the Six Nations, and Shekallamy was appointed to give the answer, who spoke and said: 'You, my young brothers, the Shawanese, it may be, know the reason of striking the English, as you are always in council with the Delawares.' 'No,' answered the Shawanese, speaking to the Six Nations, saying, 'Old brothers, we cannot tell why the hatchet was taken up against the English, but you know the reason of it, who are always with them at General Braddock's battle.' Shekallamy says: There are about four hundred Indian warriors at Tioga, of the Six Nations, Delawares, Munsees and Shawanese, and about forty more at Wyoming. He says if we attempt to go up to Shamokin to build a fort, we may expect to be attacked by a body of five hundred Indians in our march.

"According to your Honor's instructions to Mr. Burd, I have prevailed with Shekellamy to stay where he is until we can hear again from your Honor. I pity the sick Indians much because there is neither sheep, calves or poultry to be got in that part of the country, though game is very plenty; yet the Indians dare not venture out of the fort for fear of being murdered, and the captain informs me that the garrison has been poorly served, the provisions having been very ordinary but they are now a little better used, yet he would fain believe the persons employed about them do their best, he finds that one pound of Burlington pork will go as far as two pounds made in that country.

"John Harris has built an excellent stockade around his house, with a good cellar room, which is the only place of security that way. He has but six or seven men to guard it, and if the government would order six men more there, it would, in my opinion, be of great use to the cause, even were no provision to be stored there at all, though there is no room for any scarce in Capt. McKee's fort. * * * * *

"Without this small addition of men above-mentioned, and the Indians should destory it, the consequence would be that most of the inhabitants within twenty miles of this place would immediately leave their plantations. The enemy can come over the hills at five miles distance from McKee's fort. But, notwithstanding all I have said on this head, I am convinced that the number of stockades set up and down the country do more hurt than good.

"By the best intelligence I can get, it will be best for Col. Clapham to march his regiment on the west side of the Susquehanna, after first marching eight or nine miles on this side; the only difficulty will be in crossing the river. I know there are several bad passes, as far as Capt. McKee's plantation, where I have been; it is but twenty-five miles from Hunter's Mill."

And here comes the point that is important in the location of this fort. As stated before, the country on the west side of the river being the most accessible for a garrison to march between these points up and down the Susquehanna with no obstructions, it is all the more likely and convincing that Fort McKee was located where McKee's Half Falls now is.

"I ought to have acquainted your Honor before that I have cautioned Capt. McKee against suffering anybody to abuse the Indians for the future, and by all means advised him to keep a straight watch over the young Frenchman whom he has under his care. * * * * *

In 1749, Conrad Weiser, on his way to Shamokin with a message from the Governor, met the sons of Shikellimy at the Trading House of Thomas McKee, which he delivered to them there, because he had been informed that all the Indians were absent from Shamokin.

The following letter from Conrad Weiser establishes also, and is confirmatory of the fact that there must have been a fort at McKee's, because he states that he happened to meet the eldest and youngest son of Shikellimy at the Trading House of Thomas McKee, being distant from Shamokin, now Sunbury, about twenty miles. In a letter from Col. Clapham to Governor Morris, dated Fort Halifax, July first, 1756. * * I shall leave twenty-four men at McKee's, each under the com-

mand of an ensign and captain, as I have removed all the stores from Harris' and McKee's to this place.

In another letter from Col. Clapham to Governor Morris, dated Fort Augusta, August 17th, 1756, he says: "I omitted to inform your Honor that the garrison at McKee's have very little ammunition. I hope the commissioners will make the greatest dispatch in furnishing all these necessary supplies."

An interesting fact to note in conclusion concerning this spot, now bearing the name of its immortal founder, is that the name of the great Indian chief, Kishacoquillas, who was a power amongst his own people in the vicinity north of Lewis-town and along the southern base of the range of the Seven Mountains, is inseparably linked with it, he having died there August, 1754, and his name thus becomes identified in his death, with this fort, while in Mifflin county, where he roamed in Indian fashion, directing his warriors as only the red chieftains could, his name was impressed by the deeds of his lifetime upon the history of that county, there being a Kishacoquillas valley and a creek, a wild and rushing stream bearing his name.

The date of the death of Thomas McKee is given as in the year 1772. The picturesque and romantic surroundings of the landscape on both sides of the Susquehanna, where Capt. McKee located himself and erected his fort, should inspire this commission if not prompted by the authentic history attaching to it, relative to Provincial times, to erect a memorial tablet, thus rescuing from the gnawing tooth of time the facts in the case and transmit them to future generations.

[Without disputing with the writer of the foregoing article on McKee's fort, it is a pity he did not pursue his researches further. Bishop Cammerhoff, in going to Shamokin in the winter of 1748, kept to the east side of the Susquehanna and tarried at McKee's, where he was hospitably entertained. There is no doubt of the location of McKee's residence].



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